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THUCYDIDES

JOWETT

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THUCYDIDES

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

WITH INTRODUCTION, MARGINAL ANALYSIS,

NOTES AND INDICES

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BY

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IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II, CONTAINING THE NOTES

TO WHICH ARE ADDED AN ESSAY ON CONTEMPORARY INSCRIPTIONS AND OTHER BRIEF DISSERTATIONS

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THE GREATNESS OF THUCYDIDES.

'What are they all (the Roman Historians) to the great Athenian? 'I do assure you that there is no prose composition in the world, not 'even the De Corona, which I place so high as the seventh book of 'Thucydides. It is the *ne plus ultra* of human art. I was delighted 'to find in Gray's letters the other day this query to Wharton: "The 'retreat from Syracuse—Is it or is it not the finest thing you ever 'read in your life?"'—*Life of Lord Macaulay*, vol. i. p. 449.

'Most people read all the Greek that they ever read before they 'are five and twenty . . . Accordingly, almost all their ideas of Greek 'literature are ideas formed while they were still very young. A young 'man, whatever his genius may be, is no judge of such a writer as 'Thucydides. I had no high opinion of him ten years ago. I have 'now been reading him with a mind accustomed to historical re-'searches, and to political affairs; and I am astonished at my own 'former blindness, and at his greatness.' Vol. i. p. 440.

APPENDIX, p. 475.—'This day I finished Thucydides, after reading 'him with inexpressible interest and admiration. He is the greatest 'historian that ever lived. Feb. 27, 1835.'

'I am still of the same mind. May 30, 1836.'

'While I was reading the Annals I was reading Thucydides . . . 'What made the Annals appear cold and poor to me was the intense 'interest which Thucydides inspired. Indeed, what colouring is there 'which would not look tame when placed side by side with the mag-'nificent light, and the terrible shade, of Thucydides? Tacitus was 'a great man, but he was not up to the Sicilian expedition.' Vol. i. p. 458.

ON INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

AGE OF THUCYDIDES.

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ON INSCRIPTIONS

OF THE

AGE OF THUCYDIDES.

THE study of ancient Greek inscriptions, to which so great an impulse has been given during the last sixty years by scholars, such as Boeckh, Kirchhoff, and Köhler in Germany, Lebas and Waddington in France, Mr. Charles Newton in England, as well as by Greek archæologists such as Rangabé, throws a real but not a considerable light upon the history of Greece. Many thousands of them have been already collected; and the number may be indefinitely increased by the zeal and industry of the present generation. None hitherto found are older than the seventh century before Christ, some of the oldest being written *βουστροφηδόν* (i. e. returning at the end of the line like the ox in the furrow); in the sixth century and down to the Persian war they are rare; in the latter half of the fifth century they become more numerous, and there are many which have a direct connexion with the history of Thucydides. Several of these are noticed under the passages to which they belong; all of them will be brought together in this essay.

The study of inscriptions is not separable from the general study of the Ancient World. In so far as it illustrates the use of letters or words, or the growth of the dialects, or the history of prose writing, it may be included under Philology. In so far as it contributes to our knowledge of the religion, commerce, laws, political institutions, or of the private life and manners of the ancients, it may be placed under the head of Antiquities. It may also be classed with History, inasmuch as historical

facts are recorded in inscriptions and the accounts of historians are confirmed by them. To elevate such an accidental and multifarious kind of knowledge into a science of 'Epigraphy' is misleading. Its method, if it have any single method, is inductive, that is to say, it proceeds from the examination of facts, a general knowledge of history and of inscriptions being brought to bear on the analysis of some particular one. It has frequent recourse to hypotheses, of which many remain and will for ever remain unverified. The arrangement of inscriptions adopted by Boeckh according to the countries in which they are found, or the states to which they belong, is commonly the most convenient; they may be further divided according to date, or when the date cannot be ascertained, according to the subjects of them. The few archaic inscriptions which are extant naturally form a class by themselves [1].

The older Attic inscriptions are generally imperfect. Of many only a few words or lines, often not more than a word or two, survive. The slabs of marble on which they are engraven are commonly broken and scattered; they are found in the beds of rivers, on the sites of temples, in the neighbourhood of the Erechtheum, on the steps of the Parthenon, at the entrance of the Propylæa, in the Portico of Hadrian, on the banks of the Ilissus, built into the walls of a ruined church or the staircase of a monastery, here and there inserted in the pavement of a courtyard or the floor of a cottage, or forming the table of a Christian altar. Hardly any remain in their original position. From most of them there is a difficulty in extracting a continuous meaning; the result partakes of

[1] Cp. Boeckh, Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum, praef. p. xii ff. To this work, a noble monument of learning and critical sagacity; to the admirable Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum (vol. i) of Kirchhoff, quoted in this essay as C. I. A., and his treatises on the Athenian treasury; to Köhler's separate work on the Tribute Lists, as well as to the interesting essays of Mr. Charles Newton, and to the beautiful and accurate collection of ancient Greek inscriptions in the British Museum by Messrs. Newton and Hicks, the author would express his great obligations.

the nature of the materials. But considering the chances of destruction to which they have been exposed we may wonder that so much has been preserved, and that so many institutions and historical events receive illustration from them.

The process of deciphering Greek inscriptions may be roughly described as follows. First, the fragments must be copied and fitted into each other, allowance being made for missing portions: either they may belong to a single flat surface, or they may be the sides of a solid block. In some instances mistakes have occurred, and a further investigation or a fresh discovery has shown that pieces which at first appeared to belong to the same inscription were really parts of different ones; or, if belonging to the same, that they had been arranged in a wrong order: e.g. C. I. A. 38 and Supp. 38 *a*: C. I. A. 241–254: Supp. page 26. In the attempt to restore words the measure of space is one of our chief guides. When a surface was written all over, the number of letters in a particular line may be exactly known, though not a vestige of them remains. But whether the part of a marble slab or block which has been defaced or broken off contained writing or not may be uncertain. An indicator of time is the form of the letters, and this may sometimes vary in the same inscription (as in C. I. A. 40). The Greek alphabet during the Peloponnesian war was in a process of transition, and the apparent variety or inconsistency in the use of some one or more letters may limit the date of an inscription to the period of the transition. Thus in C. I. A. Supp. 22 *g*, of which only three or four words are preserved,

ↃKLEϟΦI . . . .
MEΣΣ . . . . ΠP (?)

we are able from the double form of the letter Σ (ϟ Σ) and from the syllable MEΣΣ to infer with tolerable certainty that the text falls in the period of transition from one form of the letter to the other, about 456–445, and relates to the establishment of the Messenians at Naupactus about 455 B.C. (Thuc. i. 103 init.). But the period

of transition may likewise introduce a new element of uncertainty in determining the value of the letters; and the matter of inscriptions may in a few instances be older than the date at which they were engraven, e.g. C. I. A. 93. The country in which an inscription is found or the city to which it refers is also a criterion not to be neglected. The text itself may help to supply its own lacunae. A word, a line, several lines may be wanting, but different syllables of the imperfect word, or parts of the line, may be collected from another place in the same inscription. For example, the letters ΑΧΙ in C. I. A. 10 are the vestiges of ΞΥΜΜΑΧΙΑ, as may be easily inferred from the rest of the inscription; from the syllables ΚΟΛΟΦΟ and ΟΝΙΟΝ in different parts of C. I. A. 13 the whole word ΚΟΛΟΦΩΝΙΩΝ may be legitimately extracted; in C. I. A. Supp. 61 *a* (a treaty between the Selymbrians and Athenians), from ΚΙΟ . . . Σ, aided by a comparison of Xenophon, Hellenica, i. 3. 10, we can elicit without difficulty the name ΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΔΗΣ. In C. I. A. Supp. 96, the word ΜΥΤΙΛΕΝΑΙΟΝ and the partially effaced ΚΛΓ-[ΡΟΥ]ΧΟΙΣ clearly show that the inscription relates to the events recorded in Thucydides, iii. 50. Although the first impression excited in the mind by the appearance of the half-effaced lines is one of bewilderment and unfamiliarity, out of the chaos order soon begins to arise. The experienced eye detects in the shape of the letters, in the use of Α Α for Α, of ⋹ for Ε, of ⊕ for Θ, of Ρ for Ρ, of ϟ for Σ, of ⦶ for Φ, of + for Χ, of Η for the aspirate, of Ε for ΕΙ and Η, of Ο for Ω and ΟΥ, of Λ for Γ, of Ν for Λ, of ΧϟΣ for Ξ, of ΦϟΣ for Ψ, and similar variations, the steps by which the earlier Attic characters were modified, the Ionic alphabet being regularly adopted in the Archonship of Euclides, B.C. 403. There are some other particulars in which the earlier Attic usage differs from the later. In the older inscriptions, for ΕΛΠΙΣ is written ΗΕΛΠΙΣ, for ΔΩΡΕΑ ΔΟΡΕΙΑ, for ΗΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ ΕΚΑΣΤΟΣ, for -ΕΣΘΩΝ (3 p. imp. pass.) -ΟΣΘΟΝ (e.g. 27 *a* Supp.): there are assimilations of Ν and Γ, as in ΕΜΠΟΛΕΙ, ΤΟΛΛΟΓΙΣΤΟΝ, ΕΣ-

ΤΕΛΕΙ, ΕΣΣΑΝΙΔΙ, ΕΧΦΥΛΕΣ, ΜΕΛΧΡΥΣΑ, ΕΑΜΜΕ, and also refusals to assimilate, as in ΧΣΥΝΜΑΧΟΙ, ΟΛΥΝ-ΠΙΟΣ, ΣΤΡΟΝΒ[ΙΧΟΣ], (some appearing later); reduplication of Σ, as in ΑΡΙΣΣΤΑ; Ionic datives plural in ΑΣΙ, ceasing to occur in inscriptions during the 90th Olympiad, B.C. 420–417; datives in ΗΙΣΙΝ, ΗΣΙΝ, ΑΙΣΙΝ, and ΟΙΣΙΝ; other forms, such as ΟΛΕΙΩΝ, the comparative of ΟΛΙ-ΓΟΝ, which are found in inscriptions though not occurring elsewhere in Attic;—all these may be used as notes of time. We find however that some of the modern letters appear among the older ones before the Archonship of Euclides; it is probable that the Ionic alphabet was in literary use when it was not yet employed in public documents. There was a gradual change from slanting to upright forms; and it is interesting to trace the manner in which some refractory straggling letters, such as Μ and Ν, were coerced into regularity. In the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars the archaic style disappears, and the hand of the engraver works with more clearness and precision.

Having determined the letters and from them formed a conjecture of the date of the inscription, and assisted by a knowledge of the place in which it is found, the decipherer will now proceed to compare the words or syllables which are legible. (The reader must be reminded that in this short outline we are speaking of early imperfect inscriptions, and chiefly of those contemporary with Thucydides.) A very few scattered words are sufficient to tell the general subject: it may be a treaty of peace or alliance, the dedication of an offering, a grant of privileges to a state or an individual, an epitaph, an inventory of treasure, a boundary line, the cost of a public edifice, a catalogue of confiscated goods, a direction for a festival or a sacrifice or the building of a temple, a prohibition, a punishment; any historical event, any incident of private life, may turn up in an inscription. We are sometimes able to trace a coincidence of names occurring in Thucydides or Xenophon which may serve as a clue. But we can seldom proceed

much further. The details which we seek to extract from a fragment are necessarily incoherent, a food for guesses. A few inscriptions only preserve a clear and entire meaning, or may receive it from a comparison of contemporary history. We had better begin by moderating our expectations, if we would avoid disappointment. In enquiries of this kind the result is seldom very great, nor always very certain.

The task of reading ancient Greek inscriptions may be compared to the amusement of putting together a dissected puzzle, or of making out an acrostic. The ingenuity which is required in both cases is of the same kind. When all the pieces fit and all the letters fall into their places, then the solution of the puzzle has been found. And although many of the pieces have been lost and many of the words or letters are no longer legible, and fragments of different inscriptions are mixed up together, still order and consistency and exhaustiveness in whatever degree they can be attained are the tests of truth. Of course, as in a cipher, the possibility of arriving at a successful result depends on the definiteness of the problem and the possibility of obtaining an answer to it from a comparison of other parts of the document or of similar documents.

The broken form in which the older Greek inscriptions have been preserved to us, though impairing, is far from destroying their value. But before much use can be made of them they must be illustrated by the literary remains of antiquity. Many coincidences, slight as well as important, soon begin to appear in them which realize ancient history to us. The juxtaposition of two names, the mention of an office, of a ceremony, of a reward conferred on an individual or on a tributary state, send us to the pages of the historian, and they may often supply a test of the accuracy or knowledge of a great writer or of a scholiast. It may be truly said that the inscriptions of the fifth century before Christ, though not always agreeing with his narrative (see C. I. A. 37, 179), tend upon the whole to confirm the authority of Thucydides. A few letters still

remain of an inscription which Herodotus records to have been engraved on the memorial (a *τέθριππος χάλκεος*) erected by the Athenians in honour of the victory which they gained over the Boeotians and Chalcidians soon after the expulsion of the Pisistratidae (Herod. v. 77; C. I. A. 334)[1]. Such testimony is still more needed for the verification of later historians. An inscription (C. I. A. 273, cp. 22 *a* Supp.) corrects a name found in Diodorus, xii. 58, and also in Athenaeus, v. p. 218. By these writers the archon of the year Ol. 88. 3 (B.C. 426) is called Euthydemus, and by the author of the argument to Aristophanes' Acharnians, Euthymenes. But, as is shown by the inscription referred to (the long inscription which records the expenditure of the sacred treasure of Athens, Ol. 86. 4—89. 2), the real name was Euthynus, a name which has also been preserved in the anonymous Life of Thucydides, § 8, and by the Scholiast on Lucian Tim. 30. In Plutarch (Pericles xiii), we find what at first sight appears to be a gossiping anecdote, about a workman employed on the Propylaea, and distinguished for his skill and zeal, who had fallen from a height so that his life was despaired of. Plutarch continues: *ἀθυμοῦντος δὲ τοῦ Περικλέους ἡ θεὸς ὄναρ φανεῖσα συνέταξε θεραπείαν ἣ χρώμενος ὁ Περικλῆς ταχὺ καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἰάσατο τὸν ἄνθρωπον· ἐπὶ τούτῳ δὲ καὶ τὸ χαλκοῦν ἄγαλμα τῆς Ὑγιείας Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνέστησεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει παρὰ τὸν βωμόν, ὃς καὶ πρότερον ἦν, ὡς λέγουσιν.* An inscription upon a pedestal of white marble still remaining *in situ* probably belonged to this very statue (C. I. A. 335, *Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ*). Two passages of Aristophanes may here be illustrated from inscriptions. In the Scholia on Knights, 969, *Σμικύθης* is asserted to have been a Thracian prince. But the occurrence

[1] *Ἔθνεα Βοιωτῶν καὶ Χαλκιδέων δαμάσαντες*
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ἔργμασιν ἐν πολέμου
δεσμῷ ἐν ἀχλυόεντι σιδηρέῳ ἔσβεσαν ὕβριν·
τῶν ἵππους δεκάτην Παλλάδι τάσδ' ἔθεσαν.

The extant letters are ΕΝΑΙΟΝΕΡΛΜ/
ΓΓΟϛΔΕΙΛ

Their appearance shows that they date from the time of Pericles: we must therefore suppose that they have been copied or restored.

of the name Σμίκυθος, as the γραμματεύς of the ταμίαι τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας (C. I. A. 130, Ol. 88. 4, B.C. 425–424, the year in which the Knights was performed), proves the futility of this statement. The name was in fact borne by more than one Athenian citizen (cp. C. I. A. 60, 432, 433, 437). The same or another scholiast is more fortunate in the illustration of Birds, 1128—

ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ δούριος,

which, he says, is a reference to a bronze figure of the Trojan horse dedicated in the Acropolis, and bearing the inscription—

Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκε.

And these very words inscribed on a pedestal (C. I. A. 406) have been discovered in the Acropolis. More important contributions to history are made by the τάξις φόρου (C. I. A. 37), or estimate of the Athenian tribute, which has been thought by some to confirm the statement of the Orators respecting the doubling of the tribute during the Peloponnesian war (see infra). Still more important is the inscription (C. I. A. 433) over the Athenians of the tribe Erechtheis, who fell all in the same year (about 460 B.C.) in Cyprus, in Egypt, in Phoenicia, at Halieis, in Ægina, and at Megara: or that containing the treaty made by Athens with Argos (C. I. A. 46 *b*, Supp.) in the year 420 B.C. Both of these verify the details of Thucydides, and are worth many pages of Diodorus or Plutarch. In the tribute lists of the year 443 B.C., C. I. A. 237, we find traces of a name beloved in Greek literature—

[Σ]Ο[Φ]ΟΚΛ[ΕΣ] ΚΟΛΟ[ΝΕΟΘΕΝ ΗΕΛΛΕΝΟΤΑΜΙΑ]Σ ΕΝ

The mutilated condition of the earlier Greek inscriptions offers a wide field for conjecture. But there are many ways in which the conjectural restoration of inscriptions is both assisted and limited; and it differs in several respects from the emendation of MSS. In the case of inscriptions we have to supply omissions rather than to correct error. The chances of error (cp. for examples C. I. A. 151, p. 72:

398, 419, 483) except in mere spelling are comparatively small. There are no recensions of the text; no glosses which have crept in from the margin, or inferences from the words of scholiasts that the reading may have been originally different. Far greater pains and time are necessarily taken in engraving than in writing; and, speaking generally, inscriptions are at first hand and there is no further risk from copying. The greater danger is from the unskilfulness or ignorance of the modern copyist, but the original is generally in existence, and the error can be corrected. Whereas MSS. have been written and rewritten many times, at each rewriting contracting some degree of inaccuracy, and changing to a certain extent their modes of spelling and forms of grammar in successive generations. Pen and ink are more pliable implements than the chisel, and the writer takes greater liberties than the engraver in the form and size of the letters. But inscriptions are monumental, and the words and letters in them have a fixed character; or, at any rate, only change with well-known changes in the alphabet. As a rule, in inscriptions of the fifth century each letter occupies the same space, and in supplying lacunae, however large, we can measure with a compass the number of letters required. Wherever the graver has been skilful the symmetry is perfect, and a straight line may be drawn horizontally, vertically, diagonally through the centre of the letters. But in some cases the miscalculation of space has led to the crowding of the latter part of the inscription: and there are other examples (cp. C. I. A. Supp. 61 *a*, 71; Newton and Hicks, p. 61) in which the lines are not written accurately *στοιχηδόν*. Many of the later inscriptions differ from the earlier ones as much as the fairest copperplate from the first rude attempts of an illiterate person at writing; and may be truly called 'calligraphic' from their beauty and regularity.

But besides the greater uniformity of the writing, there is also a greater similarity in the modes of expression than in literary composition. Most public inscriptions have their set beginnings and endings, their formulas of oaths, decrees,

sums, dates; names of the archon, tribe, prytany, epistates. Some of them, as for example the lists of the quota (C. I. A. 226–272) paid out of the tribute of the allies to the Goddess, are arranged in years, and the imperfect members of the series may be filled up from those which exist in a more complete state. The number of such documents is considerable, and from their formal and official character they throw light upon one another. Hence it is not surprising, that while no human ingenuity, even when assisted by metre, can supply more than two or three letters in a corrupted text of the classics, and hardly so much in prose, parts of a line or of several lines in succession may be restored with comparative certainty in an ancient inscription. Even a single letter occurring in a particular place may afford a clue to the contents of a whole line if the line is repeated elsewhere. The parallel in this case is not like the parallels cited in support of emendations of the classics, from which it is often fallaciously argued that an author wrote in one place as he did in another. For inscriptions are really full of the same forms, whereas there is only a faint presumption that the same turn of expression will occur more than once in a literary composition. Similarly, two or three letters of a name which usually accompanies some other name may give the key: e. g. the letters

ΣΤΡΑΤΕΛΟΙΣ . . . . . ΝΤΙΔΕΙΚΑΙΧΣΥΝΑΡΧΟ

indicate the words *στρατηγοῖς* Νικίᾳ Νικηράτου Κυδαντίδῃ *καὶ ξυνάρχουσιν*, C. I. A. 273. Many restorations which appear improbable at first sight are nevertheless true: e. g. the following, which, though seeming to depend on slender grounds, is in reality certain (C. I. A. 37; a. b. c. l. 4 ff.): ΧΕΡΟ[ΤΟΝ . . . . . ΕΠΙ ΤΑ]Σ ΠΟΛΕΣ ΔΥΟ [ΜΕΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΣ ΕΠΙ ΘΡΑΙΚΕΣ] ΔΥΟ ΔΕ Ε[ΠΙ ΙΟΝΙΑΝ ΔΥΟ Δ]Ε ΕΠΙ Ν[ΕΣΟΥΣ ΔΥΟ ΔΕ ΕΠΙ ΗΕΛΛΕΣΠ]ΟΝΤΟ[Ν. Here, out of the hint of ΗΕΛΛΕΣΠΟΝΤΟΝ contained in ΟΝΤΟ, the occurrence of the word ΠΟΛΕΙΣ, the repetition of ΔΥΟ, combined with our knowledge of

the division of the tributary cities into four or five groups, an important part of an inscription is recovered. So much may be made out of so little. In this, as in other cases, the power of divination is relative to the nature of the materials, which create a method for themselves. If the matter of early Greek inscriptions were varied like literary compositions, much less progress could be made in the interpretation of them. They would be curious fragments from which nothing of importance could be elicited.

It is this fragmentary character of Greek inscriptions which distinguishes the study of them from that of Assyrian or Egyptian. Before we can interpret them we have to restore them; or rather the interpretation and the restoration of them go hand in hand. It is another peculiarity in the study of them that a large literature can be brought to bear upon them; and that we do not, as in the case of most other inscriptions, derive our knowledge of them from themselves only.

Far greater than the temptation to emend is the temptation to elicit a connected meaning from them. The interpreter is apt to read into an inscription more than is really to be found in it. The record of the contemporary history is necessarily imperfect, and he exercises his ingenuity in making anything which he knows fit in with the fragmentary document which he has to decipher. If, for example, he finds in an inscription (C. I. A. 55, indicated by the occurrence of datives in *αις* to be later than the 90th Ol., B.C. 420–417) a mention of sixty ships, he immediately calls to mind the sixty ships which the Athenian assembly at first voted to the Sicilian expedition, although this vote was never carried into execution; for a larger fleet was actually sent. But is it likely that such an inoperative decree which was superseded five days afterwards (Thuc. vi. 8; cp. 25) would have been recorded in an inscription? And might not the number sixty equally well refer to the second (vii. 20) or to some other expedition? Another example of the same weakness may be

found in the criticism on C. I. A. Supp. 46 *a*, where the letters ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙ and ΑΘΕΝΑΙ occur. It is conjectured by Kirchhoff that the inscription has reference to the visit of the Boeotian and Corinthian envoys to Athens, recorded in Thuc. v. 32. But of what value are such conjectures? Considering that some and not all the facts are narrated by the historian, and only a few legible inscriptions of the time are extant, it is *a priori* improbable that the number of coincidences should be very great. A few other instances may be given of a similar haste in drawing conclusions. In an inscription, C. I. A. 54, which is again inferred from the occurrence in it of datives in *αις* to be later than the 90th Olympiad, mention is made of 30 ships each having 40 hoplites on board, which are directed to collect 'the tribute in full.' These ships are identified with the 30 ships conveying 1200 Athenian hoplites which were sent to Melos in 416. But may not these numbers apply with equal probability to some other expedition in some way concerned with the tribute? The second coincidence of the 40 hoplites is of no value, as the same number of hoplites conveyed in a trireme occurs elsewhere (cp. Thuc. ii. 56 init.). Again, in a fragment of an inscription, C. I. A. 176, Boeckh (Staatsh. ii. 228) thinks that he discovers a reference to the moveable plates of gold (ἐσ[θῆτα?) with which the statue of Athenè was overlaid (Thuc. ii. 13); but Kirchhoff, having a more accurate delineation of the text, reconstructs the inscription in an entirely different manner.

One more warning against such divination may be added. From the fragment C. I. A. 51, when first discovered, it was inferred by Kirchhoff, (*a*) that it recorded a remission of the tribute (with the exception of the quota of one-sixtieth paid to the Goddess) made to some subject city; (*b*) that it dated from some year during the Peace of Nicias; the latter conclusion being based on the words *ὅτι συνδιεπολέμησαν τομπόλεμον*, an expression which was thought to imply that the war in question was concluded at the time. But six more fragments of the same inscription

have since been found (C. I. A. Supp. 51). It relates to the city of Neapolis in Thrace, and consists of two parts, the earlier dating from the archonship of Glaucippus, 410; and Kirchhoff is compelled to adopt a much more elaborate explanation of the words relating to the 'first-fruits paid to the Virgin,' which he refers, not to Athenè Polias, but to the local worship of Neapolis, and supposes to have been deducted from the Athenian tribute. But this explanation is only an hypothesis. All that can be said about the recently found fragments is that they do not confirm the old theory which Kirchhoff gave up, and that they contain no resemblance to the words in which the Methonæans are excused from the payment of their tribute with the exception of the quota (C. I. A. 40). Such conjectural interpretations should be guarded with the formula, 'subject to any future discoveries.'

On the other hand, it may be objected, that if we carry our caution very far, and hesitate in attaching some fragment of an inscription to the narrative of an ancient writer, it becomes useless to us, and can be brought into no relation with the history. And how great the temptation is to connect what we know with what we do not know may be seen in the early study of the hieroglyphics, and of the Sinaitic inscriptions. The true reply to the objection just urged is, that in any sound study of ancient Greek inscriptions we must be prepared for slender results. And the general confirmation of ancient writers afforded by these slender results is far from unimportant.

The additional facts obtained from inscriptions throw greater light upon Greek antiquities than upon Greek history. We know a good deal more than we did of the institutions and customs of the ancient Hellenes, of their family and religious life, of their games and festivals, of their public hospitalities, of their marriage and funeral ceremonies, of their military and civic divisions, of their public and private economy, of their assessments of tribute and taxation, of their societies for religious and social purposes. The constitution imposed by Athens on Erythræ (C. I. A.

9), the oaths interchanged between the Athenians and the Chalcidians of Euboea (C. I. A. Supp. 27 *a*), and the inventory yearly drawn up of the treasures in the Parthenon are some of these new facts hitherto unknown to the historian. The business of life is stereotyped before our eyes. The annual accounts of the Athenian 'Board of Admiralty' are still preserved, not in books, but on tablets of Hymettian marble. A report is extant of the works of the Erechtheum while in course of erection (ἐξειργασμένα καὶ ἡμίεργα), B.C. 409 (C. I. A. 322; Newton and Hicks, xxxv); in a somewhat later inscription (C. I. A. 324) an estimate is given of the cost of the building, including the prices of the statues and the quantities of the columns. And all these things, though the records of them are but fragmentary, come to us, not strained through books, but fresh from the chisel of the workman. We dig among the crumbling remains of antiquity, and out of these is gradually built up a real although very imperfect image of the past.

It must not be forgotten, however, that inscriptions begin to grow numerous and legible as Hellas declines, and that the greater part of the notices preserved in them relate to the time, not of her glory, but of her decay. The historian of Athens becomes aware that a long study such as Boeckh devoted to these ancient documents adds little to our knowledge of Greek history in the fifth century before Christ, but a great deal to that of Alexandrian and Roman times. He may add the warning that we must not antedate our knowledge, or transfer to the age of Pericles and Demosthenes institutions and forms of life which belong to succeeding centuries.

The use of inscriptions was not unknown to Herodotus (i. 51, 187; ii. 106, 136, 141; iii. 88; iv. 87, 88, 91; v. 59–61, 77; vi. 14; vii. 228; viii. 82), and Thucydides (vi. 54 fin., 59; cp. v. 18 fin., 23 fin., 47 fin., 56 med.), and became more frequent among later Greek writers. Collections were formed of them in the third and second centuries before Christ (see Boeckh, C. I. praef. p. viii).

Thus Philochorus the historian (fl. B.C. 307–263) is recorded by Suidas to have published *ἐπιγράμματα Ἀττικά*, Attic inscriptions. Polemo, a contemporary of Aristophanes of Byzantium (about 200 B.C.), is said to have composed a book upon 'inscriptions found in the cities' (Athenaeus, x. p. 436 D, p. 442 E), and two other books, one 'on the votive offerings at Lacedaemon' (Athenaeus, xiii. p. 574 C), and another 'on the votive offerings in the Acropolis' (Strabo, ix. p. 396; Athenaeus, xi. p. 472 B, 486 D; xiii. 587 C). A book of Theban inscriptions is attributed to Aristodemus, a Theban historian (Schol. Apollon. Rhod. ii. 906), and a work on the offerings of Delphi to Alcetas (Athenaeus, xiii. 591 C), and on offerings in general to Menetor (594 C); and there were other authors. The great collector of ancient times was Craterus the Macedonian, who published a work, *Περὶ Ψηφισμάτων*. From this work Boeckh supposes many of the decrees found in the Orators, especially in the Oration for the Crown, to have been extracted. The diligence of the 2nd century before Christ, like that of our own 19th, had no parallel in earlier times. That the earlier historians made so little use of inscriptions is surprising to us. Again and again doubtful points of the history might have been verified or corrected, had the narrator once thought of examining the monuments of the temples. The names of the archons in Diodorus Siculus and Dionysius of Halicarnassus are probably derived from this source. But in general the examination of authorities was alien to the nature of the later Greek historians, even more than to Herodotus and Thucydides. For not only do the materials of history accumulate slowly, but the method of using them and any interest about the truth of them is even more slowly acquired. And mankind do not begin to search until the objects of their search are quite or nearly lost. The lives of hundreds and hundreds of scholars have been spent to regain, if it were possible, a small fraction of those treasures which lay open to the eyes of all Athenians and were passed by unheeded of them.

One great interest of ancient inscriptions remains to be

mentioned. It is a striking thought that we have present to us some of the very words and letters on which the eye not only of the ancient historians, but of Themistocles and Pericles and Alcibiades must have gazed. Near to the spot on which it was originally erected has been found the inscription by which Pisistratus the son of Hippias commemorated his archonship. On the bronze serpent which supported the tripod dedicated at Delphi, and is now preserved in the hippodrome of Constantinople, may be read to this day the names of the allied states which fought at Plataea. In the Louvre at Paris is still to be seen the tablet (already referred to) on which a record is preserved of Athenians belonging to a single tribe who fell in one year in many distant lands, a living monument of the superhuman energy which at that time inspired the Athenian people. And although such a reflection adds nothing to our knowledge, it increases the feeling with which we regard these monuments, and quickens and enlivens the study of them. It is not that the ancients themselves thought or could have thought of them with the interest which Greek history has imparted to them, or that Themistocles and Pericles derived their greatness from the works which were the expression of it. But we, looking back, like to see with our own eyes what we have been reading and hearing about all our lives, and to be connected by a new, though a fanciful tie, with the past.

One of the most important facts to be gathered from Greek inscriptions is the very general one, that none of them are older than the seventh century before Christ. Not only is little or nothing known of the ages which preceded, but the non-existence of records and documents seems to show that there was not much to be known of them. Hellenic civilisation and Hellenic art burst suddenly into life: there was no knowledge 'hoary with age' (Plato, Tim. 22 B); nor any architecture or sculpture which had existed in the same form during thousands of years; nor slow growth or change of style such as was developed in mediæval times; at any rate there is no

evidence of it. Nor is there any reason to believe that the use of writing was common in Hellas before the Persian war. The Greek was not weighed down by records of his ancestors extending, as in Egypt, over many thousand years. The tradition of the Trojan war was the cloud which bounded his horizon; nothing which came before was known to him; nothing which followed had any real hold on his imagination. There may have been great actions performed in the Dorian settlement of the Peloponnesus, or in the Messenian wars, but they made no impression on the mind of Hellas, which seemed to be absorbed and satisfied by the tale of Troy commemorating the common action of the whole people.

That in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. the practice of writing on stone or marble was rare, and still rarer that of writing on papyri and skins, seems to be proved negatively by the silence of Homer, the scarcity of written monuments, the non-existence of prose composition. But the interval between the Peloponnesian and Persian wars was prolific in inscriptions. At Athens, and probably in other centres of Greek life and religion, they must have been as numerous as the gravestones in a modern churchyard, and had as little sacredness in the eyes of posterity. And to pursue the homely simile a little further, as it is uncommon to meet with a tombstone of the seventeenth century in any parish churchyard and in any church which is not a cathedral, so in ancient times Greek inscriptions were liable to be constantly removed and were rarely preserved, except in a great temple such as the Parthenon at Athens, or the temple of Apollo at Delphi. There was not room enough for all; and the earlier and more valuable ones were buried under the accumulations of a later generation to which they yielded place. It is probably owing to the greater accumulation, and consequently to the greater destruction of inscriptions which took place at Athens, that fewer archaic ones are to be found there than in the islands.

The literary or poetical value of Greek inscriptions is

not great. Few like the epitaph of Simonides on Archedicè (Thuc. vi. 59) bear the stamp of a great mind. To revert once more to our homely simile, they may be said to stand in the same relation to the works of the great lyric or dramatic poets, as the poetical or other effusions found in churches and cathedrals to the masterpieces of English literature, though preserved by Greek moderation and good taste from the absurdity and eccentricity of their modern counterparts. Two fragments in verse touch us with the common feeling of humanity.

C. I. A. 463 (written *βουστροφηδόν*):—

[Εἶτ' ἀστό]ς τις ἀνὴρ εἴτε ξένος | ἄλ(λ)οθεν ἐλθών,
Τέτ(τ)ιχον οἰκτίρα|ς, ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν, παρίτω,
ἐν πολέμῳ | φθίμενον, νεαρὰν ἥβην ὀλέσαν|τα.
ταῦτ' ἀποδυράμενοι νεῖσθε ἐπ|ὶ πρᾶγμ' ἀγαθόν.

C. I. A. 469:—

Σῆμα Φρασικλείας· | κούρη κεκλή[σο]μαι | αἰεί,
ἀντὶ γάμου | παρὰ θεῶν τοῦτο | λαχοῦσ' ὄνομα.

Two other inscriptions have found their way into the Anthology. The first is attributed by the collector without much foundation to Anacreon.

C. I. A. 381:—

Πρὶμμὲν Καλλιτέλης ἱδρύσατ[ο· τόνδε δ' ἐκείνου
ἔ]γ[γ]ονοι ἐστήσαν[θ', οἷς χάριν ἀντιδίδου].
(Anthol. Pal. 6. 138.)

C. I. A. 403:—

[Τόνδε πυρῆς] ἀνέθηκε πολυμνήστου φίλο[ς υἱός]
εὐξάμενος δεκάτην Παλλάδι τριτογενεῖ.
Κυδωνιέτας (ιάτας or ιάτης?) Κρήσιλας ἐργάσσατο.

These last words are corrupted by the MSS. of the Anthology (Anthol. Pal. 13. 13) into—

κυδωνίαι τὰς κρίσιας εἰργάσατο.

The authority of Greek inscriptions is only impaired by the chance of their being more recent than the events to which they relate. When the human mind was seeking too late to recover the past, it was natural that the names

of kings or magistrates should be arranged in chronological order and inscribed on monuments. But such lists are justly suspected when they extend beyond the ordinary limits of Greek history. Who will guarantee the catalogues of Olympian victors or Spartan kings whose names and dates alone are recorded, while of their actions we are ignorant? At any rate we cannot be certain of their genuineness, for they mount up to a time which is unknown to us, and we have no records by which we can test them.

A few ancient inscriptions, like that which recorded the peace of Cimon and was suspected by Theopompus on account of the Ionic letters (note viii. 56. 4), may have been forgeries or perhaps restorations of older inscriptions in accordance with a later tradition. Some, like the Sigean inscription, in the opinion of Boeckh, though maintained by Kirchhoff and others to be genuine, may have been imitations of the archaic. Others again, like the Parian marble, without being forgeries may be regarded as literary works of a later age, having no more pretension to a monumental character than a MS. or printed book. Others erected by states or individuals may have been the expressions of some ancient tradition. Their character can only be determined by a familiar knowledge of the letters, words, and forms which occur in them and by their agreement with some other record of the events to which they refer. But owing to the deficiency of information, or the mutilation of the inscription itself, the diagnosis of the critic may often be at fault. The definition of forgery itself is not quite simple; for it admits of degrees; fiction may easily mingle with truth; and the deception may be more or less conscious to the inventor. In modern as well as in ancient times there have been a few instances of fraud. An archæologist of the last century (Fourmont) destroyed some of his materials and invented others (Boeckh, C. I. G. p. 61 ff.). At the time the inventor escapes with impunity: there is no one to follow him in his travels through a country which can hardly be traversed

with safety: the knowledge and experience do not as yet exist which can detect his forgeries. But the time comes when some internal or external evidence rises up against him; when the use of a letter or a mark, the anachronism of thought or of fact, unexpectedly betrays him. Forgery has been much more difficult in the nineteenth century than in the eighteenth, and in the later half than in the first half of the century. It should be remembered also that literary forgery easily arises out of error; like many other kinds of dishonesty, it contains an admixture of inaccuracy. The careless enthusiastic scholar makes an imperfect copy of a short fragment; he hastily restores it according to some preconceived idea, and he confuses in his mind or in his tablets his own restoration and the actual copy; he commits himself to some inference which he deduces from it, and the work of imposture is complete; he

'Makes such a sinner of his memory,

as

To credit his own lie.'

A lively imagination, the love of creating a sensation, the habit of poring over the same words or letters during many years may create a state of the intellect in which the distinction between truth and falsehood is lost. Theories crowd upon the discoverer thick and fast, and the facts of which he never had a firm grasp are easily, and perhaps unconsciously, bent or altered to suit them. But we need not pursue further the analysis of imposture. Before accepting unhesitatingly the testimony of any archæologist to an ancient inscription, we must ask the old question, 'Where are the originals?'

The inscriptions which confirm or illustrate the narrative of Thucydides may be arranged in four classes:—

I. Those relating to finance, in which are included—

i. An estimate of the tribute to be paid by the allies, called *τάξις φόρου*.

ii. The quotas of the whole sum actually received

which were deducted year by year from the tribute and paid over to the goddess Athenè, being $\frac{1}{60}$th or a mina for a talent. (There were doubtless accounts of the larger sums received, but none of these have been discovered.)

iii. Inventories of gold and silver plate and of other valuables contained in the Parthenon.

iv. Accounts of sums paid out of the treasury and spent in expeditions, buildings, festivals, &c., and of debts owing or repaid to Athenè and other deities.

II. Decrees of the *βουλή* or *ἐκκλησία* (not financial) relating to persons, events, or institutions commemorated in the history. Under this head are included treaties with foreign states, agreements with allies, grants of privileges to states or individuals.

III. Dedicatory inscriptions.

IV. Sepulchral inscriptions.

The lists of quotas realize to us the greatness of the Athenian empire. Though not justifying the poetical boast of Aristophanes in the Wasps, 707, who reckons the number of Athenian tributaries at 1000, they contain the names of 257 states: if we add some other cities mentioned in the *τάξις φόρου* only, the number will exceed 300. In neither are included numerous Hellenic cities on the Euxine and in the interior of Lycia and Caria, or the great island of Cyprus, which were allies, but with a few exceptions not tributaries; in the language of Thucydides, *σύμμαχοι* but not *ὑπήκοοι* (vii. 57 init.). That they were present to the mind of Aristophanes when he described the Athenian empire as extending *ἀπὸ τοῦ Πόντου μέχρι Σαρδοῦς* is evident. The relation of these cities to Athens would be generally of a friendly nature. Living under her protection, but not paying tribute, they were the outer defences of her empire. The cities of Macedonia were similarly situated, and for a similar reason were not included in the tribute lists, with the exception of three (C. I. A. 40 and 257), Methonè, Æson, and Dicaeopolis, which about 427 B.C. had their tribute remitted, all but

the quotas paid to the Goddess. They were in constant danger from the surrounding barbarians or from the Macedonian kings, and having to defend themselves could not be expected to pay for others. Since they had it in their power at any time to become a part of the Macedonian kingdom, the imposition of a heavy tax would have been too severe a test of their loyalty. (See the inscription relating to Methonè, C. I. A. 40, and for a discussion of all these points, Köhler, Delisch-Attisches Bund, cap. 3). There was another class of tributaries, those on the Persian border, of whom we know but little; they probably hesitated in their allegiance between the Athenians and the Persian king, and paid tribute accordingly (cp. note on viii. 5. 5). Several states, e.g. Amphipolis, Samos, are not to be found in the quota lists, although Thucydides numbers Samos among the tributaries of Athens (vii. 57 init.). (See Boeckh, Staatshaush. vol. ii. p. 657 ff.) By 424, when Cythera was reduced (iv. 57 fin.), the lists have become fragmentary. The Athenian Cleruchi at Lesbos and other places seem not to have paid tribute (cp. Kirchhoff, Tributpflichtigkeit der Att. Kler., Abhandl. der Berl. Acad., 1878).

I. i. The τάξις φόρου (C. I. A. 37) is a vast inscription broken into about thirty fragments. Not more than a sixth part of the whole is preserved; and the position of several of the smaller fragments cannot be certainly ascertained. It is an estimate of the tribute to be paid by the allies, preceded by two decrees, out of which it is difficult to gather a connected meaning, though they evidently relate to the appointment of officers for the regulation of the tribute ('two for the Chalcidian cities, two for Ionia, two for the islands, and two for the Hellespont;' l. 5, p. xviii, supra), and contain penalties to be inflicted on the Prytanes if they fail in despatching the business before the assembly. The most interesting passages of these decrees which can be restored with any approach to certainty are the following. Line 22 ff.:—

'Let the Prytany Ægeis be required to bring these matters before the people as soon as it enters upon office,

on the third day when the sacrifices are over, before anything else; and if they be not completed on that day, let them be proceeded with on the following day before anything else; and so on until the business is finished within the term of the aforesaid Prytany: and if the Prytanes fail to bring it before the people, or do not finish the matter within their own term of office, let every one of them pay a fine of 10,000 drachmae.'

Another passage fixes the year of the inscription (l. 44 ff.): 'Thudippus proposed: That the cities for which the senate fixed the tribute, in the year of which Pleistias was the first Registrar (*ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς ἧ Πλειστίας πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευε*, see Schömann, Alterthümer, vol. i. p. 401), in the Archonship of Stratocles, shall all bring an ox to the great Panathenaea.' The Archonship of Stratocles falls in Ol. 88. 4, and fixes the date of the inscription, or at any rate of the decree, to this year; it probably belongs to the first half of it (B. C. 425). Once more, l. 47 ff.: 'The senate fixed the tribute of the cities in the year of which Pleistias was the first Registrar, in the Archonship of Stratocles, as follows.' Then comes a long list of tributary cities, divided (as in some of the quota lists, see infra) into 4 classes: (1) the Islanders; (2) the Ionian and Carian cities; (3) the Thracian; (4) the Hellespontian cities. The list is very imperfect, and the payments imposed on the allies are still more so. The sums to be paid by the Islanders, *νησιωτικὸς φόρος*, and the names to which they are appended, are the most complete part. The names of one Ionian city and of twelve Carian (four of the Carian cities occurring nowhere else), with their tribute, are also preserved. Of the Thracian and Hellespontian tribute there are a few doubtful memoranda; of Thracian and Hellespontian names there are several, and many more Ionian and Carian, but unfortunately the amount to be paid is lost; and there are some sums with no names, or only fragments of names opposite to them.

I. ii. The quota lists, like the *τάξις φόρου*, are very imperfectly preserved. They are made up of many small

fragments; the number at present discovered is about 150. They begin in the year 454 and end in 421 B.C. The portion of them with which the series commences was originally inscribed on a single rectangular block of Pentelic marble; this ends in 440. Another, engraven on a similar block but more incomplete, and differently restored by Köhler and Kirchhoff, extends to 428 B.C. (Köhler) or to 432 B.C. (Kirchhoff). The other extant lists are engraven on tablets. A gradual change in the form of the letters is observable in the successive years. While the more archaic nowhere appear in them, the forms AABNPSΩ still for a time remain. (Köhler, Delisch-Attisches Bund, p. 4.) The fragments of the inscription which have been discovered since the time of Boeckh enable us to correct two mistakes into which he has fallen: (1) he places the commencement of the series in 447 B.C. instead of 454; (2) he estimates the quota paid to the Goddess at $\frac{1}{120}$ instead of $\frac{1}{60}$ (see note on v. 18 fin.).

Of these two great monuments we may remark that they have scarcely any connexion with each other. One relates to a single year, the other extends over a period of 33 years. The *τάξις φόρου* contains only the tribute to be paid by the Islanders, and a small part of the assessments made on the Ionians, Carians, and Hellespontians. The quota lists contain accounts more or less complete in different years of all these, as well as of the Thracian tributaries; they are in some years nearly perfect, so that we cannot suppose many cities to be accidentally wanting in them. Of those subsequent to the *τάξις φόρου* we have only fragments of which little can be made. Nor are we certain that if both had been completely preserved to us the quota lists would have agreed precisely (*μνᾶ ἀπὸ ταλάντου*) with the *τάξις φόρου*. For the one is a record of the sums actually received, or rather of a portion of them, the other is only an estimate of money which the Athenian magistrates meant or expected to collect. Moreover, the *τάξις φόρου* contains nearly fifty names not mentioned in the tribute lists, and these of course contain many not found in the *τάξις φόρου*.

The passages in Thucydides which relate to the tribute are five in number.

(1) i. 96. 'Thus the Athenians by the good-will of the allies, who detested Pausanias, obtained the leadership. They immediately fixed which of the cities should supply money and which of them ships for the war against the Barbarians, the avowed object being to compensate themselves and the allies for their losses by devastating the King's country. Then was first instituted at Athens the office of Hellenotamiæ, or Hellenic treasurers, who received the tribute, for so the payment was termed. The amount was originally fixed at 460 talents. The island of Delos was the treasury, and the meetings of the allies were held in the temple.' This was the φόρος imposed in the time of Aristides to which allusion is made in the treaty of 421 between the Lacedaemonians and Athenians (see infra, v. 18). The time at which the transfer of the treasury from Delos to Athens was effected is not mentioned in Thucydides or in any trustworthy writer: the sole authority on which the date rests is that of Justin (iii. 6. 4), who places the event after the return of the Athenians from Ithomè, about 461. The year assumed by Köhler, 454, is a conjecture not improbable in itself, but based solely on the fact that the series of the quota lists begins in that year (p. 99 ff., 107, 108.)

(2) v. 18 med. 'The inhabitants of any cities which the Lacedaemonians deliver over to the Athenians may depart whithersoever they please and take their property with them. The said cities shall be independent, but shall pay the tribute which was fixed in the time of Aristides.'

(3) i. 99 init. 'The causes which led to the defection of the allies were of different kinds, the principal being their neglect to pay the tribute or to furnish ships, and, in some cases, failure of military service.'

(4) ii. 13 med. At the commencement of the war Pericles tells the Athenians that 'the state of their finances was encouraging; they had on an average 600 talents coming in annually from their allies, to say nothing of their other revenue.'

(5) vii. 28 fin. Once more, after the fortification of Decelea we are informed, 'It was at this time that they imposed upon their allies, instead of the tribute, a duty of five per cent. on all things imported and exported by sea, thinking that this would be more productive.' (See note *in loco.*)

In these passages nothing is said (*a*) of the steps by which the tribute was raised from 460 to 600 talents; or (*b*) of the increase or diminution at different times in the number of tributaries; or (*c*) of the increase from 600 to 1200 talents mentioned in the Orators, a fact which has been doubted by Grote chiefly in consequence of the silence of Thucydides. If light can be thrown upon any of these subjects it must be obtained from inscriptions.

(*a*) and (*b*). Thucydides says that 'the amount of the tribute was originally fixed at 460 talents.' From the quota lists it appears that the amount paid by the allies was altered in the years 450 and 446 B.C., the effect of the new assessments being sometimes to raise, but more often to lower it, while in numerous cases it remained unchanged. Thasos, for example, was raised from 3 to 30 talents, while the Thracian Chersonese was lowered from 18 talents to 1 talent, Ephesus from 7½ to 6 talents, Colophon from 3 to 1½, Phocaea from 3 to 2; and there is a net reduction of 52 talents in all on the cities of which the names and payments have been preserved. We may conjecture that the rise in the Thasian tribute is due to the increased productiveness of the silver mines on the island or the restoration of those on the continent, see Thuc. i. 101; and the diminution of it in the case of the Thracian Chersonese to the increasing dangers which threatened that part of the country. Such changes are also attributable to the rearrangement of the *συντέλειαι*, or groups of cities which contributed in common. The Sermylians pay a talent and a half after 450, but the *Σερμυλιῆς καὶ συντελεῖς* pay five talents after 446. We must suppose the general diminution to have been compensated by an increase in numbers, or the Athenians would have lost. Again, the average tribute between the years 446 and 440, for which years the lists are fairly complete, taken from

190 cities, amounts to 423 talents and 3070 drachmae, the quota to the Goddess being 7 talents 351 drachmae. It is alleged that, if we allow for defaulters, this sum makes a near approach to the 460 talents fixed by Aristides.

But how are these facts to be reconciled with the other statement of Thucydides that the Athenians, 'at the beginning of the war, had on an average 600 talents coming in from their allies'? There are indications that the tribute of the cities was raised before the year 434 (Köhler, 438 Kirchhoff), the net increase in the Thracian tribute being 17 talents, 940 drachmae. Now the tribute lists are fragmentary, and the sums set against the names of the allies are only extant in a part of them. We must acknowledge therefore that most of the inferences which are drawn from them might have been different or have appeared in a different light if the whole of the great inscription had been preserved. They are all 'subject to future discoveries;' and this particular inference is drawn only from the Thracian and from some of the Carian and Ionian cities. A glance at the table of tributary states printed at the end of Kirchhoff, C. I. A. vol. i, will show how imperfect our information is; and also that in many cases the payment remained the same, and in a few was lowered instead of raised. But while recognising this general uncertainty, we admit with Köhler that there appears to be a rise in the amount of the tax shortly before the commencement of the war; this rise may explain the difference between 460 and 600 talents. We observe further that the rise is in the majority of cases effected by the reimposition of the rate of tribute found in the earliest extant quota lists, and therefore probably of the original tax of Aristides, on the increased numbers of the Athenian confederacy. And there is reason to think that not all the tribute paid into the Athenian treasury was included in the tribute lists.

We are more certain, however, of the general fact that the tribute was not a fixed sum, but liable to be increased or diminished on grounds at which we can only guess. It appears from Xenophon (?), De Republica Atheniensium,

3. 5, that new estimates were made out every fourth year: *τὸ δὲ μέγιστον εἴρηται πλὴν αἱ τάξεις τοῦ φόρου· τοῦτο δὲ γίγνεται ὡς τὰ πολλὰ δι' ἔτους πέμπτου.* As a rule they remained the same during the interval, but were liable to be changed at the end of it. They were originally framed in the first of the four Panathenaic years, but were afterwards transferred to the second (or from the third to the fourth year of the corresponding Olympiad), as appears probable from a comparison of the *τάξις φόρου* with the quota lists, (although it must be remembered that after the first fifteen years the latter become more fragmentary). The tribute lists show a succession of slightly varying amounts, not corresponding, at any time, exactly either to the sum of 460 or of 600 talents. (Compare the qualifying words *ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολύ* in the financial statement of Pericles, ii. 13 med.) The original amount fixed by Aristides was remembered at the peace of Nicias as setting a limit to the exactions of the Athenians.

Thucydides further tells us (i. 99) that the allies soon began to contribute money instead of ships (*ἐτάξαντο ἀντὶ τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἱκνούμενον ἀνάλωμα φέρειν*), and we might have expected the total to be swelled by these additional contributions. But there appears to be no variation in the amount of the tribute, or rather of the quota to the Goddess by which it is indicated, corresponding to this fact. It is true that the extant quotas only begin in the year 454 B.C., and that the change from money to ships may have been completed before that time. Still a difficulty remains. For the tribute imposed by Aristides, instead of falling from 460 to 423 talents, would have been proportionably increased; in other words, the defaulters in ships would have paid more money. As from the first it was arranged that some were to supply money and others ships, it can hardly be supposed that the latter are included in the contributors to the 460 talents. All the allies, with the exception of the Lesbians and Chians, had been reduced to servitude in the interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, and they had given up supplying ships to the common cause. We

should expect therefore, unless their lands were transferred to Athenian citizens, as later in the case of Lesbos (iii. 50), that the allies who had once contributed ships would have increased the tribute recorded in the quota lists. The amount would have been swelled by large sums paid by the allies, made up both of penalties reimbursing the Athenians for the expenses of the war when they rebelled (cp. i. 101 fin., *χρήματα ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν*), and of taxes over and above the 460 talents contributed in lieu of the ships. But there is no trace of any such increase. Nor is it likely that the payments of the other allies were pro rata diminished, for the resources of the confederacy would have been proportionably impaired; i. e. the Athenians would only have had the same amount of money and no ships or compensation for losses in war.

Other questions arise to which we can give no answers. How and when were new states admitted? Why are subject states such as Samos, and certain places cited as tributaries by Stephanus Byzantinus and the lexicographers from Craterus (Nymphaeum,—cp. NY in the *τάξις φόρου*, No. 24, Köhler,—Dorus, Deira, Marcaei), not included in the quota lists? Why do others, such as Melos which we know, and Thera, which we naturally suppose, to have been at the time allies of Lacedaemon, occur in the *τάξις φόρου*? Is it possible that tribute was paid of which no quota was dedicated to the Goddess, as we remark on the other hand that in some states (Methonè, Æson, Dicaeopolis) the quota to the Goddess continued to be paid when the tax had been remitted? Nothing either in the history or in the inscriptions throws light upon these difficulties, which though not insuperable, can only be matters of speculation.

(*c*) No mention occurs in Thucydides of the doubling of the tribute money, a measure implied in the Orators, Andocides, De Pac. (iii.) 9, Aeschines, De F. L. (ii.) 186, who speak of above 1200 talents coming in during the peace of Nicias; and attributed to Alcibiades by the Pseudo-Andocides (in Alcib. 11; see note on v. 18. 5).

There is nothing improbable in the fact itself. The

measure could have been accomplished without risk either after the Athenian triumph at Sphacteria, when the Lacedemonian power was for a time paralysed, or during the peace of Nicias. The increase in the tribute would also account for the abundance of money which Athens is recorded by Thucydides to have possessed immediately before the Syracusan expedition. And although the authority of the Orators is in general not great, it may be argued that Andocides was contemporary with the change, and that there is no reason for questioning his testimony to a fact which must have been notorious at the time. (But are we certain that the oration De Pace is genuine?)

Köhler and Kirchhoff always speak of this question as hitherto doubtful but now finally determined by the evidence of the monuments. In the note referred to above, it was assumed, on their authority, that the *τάξις φόρου* furnished a convincing proof of a great increase of the tribute money in the year to which it relates; an independent examination of the *τάξις* and a comparison of the quota lists show that the additional evidence has been greatly overstated, and that the fact still remains, as far as the testimony of inscriptions goes, unproven.

The reader may be once more reminded, (1) that the *τάξις φόρου* is an estimate of the whole tribute to be received in the single year $\frac{4}{4}\frac{2}{2}\frac{5}{6}$; and that it contains in anything like a complete form only the *νησιωτικὸς φόρος*, or tribute of the Islands, a portion amounting to about $\frac{1}{8}$th of the Carian tribute, and one short fragment of uncertain value, supplemented by another short fragment relating to the Hellespontian tribute; (2) That the quota lists (though with several lacunae) extend over more than thirty years. One incomplete list (C. I. A. 259) and three smaller fragments (C. I. A. 251, 262, 263) are assigned to the same date as the *τάξις φόρου*, or to a date somewhat later, on the ground of the extensive variations which they present when compared with the earlier quota lists. In the case of 259, however, the resemblance to the older lists is more striking than the difference. A few other fragments are

extant of later date, but they throw no light on the present question. (One of these, 258, is supposed to belong to the last years of the war; another, 260, supplies the date of the whole series of quota lists. See note on v. 18. 5.)

The facts are as follows.

The Ionian tribute, of which some record is preserved in two of these later fragments (251, 262) and in the *τάξις φόρου*, exhibits a rise from 8 talents 2600 drachmae to 25 talents 3100 drachmae. But (1) this calculation is made on a very inadequate basis, for only 6 out of 36 or $\frac{1}{6}$th of the payments of the Ionic cities can be compared with previous payments; and (2) the difference is more than accounted for by two cities: Clazomenae raised from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 talents, Miletus raised from 5 to 10 talents. On the other hand, Colophon is lowered from $1\frac{1}{2}$ talents to 500 drachmae. And the one Ionian city, Elæus in Erythræa, which appears in the *τάξις φόρου*, pays what it did before, 100 drachmae.

The Hellespontian tribute exhibits a rise from 68 talents 2680 drachmae to 81 talents 4990 drachmae. This calculation is made upon a total of 22 out of 44 cities, or $\frac{1}{2}$, and is based only on the quota list contained in C. I. A. 259, which is not necessarily subsequent to the *τάξις φόρου*. A short memorandum of the Hellespontian tribute which occurs in the *τάξις φόρου* points to a very different result. It is a mere fragment, or rather we have two fragments, belonging to different inscriptions (for they overlap), of which one has been restored by conjecture from the other. They are as follows:—

(1) C. I. A. 37. *z*″ (the lower portion):—

ELLE. ⁻ONTIOΦOP
ΞΦALA.ON
ΡΦΦΦΦΡΡHHI
⁻AIAIΠOLEΣ
⁻TANTAN
POIT⁻
NEΣC

(2) C. I. A. 543, and Appendix :—

ΚΕΦ
ΗΗΗ𐅄
ΑΚΤΑ

ΤΤ
Ἑλλη[σ]ποντίου φόρ[ου]
κεφάλα[ι]ον
ΗΗΗ𐅄ΦΦΦ𐅄ΗΗΗ (295 talents 5300 drachmae)
Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις
ΤΤ Ἄνταν[δρος] } Cp. Thuc. iv. 52, 75;
Ῥοίτ[ειον] } Köhler, pp. 209, 210.
Νησο-

The restored inscription is supposed to prove that the Hellespontian tribute amounted to 295 talents 5300 drachmae. But the tribute calculated upon the lists of 446–440 was about 80 talents. The increase therefore, allowing for the rise previous to the war, would be at the rate of nearly 3 to 1, not of 2 to 1. But if the longer fragment of the quota lists just mentioned is assigned to a date subsequent to that of the τάξις φόρου the increase would be only about $\frac{1}{5}$th. Thus the τάξις φόρου, supposing the conjectural restoration of the fragments to be admitted (and they certainly exhibit a curious coincidence), would prove too much, the quota lists too little.

If we assume the total of the Hellespontian tribute to have amounted to the larger sum, we may suppose the cities of the Pontus to have been included in it: of four of these we perhaps find traces in the τάξις φόρου, ΝΥ[ΜΦΑΙΟΝ], ΚΕ[ΡΑΣΟΥΣ], ΠΑΤ[ΡΑΕΥΣ], ΝΙΚ[ΩΝΙΑ] (C.I.A. 37 z′′′′ and z′′′′′, and Köhler, pp. 74, 75). The magnitude of the amount and the conjectural basis on which it rests raise a suspicion. If, on the other hand, we reject the coincidence and adopt the result deduced from the quota lists only, then the Hellespontian tribute was raised about $\frac{1}{5}$th. But this inference is drawn from the payments of not more than half (although the more important half) of the

contributary states. And as in the case of the Ionian tribute, the whole difference or more than the difference is caused by a great rise in three states: Byzantium from 18 talents 1800 drachmae to 21 talents 3420 drachmae; the Daunioteichitae from 1000 drachmae to 2 talents 4000 drachmae; and the Selymbrians from 900 drachmae to 9 talents.

The Thracian tribute contained in the same quota list, as far as we can judge from even more imperfect data (for the calculation can only be based on a comparison of 22 out of 61 cities, the remainder being effaced or wanting), exhibits not a rise but a fall, from 89 talents 1500 drachmae to 87 talents 3585 drachmae.

The Carian tribute is obtained from the *τάξις φόρου*, which is compared with the quota lists of previous years, and from two fragments of the quota lists, C. I. A. 262, 263. The contributions of the towns admitting comparison are fixed in the earlier quota lists at 15 talents 2530 drachmae, in the fragments of quota lists supposed to be later and in the *τάξις φόρου* at 22 talents 4000 drachmae.

This is the whole sum imposed upon fourteen cities, of which six are found in the quota lists and eight in the *τάξις φόρου*, the increase being confined entirely to the former, which show a rise from 12 talents 3000 drachmae to 19 talents 4500 drachmae, while in the *τάξις φόρου* compared with the earlier quota lists there is on the whole a very slight decrease, viz. from 2 talents 5530 drachmae to 2 talents 5500 drachmae. But the entire calculation rests on a most insufficient basis, the names and payments legible being only 14 out of 68.

Lastly, we have the Island tribute, which is obtained from the comparison of the *τάξις φόρου* alone with the earlier quota lists. From this comparison we find that the tribute is very nearly doubled; it increases from 59 talents 4800 drachmae to 119 talents 5000 drachmae. But this calculation again rests on insufficient grounds, though considerably fuller than any of those which have preceded. For the names and assessments of 16 places out of 28 are still legible.

And this is in fact the main argument: 'The *νησιωτικὸς φόρος*, of which a little over the half has been preserved to us, is more than doubled; and the accounts of the other tributaries, if they were preserved, would show that they had been raised in a nearly similar proportion.'

The figures which form the basis of these calculations are taken from the table of tributary cities and the amount paid by them at the end of Kirchhoff, C. I. A., vol. i. It is an element of uncertainty which must not be overlooked, that owing to the incomplete state of the tribute lists we can often only compare the *τάξις* of 425 or the tribute recorded in the later fragments with the tribute actually paid many years before.

Let us now consider the nature of the proof, or rather want of proof, that pervades the whole argument:—

(1) None of the comparisons are made upon an adequate basis, being taken only upon about $\frac{1}{8}$th (Ionia), $\frac{1}{2}$ (Hellespont), $\frac{1}{3}$rd (Thrace), $\frac{1}{5}$th (Caria), $\frac{1}{2}$ (Islands).

(2) None of the sums obtained exhibit a ratio of 2 : 1; but of 25 t. 3100 dr. : 8 t. 2600 dr. (Ionia); 81 t. 4990 dr.: 68 t. 2680 dr. (Hellespont, quota list, 257); 87 t. 3585 dr.: 89 t. 1500 dr. (Thrace, quota list, 257); 22 t. 4000 dr. : 15 t. 2530 dr. (Caria); 119 t. 5000 dr. : 59 t. 4800 dr. (Islands, *τάξις φόρου*).

(3) The whole number of cities which furnish the increase is only 80. Of these 7 are precisely doubled; 34 pay the same tribute as before.

(4) The irregularity in the increase of the tribute in the states of which the names and payments are preserved to us makes it impossible to argue with any degree of certainty from them to the states whose names and payments are unknown to us. And the comparison of the earlier quota lists shows that extensive, and to us inexplicable, changes in the amount paid were far from uncommon.

(5) If the largest fragment of the quota lists (no. 259), containing part of the Thracian and Hellespontian tribute, be assumed to be contemporary with or subsequent to the *τάξις φόρου*, the evidence obtained from it is rather un-

favourable than favourable to the hypothesis of the doubling of the tribute. But if no connexion can be established between the quota lists and the τάξις φόρου, or only between the quota lists and three small fragments of the τάξις, then the argument turns wholly on the probability that the assessments of the other states were raised in the same proportion as those of the Islanders. It may be argued in reply to what is only a presumption that the Island tributaries were more completely under the control of the Athenians, and therefore more likely to have had their tribute raised.

Thus we are driven to the conclusion that the uncertainty respecting the doubling of the tribute has not been entirely removed. It is very probable that the Athenians as they increased in power increased their demands on the allies. It is more probable than not that Andocides (?) was right when he implies that the tribute had increased from 600 to 1200 talents, for the increase must have taken place in his own time. Neither he nor any one else says that the tribute was doubled in 425; his statement would be satisfied if the Athenians were receiving 1200 talents from their allies at any time during the peace of Nicias. Nor is the argument strong from the silence of Thucydides. His manner of writing is so different from that of a modern historian, that it is difficult to argue beforehand what events or measures he would have inserted in his history, and what he would have omitted. All these probabilities remain as they were before. But not much can be added to the argument from an examination of inscriptions; except as regards the Islands they leave the question nearly as it was.

One other statement remains to be discussed. It is asserted with confidence by Köhler (p. 129) that the quota lists contain mention of arrears. This assertion rests (1) on the fact that the names of certain states occur twice or even oftener in the same lists, being those of the fifth and eighth years; and (2) further, in the sixth and eighth lists some coincidences appear of defects and excesses in the payment. Abdera, for example, in the sixth year pays a quota of

1400 drachmae to the Goddess, 100 drachmae less than the ordinary payment: in the eighth year there is no entry of a larger payment, but a small sum of 100 drachmae is recorded. It is inferred therefore that, while the regular payment is lost or effaced, the 100 drachmae represent the arrear of the sixth year. In like manner the ordinary payment of Thasos is 300 drachmae, whereas in the sixth year the treasury of the Goddess only acknowledges the receipt of 246 drachmae. But there appears in the eighth year a single payment of 54 drachmae credited to Thasos. This again is explained as an arrear, 246 drachmae and 54 drachmae = 300 drachmae. Once more, the whole payment of Dardanus in ordinary years is 100 drachmae. But Dardanus is found paying 46 drachmae in the sixth year and 54 in the eighth year. Upon these three coincidences the theory of arrears seems chiefly to rest.

We may assume that there is some explanation of the same names recurring more than once in the lists. But it does not follow that the explanation can be discovered in the extant lists with any degree of certainty. To the theory of arrears several objections may be made. (1) The alleged coincidences are only found in three instances. Thirteen other instances are cited by Köhler as of more or less weight; but in three of these the payment of the sixth year is fragmentary; in two the payment of the sixth year only, in eight the payment of the eighth year only is preserved; so that there is no possibility of comparison. (2) In four of the entries belonging to the eighth year we find the names recorded not twice but only once; and we conjecture from the smallness of this payment that the regular tribute must have found a place somewhere else. But of this there is no evidence. (3) In the three principal instances the arrears supposed to be paid up belong not to the previous year, but to the year before that. Are we to suppose that there was first of all a part payment and an arrear, then a full payment in the following year, and in the year after that a full payment with the arrear paid up? May we not suggest that if the quota lists had been perfect this and

some other inferences which have been drawn from them would disappear? (4) There is some presumption that the arrears of the quota, if they entered into the accounts at all, would be more numerous; and (5) that they would be described under a separate heading.

Another almost equally probable explanation of the repetition may be gathered from the quota lists themselves. The names of several cities occur twice over in the fifteenth, sixteenth, eighteenth, nineteenth years of the quota lists, the first time for a larger sum, the second time for a smaller. Against the second sum is added the word *ἐπιφορᾶς*, or additional tribute. For example, in the Ionian quota (fifteenth year) there is an entry of a payment from the Notians, 33 drachmae 2 obols, which is immediately followed by a second entry,—'Νοτιῆς *ἐπιφορᾶς* 5 drachmae 3½ obols.' Of such entries there are in all about twenty. It is perhaps worth observing that they all belong to a period later than the supposed arrears. It may also be remarked that amongst these repeated entries occurs the following,—'Δαρδανῆς 100 drachmae, Δαρδανῆς *ἐπιφορᾶς* 4 drachmae 2 obols;' and that the name Δαρδανῆς also occurs among the supposed arrears in the eighth year of the lists. It is evident then that other payments besides the *φόρος* are included in the quota lists, and it is possible that the sums afterwards called *ἐπιφοραί* were inserted in the earlier lists without a distinguishing note. What was the nature of these payments we cannot precisely tell. They may have been arrears; or they may have been payments about which there was a dispute between the allies and the Athenians; possibly they were dues or fines, or rather percentages of them paid to the Goddess. One conjecture is as good as another. But instead of offering conjectures which are gradually assumed to be certainties, it is better simply to acknowledge that the repetition of the same names in the same year, sometimes with, sometimes without the mark *ἐπιφορᾶς*, is a curious fact which remains unexplained.

Some lesser points of connexion between the inscriptions

relating to the tribute and the narrative of Thucydides are the following:—

(1) The name of Melos occurs among the tributaries in the *τάξις φόρου* (B.C. 425–424). But Melos was not taken by the Athenians until the year 416 B.C. There is however no necessary discrepancy between the inscription and the narrative. The *τάξις φόρου*, as has been already remarked, is only an estimate of money to be received, not a record of actual payments, and therefore the sum set down may not have been received. In the preceding year the Athenians had made an attack on Melos (iii. 91), but without success. It may be conjectured that they thereupon inserted the name of the island in the *τάξις φόρου* as a pledge to themselves of their own intention to enforce their demand. If the tax was really paid by Melos, we must suppose Thucydides, who in his first enumeration of the allies (ii. 9 fin.) had described the Melians as not *ὑποτελεῖς φόρου*, to have been ignorant of the fact, since in that case he would not have spoken of the Athenians as failing in their attempt to force Melos into the alliance (iii. 91 init.).

(2) A sum of three talents (i.e. a quota of 300 drachmae) is said in the list (C. I. A. 257) for the year 427 or 426 to have been paid by the islanders of Thera; and this is raised in the estimate of the *τάξις φόρου*, 425 B.C., to five talents. In C. I. A. 38, a decree relating to the *φόρος*, but of uncertain date or meaning, there occur the words *[ἐξέσ]τω δὲ καὶ Σαμίοις καὶ Θηραίο[ις]*, showing that both were under some special regulation. Yet at the beginning of the war the Theraeans as well as the Melians are described as allies, not of the Athenians, but of the Lacedaemonians (*πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας*, ii. 9 fin.). Now it seems impossible that a new tribute could have been imposed before the Peloponnesian War on an island which is expressly excluded by Thucydides from the number of Athenian allies and tributaries. But it is not unlikely that at some time in the course of the war the island may have been conquered by the Athenians, or may have submitted to them, and that Thucydides may have either forgotten the fact or

have not thought it worth mentioning. It is possible also that both Melos and Thera may have been original members of the Delian confederacy, and, though not included in her regular tributaries, may have made some payment to Athens.

For references on the subject of Melos and Thera, see note on v. 84. 1.

(3) In the account of the expedition against Cyprus (Thuc. i. 112) the Athenians are said to have left Citium in consequence of the death of Cimon, and also of a famine which occurred. It is observed by Köhler (p. 130) that the year of this famine (449) coincides with the year of a defalcation in the tribute money, viz. the arrears of the sixth year just discussed. But the defalcation is itself uncertain, and it is very doubtful whether there is any trace here of a real coincidence. For the famine is in Cyprus, but the supposed defalcation is about the shores of the Ægean extending to the Hellespont. Such an attempt to piece one fragment of knowledge with another seems to arise only out of the slenderness of our materials.

(4) Among the facts which we learn with certainty from the tribute lists is the division of the *φόρος* into the *Ἰωνικὸς φόρος*, *Ἑλλησπόντιος φόρος*, *ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης* or *Θρᾴκιος φόρος*, *Καρικὸς φόρος*, and *Νησιωτικὸς φόρος*. The earlier lists have no regular arrangement, or only a very rough one. E. g. at the beginning of the sixth list the Narisbareans of Caria or the adjoining countries, the Tenedians, the Gentinians of the Troad, the Stagirites, the Cerameans of Caria, the Camireans of Rhodes, the Halicarnassians, the Myrinaeans of Lemnos, and the Mecybernaeans of Chalcidicè follow each other.

After the ninth list the geographical division prevails; and in the twelfth and subsequent lists (from 443 B. C.) the cities of each division are headed by the titles *Ἰωνικὸς φόρος*, etc. About seven years later the Ionian and Carian tribute is united (C. I. A. 244). The names of the different states are placed under their respective heads, but no geographical or other order is observed, nor do the same names follow each other in successive lists. We seem to find traces of

the division in Thucydides, ii. 9 fin.; *ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὖσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι, Ἰωνία, Ἑλλήσποντος, τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας.*

(5) A fragment containing a very full list of the Thracian cities was referred by Köhler to Ol. 87. 1, and was thought by him to prove that Potidaea, Olynthus, Spartolus, and other cities which revolted in that year (432) must have paid tribute just before the revolt took place. The rearrangement of the stone by Kirchhoff, who puts the list back to 436 (Ol. 86. 1), puts back also the record of the payment.

How the tribute to be paid by each city was fixed we do not know with certainty. At the end of the later lists a few cities occur under the headings *πόλεις αὐταὶ φόρον ταξάμεναι*, and *πόλεις ἃς οἱ ἰδιῶται ἐνέγραψαν φόρον φέρειν*, and in a fragment which may belong to a quota list or to a *τάξις φόρου* (Köhler, p. 82, No. 7; C. I. A. 266) occur the headings—

Πόλεις ἃς ἔτ]αξαν οἱ τάκται
]ου γραμματεύοντος.
Πόλεις ἃς ἡ]βουλὴ καὶ οἱ πεντακόσιο[ι]
(?) *οἱ ἡλιασταὶ ἔτ]αξαν.*

Köhler, pp. 66, 136, comparing these headings with the fragment of the *τάξις φόρου* of 425, and with a report of the *ψήφισμα* of Tisamenus providing for the revision of the ancient laws after the fall of the Thirty (Andocides, De Myst. 83), and of a law preserved by Demosthenes (c. Timocr. 20 ff.), concludes that after the vote of the assembly ordering a *τάξις* to take place, the amounts to be imposed upon the cities were fixed in the first instance by a board of *τάκται* (numbering 10, Köhler, 8, Kirchhoff, C. I. A. 37). The tribute as proposed by them was then discussed and passed in the senate, before which any private person (*ἰδιώτης*) might propose amendments (cp. the *ψήφισμα* of Tisamenus, *ἐξεῖναι δὲ καὶ ἰδιώτῃ τῷ βουλομένῳ εἰσιόντι εἰς τὴν βουλὴν συμβουλεύειν ὅ τι ἂν ἀγαθὸν ἔχῃ περὶ τῶν νόμων*), and there was an appeal to a court of 500 dicasts, who might grant

claims for a diminution of tribute made by the cities themselves (*πόλεις αὐταί*: cp. *φόρον ὃν ἂν πείθω Ἀθηναίους*, p. lxvi infra). This seems to be the most probable account of an obscure subject.

A considerable fragment of a decree respecting the tribute is contained in C. I. A. 38, but no connected meaning can be elicited from it. Certain cities seem to be spoken of as defaulters, to whom commissioners are sent to exact the tribute. The names of those who pay the tribute are to be written up on a tablet by the Hellenotamiae, and something is granted or done to 'both the Samians and the Theraeans' (cp. above). There follows a mention of *ἐπιμεληταί*, and of a general or generals. Any attempts made by citizens of the tributary states to evade the 'decree respecting the tribute' may be brought before the *ἐπιμεληταί*; the *ἐπιμεληταί* are to bring them before the dicastery, the cases to be tried within a month. If the accused are condemned, the dicastery is to impose a penalty. Something not very intelligible is said about the election of collectors of the tribute (*ἐκλογεῖς*). According to another fragment (see C. I. A. 38 *a* Supp.) defaulters are to be written up. If an unjust accusation is brought, the accuser is to be fined. If no proper summons has been given, the senate is to settle the matter.

It is impossible to say whether the *ψήφισμα τὸ τοῦ φόρου* referred to in 38 *f.* l. 10 is the *τάξις φόρου* of 425 or not. For the date of the inscription is uncertain, and there was a *τάξις φόρου* every four years.

I. iii. Another class of inscriptions illustrating Thucydides are the accounts of the treasures of Athenè. They are divided into three series: the first containing the treasures of the Pronaos, or front room of the temple; the second, the treasures of the Hecatompedon, or centre room; and the third, the treasures of the Parthenon properly so called, being the interior and most sacred part of the building. The accounts, or more correctly speaking, the inventories of these treasures, which were made up annually, commence in the year 434, and extend over

nearly the whole of the Peloponnesian War, the account of the treasure of the Parthenon lasting, with gaps, up to 411; that of the Pronaos up to 407; that of the Hecatompedon to 405 or 404.

Pericles, in estimating the resources of the Athenians, includes among their treasures (ii. 13) 'uncoined gold and silver 'in the form of private and public offerings, sacred vessels 'used in processions and games, the Persian spoil, and other 'things of the like nature, worth at least five hundred talents 'more. There were also at their disposal, besides what they 'had in the Acropolis, considerable treasures in various 'temples. If they were reduced to the last extremity, they 'could even take off the plates of gold with which the image 'of the Goddess was overlaid: these, as he pointed out, 'weighed forty talents, and were of refined gold, which was 'all removable. They might use the gold taken from the 'Goddess in self-defence, but they were bound to replace 'all that they had taken.'

These inventories are for the most part repetitions of each other. Each of them, except the last inventory of the treasures of the Pronaos (see below), is headed by a regular form of words, e.g. 'These things the stewards of the sacred 'treasure of Athenè, Eurectes of Atenè and his colleagues, 'to whom Apollodorus the son of Critias of Aphidnae was 'registrar, handed over to the stewards to whom Diognis 'the son of Isander of the Piraeus was registrar; having 'received them from the previous stewards to whom Euthias 'son of Aeschron of Anaphlystus was registrar.'

'In the Pronaos.' (C. I. A. 119.)

Then follow the actual inventories.

In the first year however of each Panathenaic period the treasures are said to be handed over to the stewards of the year by 'the officers of the four preceding years, who gave in their accounts from one Panathenaea to the next.'

During the twenty or thirty years over which the lists extend they gradually increase in length (in the language of the inscriptions, *ἐπέτεια ἐπεγένετο*—'these are additions of the year') until the final collapse. They are silent witnesses

to the growth, decline, and fall of the first Athenian empire, the last record of the treasures of the Hecatompedon appearing in a fragment which is assigned on palaeographical and other grounds to 405 or 404 B. C. The inventories reappear a few years later, though the form of them is different.

The treasures consisted of gold and silver plate, bowls, cups, crowns, horns, couches, tables, chairs, censers, baskets, of gilded and golden as well as of silver and plated articles, and of arms. We find among them a gilded lyre, four ivory lyres, a flute case, a 'figure of a girl upon a pillar,' a 'horse, a griffin, the face (or forepart) of a griffin, a griffin, the head of a lion, a necklace (or wreath) of flowers, a dragon; all overlaid with gold.' The entire value of them, as far as can be estimated by their weight, is not great, probably not exceeding at the beginning of the war ten to twenty talents, to which must be added a moderate sum for the workmanship[1]. A sample of the character of these treasures will be given by the last inventory of the articles contained in the Πρόναος, Ol. 93. 2, 407–406 B. C. If we can trust a very conjectural restoration, which however derives some support from the exceptional character of this last inscription, they are recorded at the end of it to have been handed over to the Hellenotamiae, i. e. devoted to the purposes of the war, in the following year, Ol. 93. 3. The Athenians however do not appear to have availed themselves to any considerable extent, if at all, during the time which the lists severally cover, of the resource hinted at by Pericles.

This inventory is as follows:—

121 silver bowls . . .	weighing	2 tal.	432	drachmae.
3 silver horns . . .	„		528	„
5 silver cups . . .	„		167	„
1 silver lamp . . .	„		38	„
7 silver bowls . . .	„		700	„
1 golden crown (in a round case)	„		33	„ 3 obols.
2 silver bowls . . .	„		200	„

[1] It would thus appear that the articles enumerated in these records form but a small part of what may be termed the miscellaneous treasures of the Athenians, which are estimated by Thucydides at 500 talents. These, however, include the whole mass of uncoined gold and silver, as well as many articles of value unweighed.

4 silver bowls . . .	weighing	329	drachmae.	
1 silver Chalcidian cup .	,,	40	,,	
7 silver bowls . . .	,,	920	,,	
1 silver cup . . .	,,	40	,,	
4 silver bowls . . .	,,	420	,,	
7 silver bowls . . .	,,	643	,,	2 obols.
3 silver bowls . . .	,,	251	,,	
1 silver cup . . .	,,	66	,,	
1 silver lamp . . .	,,	22	,,	
3 silver vessels . . .	,,	294	,,	
5 silver vessels . . .	,,	413	,,	
1 silver vessel . . .	,,	112	,,	
1 silver cup . . .	,,	47	,,	
1 silver vessel . . .	,,	60	,,	
1 silver cup . . .	,,	39	,,	
1 silver vessel . . .	,,	153	,,	
1 silver cup . . .	,,	30	,,	
4 silver vessels . . .	,,	386	,,	
1 silver vessel . . .	,,	194	,,	
4 silver vessels . . .	,,	788	,,	
3 silver vessels . . .	,,	718	,,	
1 silver vessel . . .	weight wanting.			
Add for the difference between the value of gold and silver, estimated at 10 to 1, in the case of the golden crown . .	3	2063	,,	5 ,,
	–	301	,,	3 ,,
	3	2365	,,	2 ,,

C. I. A. 194–225 are a very fragmentary series of the accounts of the 'other deities,' in which the names occur of Hephaestus, Poseidon Ἵππιος, and Poseidon of Sunium, Herè, Dionysus, the Mother of the Gods, Zeus, Artemis Ἑκάτη, and Artemis Ἀγροτέρα, Apollo, and some Attic heroes (cp. C. I. A. 273). As to the amount or character of the treasure little can be made out: a 'tenth from the sale of captives,' [δ]*εκάτη ἀνδραπόδων*, is dedicated to Artemis Ἀγροτέρα. That the series begins before 429 is proved by words which occur in one of the inscriptions (194):—

[ἐπὶ Ἐπαμεί]
νονος ἄρχοντος, (B.C. 429)

and—

τάδε παρέδ[*οσαν παραδεξάμενοι*]
παρὰ τῶν π[*ροτέρων ταμιῶν*].

It may be worth observing (cp. Newton and Hicks, p. 47)

that the words *τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα* are not necessarily connected with *τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* in the expression *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*. For Thucydides is speaking of temples 'other than those on the Acropolis,' or 'other than the Parthenon.' (That there were temples on the Acropolis besides those of Athenè is clear from ii. 15, *τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί*.) But the treasures of the other deities were certainly at a later date, and perhaps at the beginning of the war (C. I. A. 32) kept on the Acropolis and in the Parthenon.

I. iv. We will now pass to the inscriptions relating to the payment of debts to the temples and the expenditure of public money. Among them one of the most important is C. I. A. 32, a decree of the senate and people which, after mentioning the repayment of 3000 talents to the Goddess, provides for a further repayment to the other deities out of certain funds which had been already set apart for this purpose by a vote of the assembly. Part of these were in the hands of the Hellenotamiae, another part was to be obtained from a tithe of the produce of land or spoils (?) when let out or sold (?), *τὰ ἐκ τῆς δεκάτης ἐπειδὰν πραθῇ*. The thirty *λογισταί*, or accountants, now in office are to calculate exactly what is due to the deities: these officers are to be called together at the discretion of the senate. (The *τριάκοντα* mentioned in the heading of the first and third quota lists are probably identical with the *λογισταί*, see Köhler, p. 106.) When the money is paid back, all records of the debt are to be searched for and cancelled. The sum thus repaid is to be placed in the hands of *ταμίαι*. These are to be elected at the same time as the other magistrates, and in the same manner as the *ταμίαι* of the treasures of Athenè. They are to receive the money of the other deities from other *ταμίαι*, *ἐπισταταί*, and *ἱεροποιοί* of different temples who are at present in charge of it, and to deposit it in the Opisthodomus of the Parthenon. They are to register the amount belonging to each deity and to all collectively, and to keep an annual account from one Panathenaic festival to another, like the

treasurers of Athenè. Any surplus remaining after repayment is to be spent upon walls and docks.

The second part of the inscription is a decree passed somewhat later, which presupposes that the order has been given for the payment of the debt to the other deities mentioned above. Certain moneys belonging to Athenè may be used in adorning the Acropolis, and repairing (or supplying) articles employed in processions. But not more than 10,000 drachmae are to be spent on this account; and nothing at all for any other purpose without a previous vote of indemnity. The Hellenotamiae are to deposit the proceeds of the *φόρος* with the *ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηναίας*. (We cannot be quite sure whether this refers to the whole of the *φόρος*, or only to the $\frac{1}{60}$th paid to the Goddess; cp. p. lxii. ff. infra.). When out of the two hundred talents set apart for the purpose the sum owing to the other deities is repaid, it is to be kept on the left of the *ὀπισθόδομος*, and the money of Athenè on the right. Those portions of the sacred treasure which have not been weighed or counted are now to be counted in the presence of the officers of the four previous years who gave in their account from one Panathenaic festival to the next; they are to weigh such of them as are gold or silver, or silver plated with gold . . . Here the words cease to be legible.

There is no indication of a date in this inscription, except what can be gathered from the writing: *σύν* has taken the place of *ξύν*; the later shortened form of the dative plural, and also the longer form, both occur in it (*ταμίαις* as well as *ταμίασι*), the shortened dative implying a year in or after Ol. 90 (420–417). It is beautifully written on two sides of a stone slab, and was once the table of an altar. Boeckh places it in the year B.C. 418.

This inscription has been made the subject af an elaborate discussion by Kirchhoff (Urkunden der Schatzmeister der 'anderen Götter,' Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1864, pp. 8–28, Athenischer Staatschatz, pp. 21 ff., 43 ff., Berl. Acad. 1876), who refers it to a time before the Peloponnesian War, and draws various inferences from it. The precise year to

which he assigns the inscription is the first of the Panathenaic period, Ol. 86. 3–87. 2 (434–431), or the last year of the preceding period, when the accounts of the treasure were made up, and when changes in the regulation of it would most naturally take place. He arrives at this conclusion on grounds which will be hereafter examined. To reconcile this date with the character of the writing he has recourse to the supposition that, while the substance of the document belongs to the year 434, it was not written down until after 420. Here are two improbabilities: (1) that a decree of the senate and people should not have been engraven during fifteen years; and (2) that it should have been engraven at the end of the fifteen years. Such an hypothesis would only be justified on the ground that there was no later date to which the inscription could be assigned, as in the case of C. I. A. 283; or on such palaeographical grounds as determine the date of C. I. A. 8. 93. But in the present case there is no necessity for any such hypothesis. The Athenians would have been quite as well able to repay a large sum to the Goddess between B.C. 421 and 415, after a few years of peace, as before the commencement of the war. Kirchhoff, having fixed the date of the inscription on other grounds, connects the payment of the 3000 talents with the possession of 9700 talents by the Athenians shortly before the war (Thuc. ii. 13 med.), and with the indemnity which they exacted from the Samians after the suppression of the revolt. It is quite true that the Athenians must have been rich when they transferred so large a sum from one account to another. But they had recovered their wealth before the Syracusan expedition.

Kirchhoff argues that some words at the end of the inscription, in which provision is made for numbering and weighing some of the sacred treasures at that particular time (*νῦν*), are a decree then for the first time establishing the inventories of the sacred articles of the temple, which commence in 434 and continue in a more or less fragmentary form down to the taking of the city (C. I. A. 117–173). Thus he imagines himself to obtain an accurate

determination of the date. But in reply it may be observed, (1) that the words of the inscription (32), *τῶν χρημάτων τῶν ἱερῶν*, seem to refer generally to the treasures of the Goddess and of the other deities, and not merely to the silver plate and other ornaments enumerated in the inventories, though these are included in it: (2) that a provision is made in it for a weighing of the treasures. But several of the articles mentioned in the inventories were and continued to be unweighed. This seems to prove that the inscription has to do, not with the inventories, but with some other and more careful register of part of the sacred treasure: (3) the direction that only such of the treasures as are unweighed and uncounted are to be weighed would imply that there had been previous inventories. But if so, the custom of having an inventory was not then established for the first time: (4) that the inscription appears to speak of a single occasion only, and not of the establishment of an annual audit. It relates to the money paid in at that time, and to the plate, which is to be weighed and numbered in the presence of the magistrates who are in the habit of accounting for it from time to time—*ἀρχαὶ αἳ ἐδίδο[σαν ἀεὶ τὸν λόγον ἐκ Παν]αθηναίων ἐς Πα[ναθήν]αια* (cp. C. I. A. 117. l. 1): (5) the money of Athenè and the other deities mentioned in the words just preceding is kept in the *ὀπισθόδομος*; why should we suppose a sudden transition to the treasures of the inventories which were kept in other parts of the temple? Lastly, the fragmentary state of the concluding lines of the text renders it perilous to draw inferences from it, such as are drawn by Kirchhoff respecting the relation which the inscription bears to the inventories. The whole argument rests on one of those apparent coincidences which but for the slenderness of our materials would never have been observed, and when examined more closely turns out not to be a coincidence at all.

More weight is due to the argument in favour of the earlier date derived from C. I. A. 194, in which *ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν* are mentioned as already existing [*ἐπ' Ἀμεί*]-*νονος ἄρχοντος*, in the year 429, that is if we could be sure

that they were first established by the decree contained in C. I. A. 32. But though there appears to be a special appointment of ταμίαι in this inscription, the wording of it (παρὰ δὲ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιστατῶν καὶ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἳ νῦν διαχειρίζουσι, κ. τ. λ.), and indeed the very fact of nearly 200 talents having been borrowed, indicate that such ταμίαι were already in existence. And these may be referred to in C. I. A. 194 as ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. However this may be, the argument is hardly sufficient to counterbalance the indications given by the writing. The utmost that can be conceded is that the earlier date (Kirchhoff) is as likely as the later (Boeckh).

The sum of 3000 talents repaid to the Goddess is supposed by Kirchhoff to be part of the great Athenian treasure which at some time, not exactly known to us, before the Peloponnesian War had amounted to 9700 talents (Thuc. ii. 13 med.). 'From this had to be deducted a sum of 3700 expended on various buildings, such as the Propylaea of the Acropolis, and also on the siege of Potidaea.' Of the 6000 talents which remained at the commencement of the war 1000 were set apart as a reserve, and not touched until after the failure of the Syracusan expedition in 413. The remaining 5000 might be used in the service of the state.

Now in Thucydides, iii. 19, three and a-half years after the commencement of the war, towards the end of 428 B.C., the Athenians are said to have sent out twelve ships to collect tribute among their allies in Lycia and Caria; at the same time, or rather sooner, they imposed upon themselves a property tax of 200 talents. The two measures, according to Kirchhoff, Athenischer Staatschatz, p. 26 ff., show that they were in pecuniary distress. Before they would have submitted to tax themselves they must have exhausted their whole treasure. This is the keystone of the argument: 'If there had been anything left they would never have sent out an extraordinary expedition to exact money, or have raised out of their own incomes, for the first time in the war, two hundred talents.' Hence it is inferred that during

the first three years of the war the whole of their reserve fund must have been expended.

If we add to the	5000 talents
the annual increment of the sacred treasure, calculated at 200 talents (see infra, p. lxix) . . .	600 „
tribute for three years, 600 talents .	1800 „
the whole sum spent in three years is	7400 „
or annually	2466⅔ „

Leaving at this point the thread of the argument, to which we will return, we may illustrate the general character of Athenian expenditure by a few easy calculations:—

(1) A fleet of 100 vessels, carrying each the ordinary crew of 200 men, or 20,000 in all, could not have been maintained in the early part of the war, when the sailors' wages were high, viz. a drachma a day, at a less cost than 100 talents a month, besides the payments to officers and marines, and the cost of the hull supplied by the state.

(2) The heavy-armed soldiers who served in the siege of Potidaea received each man for himself and an attendant two drachmae a day (iii. 17). They numbered in the first expedition 3000 men, in the second 1600, who remained for only a part of the two years for which the siege lasted. Therefore under this single head an expenditure must have been incurred of more than a talent and a-half a day, or at the rate of 552 talents a year. Thucydides expressly says that the siege cost two thousand talents (ii. 70).

(3) The building of the Propylaea is said by Heliodorus to have cost 2012 talents (Harpocration, s. v. p. 159).

(4) The six thousand jurymen of the court of Heliaea, if sitting at one time, would have received half a talent a day (the pay of each singly being 3 obols), or if sitting for a month, fifteen talents. Or, as Aristophanes (Wasps, 663) calculates the expense of 6000 jurymen for the year,—

γίγνεται ἡμῖν ἑκατὸν δήπου καὶ πεντήκοντα τάλαντα.

(5) The 20,000 citizens of Athens, if they had all attended at any one assembly, would have received (after the change of the pay, at some time unknown, from one to three obols) fees amounting to ten talents: but as more than 5000 were not present upon ordinary occasions (cp. Thuc. viii. 72), we may reduce this charge to a fourth, or to 2½ talents. Supposing there were fifty sittings in a year (cp. Boeckh, Staatshaush. i. p. 326), the total expenditure under this head would amount to 125 talents.

(6) The total pay of 500 senators at a drachma a day, sitting 300 days in the year, would amount to 25 talents.

Such estimates give a general idea of the scale of Athenian expenditure. They may also remind us that both on the creditor and debtor side of the account should be entered many elements of revenue and expenditure which can no longer be estimated.

We may now return to the calculation of Kirchhoff. It turns, as we have already seen, upon Thucydides iii. 19, a passage in which the Athenians are described as sending ships to Asia Minor for the collection of tribute, having already raised a self-imposed tax of 200 talents among themselves. Now he infers that they would not have taken extraordinary means of raising money until their ordinary resources were exhausted: Yet surely (1) a people, like an individual, may become alarmed at its financial condition long before its capital entirely comes to an end, and having great dangers to face, may take extraordinary measures to meet financial difficulties before the exchequer has been emptied. (2) Such expeditions were sent, not once only, but many times in the course of the war, and even before this time (Thuc. ii. 69, cp. also iv. 50, 75), to collect money from cities which were in arrears or which did not regularly pay tribute, or to exact an extraordinary tribute from those which did. But (3) if so, the argument for the great expenditure of the first three years of the war falls to the ground. If there is no reason to assume that the Athenians were in extreme necessity when they sent out the squadron, neither is there any need to infer that they had spent at the

rate of 2466⅔ talents a year during the first three years of the Peloponnesian War. (4) The mere imposition of a property tax is far from proving any extreme necessity. It is a tax very likely to be imposed at all times by the growing power of a democracy on the rich, *οἵπερ καὶ ταλαιπωροῦνται μάλιστα* (viii. 48 init.; Aristoph. Knights, 923 ff.). (5) Kirchhoff is surely mistaken in supposing that the words of Thucydides, iii. 17, *καὶ τὰ χρήματα τοῦτο μάλιστα ὑπανάλωσε μετὰ Ποτιδαίας*, imply that the reserve was exhausted. They might indeed have had this meaning if any statement of such exhaustion had been previously made. But as they stand they mean no more than 'this was the great drain upon the Athenian resources.' Again (6), supposing the Athenians to have used up their capital during the first three years of the war, it is hard to see how they supported the equal if not greater strain of the seven years which followed. Can we suppose that a prudent people would have depended merely upon the chance sums which were brought in from time to time by the exactions of *ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες*? Whether the tribute was doubled in the year 425 or not, it is evident that the Athenians after a few years of peace enjoyed a plethora of wealth; cp. Thuc. vi. 26, Andoc. de Pace, (iii.) 8. 9, *διὰ ταύτην τὴν εἰρήνην ἑπτακισχίλια τάλαντα νομίσματος εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνηνέγκαμεν*. But would they in five or six years have risen to wealth from absolute bankruptcy, which must have been their state if during five or six years of war their treasury had been empty?

Neither the notices of Thucydides nor any inscription hitherto found enable us to form a certain estimate of the total revenue or expenditure of Athens in any given year of the Peloponnesian War. We are at a loss to reconcile the words of Aristophanes, who (Wasps, 660) roughly estimates the income of Athens at 2000 talents,—

τούτων πλήρωμα τάλαντ' ἐγγὺς δισχίλια γίγνεται ἡμῖν,—

with Xenophon's statement (Anab. vii. 1. 27) that at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War the Athenians had not less than 1000 talents coming in yearly. We cannot de-

termine how far civil as well as military expenditure was defrayed from the treasures of the temples, or how far extraordinary expenses were defrayed out of ordinary resources: we do not know what was received from mines, public lands, law fees, harbours, confiscations; how far the tribute may have risen above or fallen below 600 talents; or how much was brought in by ἀργυρολόγοι νῆες. Neither do we know what was spent on temples and other public buildings, on theatrical performances, sacred missions and festivals, on hulls of ships, siege engines, and other munitions of war, on food for soldiers and sailors, and the like. We cannot therefore attempt to balance the accounts of the Athenian empire.

But Kirchhoff is quite right in supposing that there was a very large expenditure of capital in the first few years of the war, larger, as we gather from C. I. A. 273, than in the years which followed.

This important inscription, bearing on the preceding as well as on the following discussion, may here be conveniently introduced. It contains an account, apparently drawn up by the λογισταί, of money paid out for the public service at different times from the treasuries of Athenè Polias, Athenè Nikè, and of the other deities. The account is divided into two parts, one extending from Ol. 86.4 to 88.2 (433 to 427 B.C.) inclusive, the second from 88.3 to 89.2 (426 to 423 B.C.) inclusive. The total of the money borrowed during the first seven years from all these treasuries amounts to about 4729 talents 2625 drachmae 2 obols, that borrowed during the last four years or πεντετηρίς from the treasury of Athenè Polias—the amount borrowed from the other treasuries, though not great, is uncertain—to about 747 talents 4178 drachmae, in all 5477 talents 803 drachmae 2 obols. Interest is charged on the whole of this sum; calculated, during the last four years, of which alone the accounts are preserved in detail, according to Boeckh, at the 300th part of a drachma for a mina per day, or at 1⅔ per cent. for the year.

It may be observed (1) that this inscription affords an

important evidence of the existence of a sacred fund which was also public (see infra).

(2) If the 3000 talents mentioned in the last inscription (C. I. A. 32) were repaid in the year 418, as supposed by Boeckh, it may be conjectured that they were a repayment to the temple treasures of a part of the sums here set down as borrowed. Otherwise there is no indication that the interest was ever paid or the principal returned.

(3) The inscription proves that the Athenian war expenditure was very far from being paid out of the income of the year; and that the sums borrowed were much larger, probably because there was a larger fund from which to borrow, during the first seven years than during the four subsequent years of the period to which the inscription refers. The argument of Kirchhoff supposes that the treasury was exhausted in the year 428. But the inscription tends to show, though the fragmentary state of part of it makes any inference difficult, that the treasury held out at any rate until the middle of 426. And it should be observed that the 4729 talents form the expenditure, not only of the first five years of the war, but also of the two years which preceded it.

A question which has been discussed by Boeckh, Staatshaush. i. pp. 221, 575 ff., naturally arises in connexion with this inscription: in what relation did the sacred treasure stand to the secular, or rather what made the distinction between them? The φόρος would naturally appear to be secular treasure; as the quota to the Goddess and the gold and silver plate contained in the inventories are sacred treasure. The first was under the control of the Hellenotamiae, the second under that of the ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηναίας and the ταμίαι τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. But besides the quota and the articles of gold and silver plate, there were large sums of money kept in the temple which had a less strictly consecrated character. These may be described as held in trust by the corporation: that is to say, they were also under the care of the ταμίαι τῆς θεοῦ, but they might be lent with the consent of the ecclesia in the service of the

state, whereas no such limitation was imposed as far as we know on the use of the *φόρος* or of other moneys in the hands of the Hellenotamiae. The repayment of 3000 talents (C.I.A. 32) seems to confirm this view. For so large a sum cannot be supposed to have been the private property of the temple. Again, for the sums taken from the temple the state was in the habit, as we have seen, of professing to pay a small interest. But we have no record of interest claimed on any but sacred treasure.

The following extracts from inscriptions taken from Kirchhoff, p. 36 ff., indicate a difference between the functions of the Hellenotamiae and of the *ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηναίας*, and therefore between a secular and a sacred treasury.

C. I. A. 314, 315. The payments received by the *ἐπιστάται* or curators of the building of the Propylaea are divided at the end into three separate accounts: of the money received, (1) *παρὰ τῶμ πρ[οτέρων ἐ]πισταt[ῶν οἷς] Ἐπικλῆς ἐγρα[μμάτευ]ε Θορίκ[ιος]*: (2) *παρὰ ταμιῶν ο[ἳ τὰ τῆ]ς θεοῦ ἐτα[μίευον] οἷς Κράτης ἐγρ[αμμά]τευε Λαμπ[τρεύς]*: (3) *[πα]ρὰ Ἑλληνοταμ[ιῶν] οἷς Πρωτογ[ένης ἐγραμ]μάτευε Κη[φισιε]ὺς τοῦ ξυμ[μαχικοῦ φόρ]ου μνᾶ ἀπὸ τοῦ [τα]λάντου.* The last words seem to indicate that the quota of the Goddess was on one occasion devoted to the building of the Propylaea. Cp. also C. I. A. 309, 310, 312.

C. I. A. 140. If the conjectural restoration of the last lines is correct, the treasures of the *πρόναος* are handed over to the Hellenotamiae for the service of the state.

C. I. A. 180–183. The Hellenotamiae are repeatedly mentioned in this inscription as having money handed over or lent to them by the *ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηναίας*: and C. I. A. 188, 189 (an inscription of the end of the Peloponnesian War) contains a record of money paid to the Hellenotamiae by the *ταμίαι ἱερῶν χρημάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίας* for public purposes, *ἵπποις σίτος, ἐς τὴν διωβελίαν.* See also C. I. A. 273.

From the evidence of these inscriptions, from the greatness of the sums taken from or paid back to the Goddess and the other deities, from the practice of reckoning interest, it seems to be clearly proved that there was

a sacred fund which was likewise capable of being used in the public service. It is probable from the different classes of officers who had the care of the public treasure that there was also a secular fund in which the *φόρος*, i. e. the $\frac{5}{6}\frac{8}{0}$th, would be included, but this is not established with equal clearness. Pericles, when he speaks of the 6000 talents (ii. 13 med.), makes no distinction. And the amount of the sums paid into and out of the sacred fund makes it improbable that there was any other fund as large or larger which was independent of it. Whether the quota to the Goddess was included in the public sacred fund, or remained the more private property of the temple, is uncertain.

The inscription C. I. A. 273, which records the loan of the sacred treasure, has also an historical interest derived from the mention of names and events which occur in Thucydides.

Under Ol. 88. 4, 425–424 B.C., appears the name of Demosthenes, and probably that of Nicias:—

στρατηγοῖς πε[ρὶ Πε]λοπόννησον Δημοσθένει Ἀλκισθένους Ἀφιδ[ναίῳ] 𐅄 𐅄 𐅄 (= 30 talents).

ἐr[ἐ]ρα δόσις στρατηγοῖς [Νικίᾳ Νικηράτου Κυδα]ντίδῃ 𐅅 (= 100 talents).

The first payment is made in the fourth, the second in the ninth prytany. Probably the reference is to the employment of Demosthenes at Pylos late in 425, and of Nicias at Cythera early in the summer of 424. (Thuc. iv. 27, 53.)

Regarded from the historical point of view, C. I. A. 273 may be placed with another class of inscriptions from which the results obtained are rather historical than financial. To these we will proceed:

The money expended from the sacred treasury appears to have been reckoned in two forms. In one of these forms it was regarded as a debt to the temple, having to pay interest, of which calculation is made. In the other form the account is simply a record of sums paid to the generals or other officers to be used in the public service.

In the second form of the account, as might be expected, no interest appears; and mention of the *ταμίαι*, not of both *ταμίαι* and *λογισταί*, occurs.

The inscriptions of the second class which relate to the narrative of Thucydides, arranged in order of time, are as follows:—

(1) The words *πρὸς Σαμίου[s]* and the number of talents expended, 128, 368, and 908, in all 1404, are legible on a small fragment (C. I. A. 177), which may therefore be referred with probability to the revolt of Samos (Thuc. i. 116, 117). The words *Ἀθηναίας* and *ταμιῶ[ν]* show that the sums mentioned were borrowed from the treasury of Athenè.

(2) Another inscription (C. I. A. 179 and Supp.) clearly referring to events mentioned by Thucydides partly agrees and partly disagrees with his narrative of them. On a fragment of marble containing 22 lines more or less complete occur the following words:—

l. 7. [*παρέδοσαν*] *στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κορκύραν τοῖς*
[*πρώτοις ἐκ*]*πλέουσι Λακεδαιμονίῳ Λακία-*
[*δῆ, Πρωτέᾳ*] *Αἰξωνεῖ, Διοτίμῳ Εὐωνυμεῖ.*

l. 13. [*ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδους*] *ἄρχοντος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς βούλης*

l. 18. [*παρέ*]*δοσαν στρατηγοῖς ἐς Κορ-*
[*κύραν τοῖς δευτέρ*]*οις ἐκπλέουσι, Γλαύκωνι*
[*ἐκ Κεραμέων, Μεταγ*]*ένει Κοιλεῖ, Δρακοντί-*
[*δῃ Βατῆθεν, ἐπὶ τῆς*] *Αἰαντίδος πρυτανείας.*

Cp. Thuc. i. 45, 51, where the Athenians send two squadrons to the aid of Corcyra, the first commanded by Lacedaemonius the son of Cimon, Diotimus the son of Strombichus, and Proteas the son of Epicles, the second by Glaucon the son of Leagrus and Andocides the son of Leogoras. The name of the Archon is lost, but the words *ἐπὶ Ἀψεύδους* (he was Archon in 433–432) exactly fill up a vacant space. In the inscription we observe that Dracon or Dracontides takes the place of Andocides the son of Leogoras as the second commander of the second expedition. There can be no doubt that Thucydides and the inscription refer to the

same event, and this being so, the authority of the marble is to be preferred to that of the book, though there is no reason for suspecting the reading.

(3) In Thucydides, ii. 23, mention is made of Carcinus and Proteas, who with Socrates were sent with a hundred ships to devastate the coast of the Peloponnesus in the first year of the war. The first two names are found in a fragment recently discovered (C. I. A. Supp. 179 *a–d.* p. 32):—

l. 11. *-αιεῖ Π[ρ]ωτέᾳ Αἰξων[εῖ]*

l. 16. *ταῦτα ἐδόθη Καρκίνω[ι] Θορικίῳ.*

l. 18. *[Καρ]κίνῳ Θορικίῳ.*

On other fragments, assigned by Kirchhoff to the same tablet, in which he supposes the expenditure of the years 432–424 to have been given, are traces of an expedition against Macedonia (Thuc. i. 61?) and Sicily (Thuc. iii. 86?).

(4) A long but very imperfect inscription (C. I. A. 180–183, Newton and Hicks, xxiii) records the sums paid out of the Athenian treasury in the years 418–415 (Ol. 90. 3–91. 2). The dates are fixed by the occurrence of the names of financial officers found elsewhere, and by the following coincidences with the narrative of Thucydides.

In the accounts of the first year, 418–417, we find the words—

-ους τοῖς μετὰ Δημοσθένους,

and again—

[ὁπλιταγ]ωγοὺς τοῖς μετὰ Δημ[οσθένους], Thuc. v. 80,

and—

[σ]τρατηγοῖς Νικίᾳ Νικηράτ[ου Κυδαντ]ίδῃ. Thuc. v. 83.

In the accounts of the second year, 417–416, occur the words—

[Τεισί]ᾳ Τεισιμάχου Κεφαλῆθεν, Κλεομήδει Λυκο[μήδους,]

to whom it is recorded that ten talents were paid. Cp. Thuc. v. 84, where Cleomedes the son of Lycomedes and Tisias the son of Tisimachus command the expedition against Melos.

In the accounts of the third year, 416–415, more famous names occur—

[Νικίᾳ Νι]κηράτου Κυδαντίδῃ καὶ παρεδρο . .

and—

[στρ]ατηγοῖς ἐς Σικε[λίαν Ἀ]λκιβιάδῃ Λαμάχῳ . .

and again—

στρατηγοῖς ἐς Σικελ[ίαν Ἀ]λκιβιάδῃ Λαμάχῳ . .

and again—

Η TTTT . . . . (= 14 talents).

In the accounts of the fourth year, 415–414, occur the words, *ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος ὀγδόης πρυτανευούσης τρίτ[ῃ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς πρυ]τανείας Ἑλληνοταμίαις καὶ παρέδροις Ἀριστοκρ[άτ]ει Εὐωνυμεῖ καὶ ξυνάρχουσι* 𐅅𐅅𐅅 (= 300 talents) *οὗτοι δ' ἔδοσαν [τῇ ἐν Σικελίᾳ στ]ρατίᾳ* (Kirchhoff writes 𐅅[𐅅𐅅], but according to Hicks the three ciphers are quite legible); and again, *Ἑλληνοταμίαις (κ.τ.λ.) ἐς τὰ[ς] ναῦς τὰς ἐς Σι[κελίαν παρέδομεν] τὰ χρή[μ]ατα* TTTTXX (4 talents 2000 drachmae).

In the summary of the accounts at the end of the year the three hundred talents reappear, together with the lesser sums expended:—

κεφάλαιον ἀνα[λώματος τ]οῦ ἐπὶ τ[ῆς] ἀρχῆς 𐅅𐅅𐅅ΓTTT . . . . (353 talents).

Cp. Thuc. vi. 94 fin., *καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Κατάνην καταλαμβάνουσι τούς τε ἱππέας ἥκοντας ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν πεντήκοντά καὶ διακοσίους, ἄνευ τῶν ἵππων μετὰ σκευῆς, ὡς αὐτόθεν ἵππων πορισθησομένων, καὶ ἱπποτοξότας τριάκοντα, καὶ τάλαντα ἀργυρίου τριακόσια.* The prytany in which the three hundred talents are given, the eighth, corresponds to the beginning of spring, when, according to Thucydides, money and other supplies were sent to the Athenian army in Sicily.

(5) A long but fragmentary inscription (C. I. A. 185; Newton and Hicks, xxiv), out of which it is impossible to make continuous sense, is assigned to the date Ol. 92. 1–2; 412–411. The writing and the contents are such as we should expect to find about this time; and inscriptions of the same character are extant for Ol. 90. 3–91. 2 (just

quoted) and for Ol. 92. 3 and 92. 4 or 93. 2. It therefore very probably belongs to the intermediate years.

Two interesting but uncertain conjectures, if they could be accepted, would confirm this date.

Boeckh proposes to restore l. 5 (A) thus—

[ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰς τρι]ήρεις ὧν παρελάβομ[εν παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν.]

'From the money for the triremes which we received from the last treasurers.'

He ingeniously argues that the inscription refers to the reserve fund of 1000 talents, which was not to be touched until Athens was in the last extremity. But it is not said either in ii. 24 or in viii. 15 that the 1000 talents were especially reserved for the building of triremes. Hence the words εἰς τὰς τριήρεις do not identify this occasion with that mentioned in viii. 15, and very probably refer to some other: money must constantly have been 'spent on triremes.' There was another provision, that 100 triremes were to be set apart annually, and only used, like the money, when the enemy menaced the Piraeus with a fleet. This latter provision it must have been impossible to observe after the Syracusan expedition. Nothing is said about it in viii. 15. And it is quite distinct from the provision respecting the 1000 talents. The conjectural restoration, as will be seen by the letters, is of the most doubtful kind.

Again, the words ἀπὸ πρυ[τανείας] in l. 11 (A) have been thought to show that the accounts of sums paid out at the end of Ol. 92. 1 are dated 'from a (previous) prytany,' not 'in a prytany,' ἀπὸ πρυτανείας, not ἐπὶ τῆς (say Οἰνηΐδος) πρυτανείας. And here a trace has been found of the government of the 400, B.C. 411; for after the expulsion of the senate of 500 there would be no regular prytanies. But the words are too imperfect to allow any inference to be drawn from them.

(6) C. I. A. 188, 189 is an inscription of which the first part is very complete, and contains the accounts of Ol. 92. 3, 410–409, the year following that in which the history of

Thucydides concludes. It illustrates the exhaustion of the Athenian finances after the Sicilian expedition and the troubles of the year 411 (cp. viii. 76, *οἵ γε μήτε ἀργύριον ἔτι εἶχον πέμπειν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐπορίζοντο οἱ στρατιῶται*). For the heading of the inscription referring to the payments of the whole year describes them as made *ἐκ τῶν ἐπετείων*, none of them are made *ἐξ ὧν παρελάβομεν παρὰ τῶν προτέρων ταμιῶν*. So that the money belonging to the sacred treasure must have been nearly or quite exhausted by the middle of 410.

The sum expended in the year, of which the record is nearly complete, amounts to about 180 talents. On this fact Kirchhoff bases his estimate of the annual income of the sacred treasure at 200 talents.

There are a few other inscriptions relating to finance which stand in a more accidental relation to the narrative of Thucydides; such as the fragments of the accounts drawn up by the overseers of the Propylaea while in process of erection (C. I. A. 314, 315; cp. Thuc. iii. 17), of the accounts of the officers who had charge of the sacred islands Delos and Rhenea, belonging to the Archonship of Crates and Apseudes, 434, 433 (C. I. A. 283; cp. iii. 104), and lastly the lists of confiscated property sold by the Poletae. Some fragments of these last (C. I. A. 274–277 and Supp.) contain names of persons who, according to Andoc. de Myst., were punished by confiscation of their goods for the mutilation of the Hermae or the profanation of the mysteries.

II. Decrees of the senate and people not already mentioned, and not relating to finance, which illustrate the history of Thucydides, are the following :—

C. I. A. 9 is an inscription no longer existing and incorrectly copied, but of great importance. It contains a decree (1) requiring the Erythraeans to contribute to the Panathenaic festival something, probably victims, worth 3 minae, under a penalty: (2) creating a *βουλή* of the democratic type consisting of 120 members, who are to be at least 30 years of age. Their oath of office and the penalties which attach to

the non-enforcement of it by the then senate are inserted in the decree. Mention occurs in the oath of [οἱ ἐς] Μήδους φυγό[ντες]. In another part of the decree penalties are imposed upon persons guilty of homicide, impiety, or treason.

The two fragmentary inscriptions which follow (C. I. A. 10, 11) also relate to Erythrae, the former making mention of lawsuits, the latter of an oath to be taken by the Erythraeans. All these three relate to the times between the Persian and the Peloponnesian wars. The form of the letters is said to show that 10 belongs to a time before 450. Both 9 and 10 mention ἐπίσκοποι: cp. Aristoph. Birds, 1021 ff.

C. I. A. 13. Cp. 36. Both these relate to Colophon. The first is part of a decree receiving the Colophonians into alliance, to which is attached a form of oath. The second is a decree conferring protection and other favours and honours on Aretus the Colophonian, for services rendered to the Athenian people and their army ([κ]αὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας), probably at the time when Paches took Notium and restored it to the Colophonians; Thuc. iii. 34.

Supplement 27 *a* contains two decrees of the senate and people. The first, proposed by Diognetus, prescribes the terms of an oath to be taken by the Athenian senate and dicasts to the Chalcidians, and by all the Chalcidians of full age to Athens. The Athenians promise not to expel the Chalcidians from their country, and not to disfranchise, banish, arrest, kill, or fine, any individual Chalcidian untried (ἀκ[ρ]ίτου) without the consent of the Athenian people. Compare Thuc. viii. 48 fin., of the allies, καὶ ἄκριτοι ἂν καὶ βιαίοτερον ἀποθνήσκειν. They on their part promise to be faithful allies, and to pay a tribute of an amount such as the Athenians may agree to impose (ὃν ἂν πείθω Ἀθηναίους).

According to the second decree, moved by Anticles, five commissioners are sent to receive the oath. The hostages are to remain as they are for the present. The ἀτέλεια of foreigners residing in Chalcis, and of all who have received the privilege from Athens, is to be maintained. The decree is to be inscribed on a column at Athens at the expense of the Chalcidians, and to be deposited in the temple of Zeus

at Chalcis. Three members of the senate are to offer sacrifices on behalf of Euboea in consequence of certain oracles. An addition to the second decree, moved by Archestratus, provides that crimes involving a penalty of banishment, death, or disfranchisement, are to be sent for trial to Athens; and that the generals are to take care of Euboea.

The decrees, of which the tone is conciliatory, appear to belong to a time shortly after the reduction of Euboea by Pericles, Thuc. i. 114. Anticles is the name of one of the Athenian commanders at Samos (i. 117): Archestratus, of one of the commanders at Potidaea (i. 57).

This is one of the most perfect of early Greek inscriptions, and has more the character of a regular prose composition, or of a page out of history, than any other.

Supp. 22 *a* is a long but fragmentary inscription, probably earlier than 447, relating to the constitution of Miletus.

28 and 29 are decrees respecting the relations of Athens to the Athenian cleruchs of Hestiaea in Euboea, who were settled there after the revolt, Ol. 83. 4, B.C. 445 (cp. Thucyd. i. 114 fin., vii. 57 init.). The inscription is inferred, from the writing as well as from the contents, to be older than the Peloponnesian War. It contains provisions (1) for regulating the traffic and the payment of tolls on the route between Hestiaea and Athens by way of Oropus; (2) respecting the trial of causes, either at Athens or by inhabitants of Hestiaea.

33 (cp. Supp.) records a treaty with Rhegium made in Ol. 86. 4, B.C. 433. Nothing is said in Thucydides of the original making of the treaty. But compare the next.

Suppl. 33 *a* is the subscription of a treaty with Leontini also made in 433 B.C., the archonship of Apseudes, two years before the war, and apparently on the same day. Six years afterwards the Leontines and their allies, including the Rhegians, who were then engaged in a war with the Syracusans, applied for a new alliance with Athens, *κατὰ παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν* (Thuc. iii. 86 med.), being possibly that which is recorded in the inscription, but more probably a much older one: cp. note on ii. 22, 3.

40 contains three decrees relating to the Methoneans and Perdiccas. According to the provisions of the first decree, the Methonaeans are only to pay the quota of $\frac{1}{60}$th to the Goddess; and, if they are useful to the Athenians 'as they are now, and still better,' they are not to be subject to any general but only to a special regulation respecting arrears of tribute. To Perdiccas three ambassadors are sent: he is to be told that he must allow the Methonaeans the free use of the sea, and not pass through their country without permission being first obtained from them. If he and the Methonaeans consent, the ambassadors are to arrange matters between them, but if not, their differences are to be brought to Athens: if he makes his conduct agreeable to the troops at Cape Posidium the Athenians will have a good opinion of him, *γνώμας ἀγαθὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἕξουσιν.*

By the second decree the Methonaeans receive permission to export corn up to a certain amount from Byzantium, and are not to be hindered in doing so by some officers called Wardens of the Hellespont. As in the former decree, they are only subject to special regulations about aid to be given to the Athenian state or any other service required of the allies. The differences with Perdiccas still continue. The third decree is a mere fragment.

42 is a treaty made with Perdiccas, but the fragments of the inscription have no connected meaning. The treaty refers to Arrhibaeus, and among the names appended to it are those of Alcetas (Plato, Gorg. 471) and Philip (Thuc. i. 57), the brothers of Perdiccas, and of Archelaus the son of Perdiccas.

In inscription 43, to which no meaning can be given, the names of Perdiccas and perhaps Arrhibaeus also occur.

45. In the archonship of Aristion, B.C. 421, one Asteas of Alea is inscribed as proxenus and benefactor of Athens.

46 *b* (Supp.). A fragment of a treaty of the Athenians with the Argives, Mantineans, and Eleans, recorded also with very slight variations in Thucyd. v. 47. For a full discussion of it see note in loco. The difficulty there mentioned, namely that the space which requires to be filled up in the

inscription is too great for the number of letters in the text of Thucydides, would be removed if we could suppose that vacant spaces were left between the clauses. It is beautifully printed in Poppo, 2nd ed. min. (Stahl), end of bk. v.

47 is a decree, not later than Ol. 90 (B.C. 420 to 417), respecting trierarchs and payment of sailors, but no connected meaning can be elicited from it.

49. The words occur Ὑπέρβολος εἶπε. If this be the demagogue Hyperbolus, exiled about 419 B.C., the inscription would be of an earlier date.

50 is a treaty between the Athenians and Argives, not that given in v. 47, and therefore probably that referred to in v. 82 fin.

51 has important additions in the Supplement. For a full discussion of it see supra, pp. xx, xxi.

52 is a treaty between the Athenians and Bottiaeans. Spartolus, which as we learn from Thucydides (ii. 79) was a city in Bottiaea, was to have been given up by the Lacedaemonians to Athens, when peace was made in 421, on condition that the place should be independent, but might be received if willing into the Athenian alliance (v. 18 med.).

54 is a decree about an expedition of 30 ships of war. For the question whether this is the Melian expedition (Thuc. v. 84), see supra, p. xx.

55 also relates to an expedition, consisting of 60 ships; it is indicated by the datives in *αις* to be not older than Ol. 90. It has been thought to refer to the first decree for the Sicilian expedition; but see supra, p. xix.

56 contains a tribute of honour decreed to the Samians because they had emancipated (?) themselves, ὅτι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς [ἠλευθέρωσαν], evidently referring to the events of 412 recorded in Thucydides, viii. 21. Mention is made in the decree of deaths, exiles, and confiscations inflicted by the Samian people, and of certain offenders whom they are to send to Athens.

57 contains a decree limiting the power of the senate, probably after the overthrow of the 400. Mention occurs of 500 men, and, shortly afterwards, of 500 drachmae.

59 contains a decree in honour of Thrasybulus, Agoratus, and others for some service done to the Athenians. This is gathered from Lysias c. Agoratum to be the assassination of Phrynichus; see note on viii. 92. 2.

71 (Supp.). A defensive alliance made between the Athenians and the Halieans, indicated by the form of the letters to be not earlier than Ol. 90, and by the subject not later than the renewal of the war. This treaty with Halieis is not mentioned by Thucydides. But in iv. 45 we are told that the Athenians occupied a position near Methonè (Methana), and ravaged the territory of Troezen, Halieis, and Epidaurus. According to iv. 118 med. an agreement was subsequently made with Troezen. And this treaty with Halieis, as well as the treaty with Epidaurus mentioned in v. 80 (unless it be the general peace of 421, see note), may be connected with the same occurrence.

A long and almost complete inscription lately discovered at Eleusis illustrates the sacred character of the 'Pelasgian ground' mentioned by Thucydides, ii. 17. The senate and people give directions for offering an *ἀπαρχή* of wheat and barley to the two goddesses of Eleusis, *κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν μάντειαν τὴν ἐγ Δελφῶν*. The allies of Athens are required, and all the cities of Hellas are invited, to join in the offering. There is appended an amendment or additional proposal moved by Lampon, perhaps the celebrated soothsayer, part of which is as follows: *τὸν δὲ βασ[ι]λέα ὁρίσαι τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐν τ[ῶ]ι Πελαργικῷ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μὴ ἐνίδρύεσθαι βωμοὺς ἐν τῷ Πελαργικῷ ἄνευ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, μηδὲ τοὺς λίθους τέμνειν ἐκ τοῦ Πελαργικοῦ, μηδὲ γῆν ἐχσάγειν μηδὲ λίθους*. The inscription is edited by M. Foucart in the Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, iv. p. 225. The use of Σ, not Ϟ, is said by him to fix the date after 454, the datives in *-ησι* before 415. As the character of the early part of the inscription seems to assign it to a time of peace, it may belong to the peace of Nicias, or more probably to the years preceding the Peloponnesian War.

The words immediately preceding the regulation about the Pelasgicum are remarkable: *μῆνα δὲ ἐμβάλλειν Ἑκατον-*

βαιῶνα τὸν νέον ἄρχοντα. It has been hitherto supposed that in the fifth century B.C., as in later times, the month intercalated was Poseideon (Dec.-Jan.). The inscription would seem to show either that any month might be intercalated, or that it was sometimes necessary to intercalate an additional month. It also raises a doubt whether the Athenians about the time of the Peloponnesian War employed a fixed cycle of years, that of Meton or any other, and did not rather intercalate a month when necessary (Droysen, in 'Hermes' for 1880, x. p. 364). The inscription affords a fresh illustration of the uncertainty of Greek chronology, considered in the note on ii. 2.

M. Foucart interprets the words of the intercalation of a day or a few days in the month Hecatombaeon. But surely, as Droysen says, they must refer to the whole month.

For an inscription subsequent to the Archonship of Euclides which has been thought to throw some light on i. 77, *ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις*, see infra, note on *ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι*.

III. Dedicatory inscriptions.

For the inscription on the serpent which once supported the tripod dedicated by the Greeks after the battle of Plataea, see note on i. 132. 3. A fuller and more recent account of this ancient monument by the author there quoted, Frick, will be found in the Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie, Suppl. iii. pp. 485–556.

For the inscription on the altar erected by Pisistratus son of Hippias, see note on vi. 54. 7.

A curious coincidence with the words of Thucydides is presented by C. I. A. 340. A pedestal of Pentelic marble preserves the words—

ΕΠΟΙΚΟΝ | ΕΣΠΟΤΕΙΔΑΙΑΝ

Cp. Thuc. ii. 70, *καὶ ὕστερον ἐποίκους ἐαυτῶν ἔπεμψαν ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν καὶ κατῴκισαν.*

For an inscription relating to Corcyra, see note on iii. 84. 1.

IV. Sepulchral inscriptions.

The inscription in honour of the dead who fell at Potidaea (C. I. A. 442) is given in the note on i. 61. 3. That on the fallen of the tribe Erechtheis (C. I. A. 433) is given in the note on i. 103. 1, and alluded to in other passages of this essay.

An inscription (C. I. A. 446) over those who fell at Potidaea, Amphipolis, and elsewhere, and another over those who fell at Thasos (C. I. A. 432), are discussed on iv. 129.

For the beautiful epitaph of Simonides on Archedicè, the daughter of Hippias, see text, vi. 59.

C. I. A. 475, [λ]οίμῳ θανούσης εἰμί σῆμα Μυρίνης might be attributed to the time of the great plague, were not the writing (Θ?) too archaic.

C. I. A. 479, 483 are fragments of sepulchral monuments found among what are supposed to be the remains of the Themistoclean walls:—

479. Σῆμα φί[λ]ου παιδὸς τόδε . . . . κατ]έθηκεν,
Στησίου, ὃν θάνατος [δακρυ]όεις καθέχει.

The inscription is broken into two pieces, and is not written metrically.

483. Ἀντιδότου. | Καλλωνίδης ἐποίει | ὁ Δεινίου.

Compare Thucydides' description of the structure of the wall (i. 93 init.): 'To this day the structure shows evidence of haste. The foundations are made up of all sorts of stones, in some places unwrought, and laid just as each worker brought them; *there were many columns too, taken from sepulchres*, and many old stones already cut, inserted in the work.'

Such appears to be the amount of light thrown upon Thucydides by Greek inscriptions. The comparison of them would have been more interesting had we been able freely to accept the conjectures of archaeologists. There is always a temptation to convert the uncertain and indefinite into the definite and certain. The greater the ingenuity the greater the fascination, though often the greater the improbability. But we must remember that there are myths or romances of modern criticism as well as of early

history, and in the latter half of the nineteenth century we have not so much to fear from the last as from the first. Ἴσως τὸ μὴ μυθώδες αὐτῶν ἀτερπέστερον φανεῖται, but ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει. A few grains of fact secured to the world once for all are of more value than many brilliant theories which appear and disappear, like intellectual meteors, in successive generations.

The evil tendency of the study is that it encourages the habit of conjecture, which has already been one of the great corruptions of philology. There is a necessity for making too much out of a few letters or words, and thus appearing to obtain a result commensurate with the labour spent upon them. The slenderness of his materials leads the enquirer to snatch at chance coincidences. His honest enthusiasm will sometimes make him forget that the words or letters upon which his conclusion is based are due to conjecture. He is too apt to apply an inscription to the interpretation of a difficulty in an ancient author. Where the balance of probability is just in favour of a conclusion, it is assumed by him to be a certainty; and the new fact which is supposed to be proved is set rolling, and draws after it other inferences still more uncertain. A possible deduction from the inscriptions, such as the doubling of the Athenian tribute-money, or the transfer of the common treasury from Delos to Athens in the year 454 (resting only on the circumstance that in this year the quota lists begin), is repeated at second or third hand as a great historical discovery. In the absence of contemporary, we are satisfied with later, evidence; and the older history of Athens is interpreted by inscriptions of the second or third century, and inscriptions of the second or third century are explained by the older history of Athens. Where singular forms of grammar occur only once or twice, e.g. σωῶ for σώσω, or the omission of the article, we are not quite certain how much is to be attributed to the carelessness of the engraver. On the other hand, from the frequent repetition of it, there can be no doubt that the form of the third person plural imperative, -όσθων for -έσθων, is a real variety of inflexion. The uncertainty in the use of several letters,

even in the same inscription, or the inconsistency of the writing and the subject (C. I. A. 8, 93, 283), suggests doubts as to the limits within which this undoubtedly valid argument of date may be employed. The considerable differences which occur in the interpretation and reading of the text as given by Boeckh, Kirchhoff, Köhler, Newton and Hicks, are another element of uncertainty.

All these are reasons for hesitation. They show that we must not indulge in sanguine or exaggerated language, but must confine ourselves to general results. And general results, when they relate to the history of the past, are by no means to be despised. Though we cannot rewrite the history of Greece out of her stones, is it a small thing to know that inscriptions of the fifth century before Christ confirm and illustrate the great literary works of the same age? They bring nearer home to us Greek political institutions, the great struggle for freedom, the writings of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon. They realize to us the innumerable details of private life about which history is silent; they illustrate forcibly some of the characteristics of Athenian public life, such as the imperative nature of duty to the state, the universal responsibility and liability to audit of treasurers and other officers, the great number of citizens annually chosen by lot to take part in the administration of the city (Thuc. ii. 40 init.). They add to our previous knowledge a few facts. They make an important contribution to the history of the Greek alphabet. And the investigation of them, especially on the spot, is full of interest independently of the result. To be busy on Greek soil, under the light of the blue heaven, amid the scenes of ancient glory, in reading inscriptions, or putting together fragments of stone or marble, has a charm of another kind than that which is to be found in the language of ancient authors. Yet even to appreciate truly the value of such remains, it is to the higher study of the mind of Hellas and of her great men that we must return, finding some little pleasure by the way (like that of looking at an autograph) in deciphering the handwriting of her children amid the dust of her ruins.

NOTE ON THE

GEOGRAPHY OF THUCYDIDES.

VARIOUS difficulties have been found in the geography of Thucydides: his accounts of places are at variance sometimes (1) with facts, sometimes (2) with the statements of later writers. It may be said of his descriptions generally, as of most early descriptions, that they are graphic rather than accurate. When we try to reproduce them in the mind something is wanting. For example, we do not gather from his narrative where the Euryelus was situated by which the Athenians, and also Gylippus, ascended the heights of Epipolae (note on vii. 42. 4), or how the Syracusan defences lay after the completion of the third counter-wall (note on vii. 7. 1), or how the dolphins were placed for the protection of the Athenian ships in the great Syracusan harbour (note on vii. 38. 3). The topography of battles is often imperfect, and sometimes leads to a difficulty in the explanation of them. The narrative of the battle of Amphipolis leads to the inference (see Arnold's Appendix) that the city was not at the top but on the slope of the hill which Cleon ascended with his army, but this can only be inferred with some uncertainty and is not definitely expressed. Perhaps without maps and plans a better delineation was impossible. The narrative of the second sea-fight in the Crisaean gulf (ii. 90 ff.) is incoherent: for we are not told what happened to that portion of the Peloponnesian fleet which was originally victorious. The manner of the attack which ended in the capture of the first Syracusan counter-wall (note on vi. 100. 3) is not fully described and can only be inferred. Once more, in the

calculation of distances the eye or the information of the writer was frequently at fault. For examples see below.

There has been a good deal of controversy on this subject. Even into geography the spirit of party may find a way. Some commentators have been desirous of maintaining the credit of their author, like Dr. Arnold, who was of opinion that 'when Geographers who are also Scholars visit the places of which Thucydides speaks personally, most of the difficulties in his descriptions will vanish.' That remark of course supposes that Thucydides, rightly understood, is generally or always in the right. We may imagine the writer of it to feel what he does not say: 'The most accurate and trustworthy of historians can hardly be imagined to be ignorant as a schoolboy of geography.' And certainly in his account of Pylos and Sphacteria, Dr. Arnold is ready, in a figure, to work a miracle in order to save the reputation of Thucydides. Changes in the formation of the coast are the 'Deus ex machina' to which he has recourse.

Yet it may very likely be true that Thucydides is far behind Strabo or Pausanias or Stephanus Byzantinus in geography, though his conception of history may be quite unattainable by them. Still greater would be the disparity of his knowledge when compared with that of a modern traveller, such as Colonel Leake or Sir William Gell. For the knowledge of geography is always growing with time, while history fades into the distance. The materials of the one are increasing, while the materials of the other are diminishing. The credibility of an author's geography is not therefore to be judged of by the credibility of his history, because in the one far more than in the other he is dependent on the conditions of his age.

In this short note it is not intended to enter into the discussion of particular passages, but rather to urge two general principles: (1) that geographical accuracy is not to be expected from a writer of the age of Thucydides: (2) that the number of his inaccuracies shows them to be attributable rather to his ignorance, than to the ignorance of later writers, or of ourselves.

To attempt to reconcile the geography of Thucydides with facts may be the same error in kind, though not in degree, as to try and adapt the drive of Telemachus between Sparta and Pylos to the present condition of the country, or to seek for the cave by which Odysseus was deposited, on the sea-shore of Ithaca. As the more familiar features of a scene are likely to be reproduced in the creations of the poet, so the ancient historian will roughly guess distances. But he may often make mistakes about a region with which he was unacquainted, and he will not always be able to judge what amount of description is required in order to place before his readers a just conception of a place or of a battle. There were no surveys of countries or measurements of distances in the age of Herodotus and Thucydides (except along the course of great roads such as the Persian highways), but only the proverbially uncertain measure of a day's journey or of a day's sail (see Thuc. ii. 97, and Arnold's note). There were no correct maps, but only rude delineations such as made Herodotus laugh (iv. 36). The eye was the judge of the distance across a strait or across the entrance of a harbour. Daily experience tells us how seldom the power of judging distances is found in any one who has not been trained by long habit.

Some of the errors in Thucydides which have suggested the above remarks are the following:—

ii. 86 med. The distance of Rhium in Achaia from Rhium on the opposite coast is said by Thucydides to be less than a mile (7 stadia). According to Col. Leake (Morea, ii. 148) 'the distance is little, if at all, short of a mile and a half,' and would have been considerably greater in ancient times if we assume, as in this particular instance there is reason for thinking, that the sea, owing to the deposits of rivers, has retreated about 250 yards on the south, and somewhat less on the north coast.

iv. 8 med. The southern entrance of the harbour formed by the bay of Navarino is said by Col. Leake to be more than 1400 yards in width, and the northern about 150 yards. But according to Thucydides, the northern entrance

admitted the passage of only two ships, the southern of not more than eight or nine, and the Lacedaemonians had intended to block up both passages by ships placed lengthways. See note on iv. 3. 1.

iv. 57 init. According to Thucydides, Thyrea was situated about 10 stadia from the sea, or about $1\frac{1}{8}$ of a mile. According to Col. Leake (Morea, ii. 492) 'it is at least three times that distance.' Other writers suggest other sites. But there are no remains which agree with the distance mentioned in Thucydides (Bursian, Geographie von Griechenland, ii. p. 70).

iv. 66 med. According to Thucydides, Megara was situated 8 stadia from the sea-port of Nisaea: according to Strabo (ix. 1. 4, p. 391) 18 stadia was the distance. He is followed by Col. Leake (Northern Greece, ii. 401 ff.) and Ross, though Arnold, whose opinion is adopted in the note on iii. 51. 3, differs from them.

vi. 104 med. Gylippus sailing from Tarentum to Sicily was caught by a storm in the Terinaean gulf. But the Terinaean gulf, called also the Sinus Hipponiates, is on the west coast of Italy (Pliny, iii. 72. 5, 10). See note *in loco.*

viii. 88 init. Alcibiades is described as sailing straight from Samos to Phaselis and Caunus on his way to Aspendus, and as returning to Samos from Caunus and Phaselis (108 init.). The inverse order in both cases is the true one. Dr. Arnold supposes the words to mean 'straight to Phaselis, having first touched at Caunus;' 'from Caunus, and before that from Phaselis.' But this explanation is forced in itself, and is rendered impossible by the repetition of the wrong order in the description of the return voyage.

viii. 101 fin. Similarly, Larissa and Hamaxitus are mentioned in a wrong order (see Strabo, xiii. 1. 47, 48, pp. 604, 605).

vi. 72 init. So Naxos and Catana.

iii. 29 med. So Icarus and Myconus.

vii. 19 init. Decelea is said to be visible and distant about

120 stadia (i. e. about fourteen miles) from Athens, and about the same or a little more from Boeotia. In reality it was much nearer Boeotia, and the place itself probably not visible from Athens. It has been suggested that Thucydides is here thinking of the far-off corner of Boeotia at Oropus, from which an important road ran through Decelea (vii. 28 init.) to Athens. Still this would only show how different his mode of expression is from that of a modern writer.

viii. 26 med. *Λέρον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον.* But Leros is forty miles from Miletus. All the MSS. except the Vatican read *Ἔλεον*, a place of which the name is otherwise unknown. *Λέρον* is probably correct, and is confirmed by the close connection which we find existing between Leros and Miletus in the tribute lists (C. I. A. 37, 226, 251, 262, 264).

iii. 4 fin. *ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως* (compare c. 6, *περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον*). But according to Strabo, Malea was at the southern extremity of the island: see however note on the passage.

i. 61 med. *ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες.* But Beroea was several days' march out of the road from Pydna to Potidaea; nor could the Athenians possibly have reached Gigonus by slow marches three days after their departure from Beroea (*κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον*). See note *in loco.*

We may also notice that where Thucydides evidently wants to express geographical ideas with precision, as in ii. 9 fin., *νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας*, or in the description of the island of Cythera, iv. 53 fin., *πᾶσα* (i. e. either *ἡ νῆσος* or *ἡ Λακωνική*) *γὰρ ἀνέχει πρὸς τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος*, he has caused a great deal of trouble to his interpreters. There is a lesser degree of obscurity in the description of the country about Chimerium (i. 46 fin.), especially the words *ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ Θύαμις ποταμός, ὁρίζων τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην, ὧν ἐντὸς ἡ ἄκρα ἀνέχει τὸ Χειμέριον*, where *ὧν* refers not to *τὴν Θεσπρωτίδα καὶ Κεστρίνην*, but to

ποταμῶν, gathered from the previous sentence (scil. the Acheron and the Thyamis).

It is worth while also to compare the description of the kingdom of the Odrysae in ii. 97, which though not obscure, is cumbrous and very unlike the manner of a modern geographer.

Considering the number of these errors and the probability that Thucydides from his imperfect means of knowledge would have fallen into them, is it worth while, for the sake of vindicating his credit, either to alter the text, or to assume changes in the face of nature, unless there is actual proof of them in each particular case? All that we can reasonably expect of him is that he should be a little in advance of his predecessors, not that he should vie with modern accuracy, or equally with a modern historian be alive to the value of topography, or realise the fulness and minuteness of detail which is required in a describer of places or of military movements.

NOTE ON

ΔΙΚΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΣΥΜΒΟΛΩΝ AND ΣΥΜΒΟΛΑΙΑΙ.

SINCE the note on i. 77. 1 was printed, the attention of the writer has been called to an article in the first number of the American Journal of Philology, written by Professor Goodwin of Harvard, in which the vexed question of *δίκαι συμβόλαιαι* and their relation to *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* is once more discussed. He explains them, not as the same with *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, i. e. suits brought by a citizen of one state against a citizen of another under the rights given by a treaty, but, like Boeckh, simply as meaning 'suits relating to contracts' or 'business suits.' He cites three passages from Aristotle's Politics in which the distinction appears to him to be clearly observed :—

iii. 1. 4. *οὐδ' οἱ τῶν δικαίων μετέχοντες οὕτως ὥστε καὶ δίκην ὑπέχειν καὶ δικάζεσθαι* (scil. *πολῖται εἰσί*)· *τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπάρχει καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ συμβόλων κοινωνοῦσι.*

iii. 1. 10. *καὶ τὰς δίκας δικάζουσι κατὰ μέρος, οἷον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι τὰς τῶν συμβολαίων δικάζει τῶν ἐφόρων ἄλλος ἄλλας.*

ii. 5. 11. *λέγω δὲ δίκας τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων καὶ ψευδομαρτυριῶν κρίσεις καὶ πλουσίων κολακείας.*

It is clear that in the first of these passages the words *ἀπὸ συμβόλων* refer to relations between those who are not citizens of the same state; and *συμβόλαια* in the two last passages to those who are; though the word might apply equally to all business suits, whether between citizens of the same state or not.

But (1) it may be remarked that the expression quoted from the two latter passages of Aristotle, which Professor Goodwin cites for the first time, is not the same with that in Thucydides, and therefore does not afford a fair basis of argument. There is no reason to doubt that the phrase

δίκαι αἱ τῶν συμβολαίων or δίκαι περὶ συμβολαίων means 'suits about contracts;' the dispute is whether quite a different phrase, συμβόλαιαι δίκαι, may not also mean 'suits made under treaty regulations' (=δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων) where the context favours such an interpretation.

There is nothing in the words themselves which would prevent the use of the two expressions as equivalents. Συμβόλαιος, as Platner (Att. Process, p. 111) observes, is an adjective formed from σύμβολον, and not from συμβόλαιον, though the case-meaning expressed in it is less simple than in most adjectives. Now the context in Thucydides requires that relations between different states should be here intended. For he is speaking of something which the allies regarded as a grievance imposed upon them, but which the Athenians maintain to be a privilege which is granted to them; 'For because in our suits with our allies regulated by treaty we remit somewhat of our just rights, and allow them to be tried by our own laws, we are supposed to be litigious.' This must be taken in connection with the general spirit of the rest of the chapter, which may be paraphrased as follows: 'The Athenians might have used force as others (meaning the Lacedaemonians) would have done, but they preferred to give their allies legal rights, and were therefore thought litigious.' And these words, it may be observed, are only a repetition and stronger inculcation of some other words which have preceded the disputed phrase: 'How moderate we are would speedily appear if others took our place; indeed, our very moderation, which should be our glory, has been unjustly converted into a reproach.' Is not the force of the passage greatly weakened, if instead of the words 'For because in our suits with our allies regulated by treaty' we read 'For because in suits about contracts' or 'in business suits'? For why should this act of oppression or privilege, as it was regarded from different points of view, affect only business suits and not matters of life and death? The word ξυμβολαίαις thus becomes almost if not altogether pointless.

On the other hand, if the speaker is supposed to argue

'For in our suits with our allies in which we actually recognize their rights as independent states' (implied in our concluding treaties with them), the point reappears.

The phrase *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* means suits made under a special agreement or by special regulations between two states. But we must admit that the precise regulations might be different in different cases, or at different times, and it is possible, as Mr. Grote supposes (Part. II. c. xlvii med., note), that 'suits regulated by treaty' between Athens and her allies existed only under the second Athenian empire; and that the passage quoted by a grammarian from Aristotle, *Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδίκαζον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις*, may apply only to this, or, as Professor Goodwin suggests, only to the independent allies under the first empire.

We therefore acknowledge that the argument from the context is somewhat weakened by our ignorance of the precise nature of *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*. Still the explanation of Professor Goodwin gives no force to the words *συμβόλαιαι δίκαι*. Even if we admit that 'suits about contracts' are co-extensive with all civil suits, we must again ask, Why civil suits, rather than all suits? especially when we know from Antiphon de Caede Herodis, § 47, quoted by Professor Goodwin himself, that some criminal suits (i.e. all capital cases) had to be tried at Athens. And cp. C. I. A. Supp. 27 *a*, (p. lxxi, supra). The presumption thus raised must be met, not by *a priori* arguments, but by actual evidence that civil suits gave greater offence to the allies or were more oppressive to them than criminal ones. Even if the words *φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν* refer more naturally to civil suits, yet other words, *βιάζεσθαι, καταναγκάζεσθαι*, are more applicable to criminal cases. The whole passage certainly cannot be narrowed to either. The place from the oligarchical author of the De Republica Atheniensium (i. 16–18) quoted by Professor Goodwin clearly refers, not merely to civil suits as he maintains (p. 16), but to all suits: this appears from words of which his translation does not give the force (§ 16), *καὶ τοὺς μὲν τοῦ δήμου σώζουσι, τοὺς δ' ἐναντίους ἀπολλύουσιν ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις. ἀπολλύουσι*

surely means in this place 'they are the death of them,' not merely 'they plunder them.'

For some other aspects of this question see note *in loco.* An inscription given in Hermes (no. vii. p. 159 ff.; C. I. A. vol. ii. pt. i. 11) clearly shows that δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων existed between Athens and Phaselis: [τοῖ]ς Φασηλίταις τὸ ψ[ήφ]ι[σμα ἀν]αγράψαι, ὅτι ἂμ μὲ[ν] Ἀθ[ήνησι συμβό]λαιον γένηται [πρὸς Φ]ασηλι[τ]ῶν τινά, Ἀθή[νησι τὰς δ]ίκας γίγνεσθαι πα[ρὰ τῷ πολ]εμάρχῳ καθάπερ Χ[ίοις καὶ] ἄλλοθι μηδαμοῦ· τῶ[ν δὲ ἄλλων] ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων κατ[ὰ τὰς πρὶν] ξυμβολὰς πρὸς Φα[σηλίτας] τὰς δίκας ε[ἶνα]ι, τὰς [δὲ . . . .]ο. ἀφελεῖν. But the inscription is proved by the writing to be later than the archonship of Euclides, and therefore does not relate to the first Athenian empire, but to a time when Phaselis was independent. The words τὰς πρὶν in κατὰ τὰς πρὶν ξυμβολάς are unfortunately in brackets, or they might be used as a presumption that δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων between the Athenians and their allies existed also under the first Athenian empire.

There is a mention of δίκαι [κα]τὰ τὰς ξυ[μβο]λάς, αἳ ἦσα[ν πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου?] in C. I. A. Supp. 96, a fragment of a decree relating to the Athenian κληροῦχοι in Lesbos (see p. xii. supra), which seems to show that such a relation existed between Lesbos and Athens before and perhaps after the revolt; but the words are so imperfect that no certain inference can be drawn from them. It should be observed that in both these inscriptions the word is ξυμβολή, not ξύμβολον.

After all that has been written on this subject the conclusion must be uncertain, and is not materially affected by the considerations which Professor Goodwin has adduced.

NOTE.

The asterisk, 1)*, *a*)*, denotes that the explanation of a passage to which it is affixed is the explanation adopted in the translation.

NOTES ON THUCYDIDES.

BOOK I.

Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ξυνέγραψε τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους. 1. 1.

ὡς ἐπολέμησαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους is a resumption, or resolution into a relative clause, of *τὸν πόλεμον τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων*. The meaning is, not 'in what manner they fought with one another,' but simply 'their war with one another.' Or, preserving the pleonasm, which gives additional weight to the opening sentence, we may translate the whole clause, 'the war of the Peloponnesians and Athenians, in which they fought with one another.' There is no stress upon *ὡς*, which is taken in the less emphatic sense of the English 'how.'

τεκμαιρόμενος, ὅτι ἀκμάζοντές τε ἦσαν ἐς αὐτὸν ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ, καὶ τὸ ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ὁρῶν ξυνιστάμενον πρὸς ἑκατέρους, τὸ μὲν εὐθύς, τὸ δὲ καὶ διανοουμένον. 1. 1.

ὁρῶν is parallel in the Greek with *ὅτι ἀκμάζοντες ἦσαν*, not with *τεκμαιρόμενος*: *ὁρῶν=καὶ ὅτι ἑώρα*. *καί* adds emphasis to the last clause of the sentence. Not simply 'and others who were intending to join,' but 'besides others,' or 'and there were others.'

κίνησις γὰρ αὕτη μεγίστη δὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐγένετο καὶ μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν, καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων. 1. 2.

1)* *μεγίστη* refers, strictly speaking, only to *τοῖς Ἕλλησιν*. The words which follow, *μέρει τινὶ τῶν βαρβάρων*, and *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀνθρώπων*, are construed with *ἐγένετο* and not with *μεγίστη*, the force of the latter word being but slightly felt. Not 'the greatest movement

1. 2. that ever occurred among a certain portion of the barbarians,' but 'the greatest among Hellenes, extending to a portion of the barbarians, and, it may be said, over a great part of the world.' The latter clauses furnish proofs of its greatness among the Hellenes. The emphasis, marked by δή, is on *μεγίστη*, to which the words *οὐ μεγάλα*, at the end of the following sentence, are opposed.

Or 2) making a longer pause at *βαρβάρων*, *ἐπὶ πλεῖστον* may be taken as corresponding to *μεγίστη*; 'it was the most important movement and also the most universal.'

For a similar parallelism cp. i. 23 med. *σεισμῶν τε πέρι, οἳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἅμα μέρος γῆς καὶ ἰσχυρότατοι οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔπεσχον.*

1. 2. *ἐκ δὲ τεκμηρίων, ὧν ἐπὶ μακρότατον σκοπουῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι ξυμβαίνει, οὐ μεγάλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.*

1) *ὧν* may depend entirely on *ἐπὶ μακρότατον*, and *αὐτοῖς* may be supplied after *πιστεῦσαι*. It has been argued (Poppo, 2nd ed. min.) that *ἐπὶ μακρότατον*, not being used elsewhere with the genitive, is not likely to be used so here. But the non-occurrence of a phrase in a particular construction, especially in one so common as a genitive after a superlative, proves nothing against such a use when the meaning of the phrase allows.

2)* *ὧν* may also be taken as equivalent by attraction to *οἷς* governed by *πιστεῦσαι*. This has the advantage of giving an object to *πιστεῦσαι*.

Though the attraction of a dative is unusual, the harshness is in this case relieved by the possibility of regarding *ὧν* in one of two other relations, either *a*) as the genitive after *ἐπὶ μακρότατον*, or *b*) as representing the accusative after *σκοπουῦντι*: *ἃ σκοπουῦντί μοι πιστεῦσαι αὐτοῖς ξυμβαίνει.*

2. 2. *τῆς γὰρ ἐμπορίας οὐκ οὔσης, οὐδ' ἐπιμιγνύντες ἀδεῶς ἀλλήλοις οὔτε κατὰ γῆν οὔτε διὰ θαλάσσης, νεμόμενοί τε τὰ αὑτῶν ἕκαστοι ὅσον ἀποζῆν, καὶ περιουσίαν χρημάτων οὐκ ἔχοντες, οὐδὲ γῆν φυτεύοντες, (ἄδηλον ὄν, ὁπότε τις ἐπελθὼν καὶ ἀτειχίστων ἅμα ὄντων ἄλλος ἀφαιρήσεται,) τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς πανταχοῦ ἂν ἡγούμενοι ἐπικρατεῖν, οὐ χαλεπῶς ἀπανίσταντο.*

The main divisions of this long period are introduced by *τέ*

—νεμόμενοί τε—τῆς τε καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκαίου τροφῆς. The first τέ has no connection with the καί which follows. 2. 2.

This use of τέ is a relic of the εἰρομένη λέξις (Arist. Rhet. iii. 9. 2) which was the prevailing character of early Greek historical writing. Traces of it still remain in the style of Thucydides, though broken up and interfered with, as in this passage, by a more complex formation of the sentence.

διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἵ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. 2. 4.

τισί has been explained 1)* of persons, 2) of communities. As there is no distinct antecedent to which τισί can be referred, the first is the more natural meaning of it in this passage; the second accords better with the general sense, and with the words ἐγγιγνόμεναι, στάσεις ἐνεποίουν, ἐφθείροντο, ἐπεβουλεύοντο.

τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ ἀεί. 2. 5.

1)* ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον is a redundant expression equivalent to ἐκ πλείστου χρόνου.

Or 2) there is a confusion between ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν and ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀστασίαστον εἶναι. Cp. iv. 63 init. διὰ τὸ ἤδη φοβεροὺς παρόντας Ἀθηναίους. v. 7 med. οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καθημένους βαρύνεσθαι.

For ἐπὶ πλεῖστον used of time cp. v. 46 init. ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄριστον εἶναι διασώσασθαι τὴν εὐπραγίαν.

καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὂν ἀνεχώρουν. 2. 5.

What is the meaning of διὰ τὰς μετοικίας ἐς τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι?

1) 'That the migrations were the cause why the rest of Hellas' (Hellas as to its other parts) 'progressed more slowly' would give the best sense. This mode of taking τὰ ἄλλα is supported by the words which follow, ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος.

But it is difficult to supply τὴν Ἑλλάδα as the subject, either from the general context or by anticipation from the following sentence;

2. 5. it is equally difficult to take *αὐξηθῆναι* as impersonal. And *μετοικία* is only used as the abstract substantive of *μέτοικος*, not in the general sense of change of country.

2) The subject of *αὐξηθῆναι* is probably *τὴν Ἀττικήν* supplied from the preceding sentence.

ἐς τὰ ἄλλα may then be taken either *a*) with *μὴ ὁμοίως*, or *b*) with *αὐξηθῆναι*.

Either *a*) 'Attica increased in population not equally with,' i. e. out of proportion to, 'her increase in other respects.'

Or *b*) 'Attica did not increase equally in other respects' (compared with the increase of her population). Cp. i. 1 fin. *οὐ μέγαλα νομίζω γενέσθαι οὔτε κατὰ τοὺς πολέμους οὔτε ἐς τὰ ἄλλα.*

The distinction between increasing in population and increasing in wealth corresponds to the opposition of population and natural advantages implied throughout, and reappears at the end of the chapter in the words *μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν*, which by implication repeat the statement that Attica increased in population rather than in wealth.

Or 3)* retaining *τὴν Ἀττικήν* as the subject, but taking *τὰ ἄλλα* nearly in the same sense as in 1), 'Attica, in respect of other parts of Hellas, did not increase equally,' i. e. increased much more. We might have expected *πρός*, 'in comparison of,' in this place. But *ἐς*, which has a more generalized meaning, may also be used.

The steps in the argument are as follows:—

a) The fertile districts of Hellas were unsettled.

b) Attica, which was not fertile, was not unsettled, but became a powerful and populous country. (This is a proof *ἐξ ἐναντίων* of the connection between fertility and unsettlement.)

c) And she not only retained her own inhabitants, but received the inhabitants of other countries. (This is a further confirmation of the same inference.)

τοῦ λόγου refers to the general argument, which is, according to 1), that the prevalence of migration hindered progress in the rest of Hellas; according to 2) and 3)*, that the rest of Hellas was in fact depopulated through the fertility of the soil.

διὰ τὰς μετοικίας κ.τ.λ. is, according to 1), an explanation of *τοῦ*

λόγου; according to 2) and 3)*, an explanation of τόδε. τόδε, ac- 2. 5.
cording to 1), refers to the following sentence, ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος κ.τ.λ.

There is no sufficient ground for altering the text (e. g. by the omission of ἐς after μετοικίας, or the change of μετοικίας ἐς into μετοικήσεις). The uncertainty of meaning is not greater than in many other passages.

κατὰ ἔθνη δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν τὴν 3. 1.
ἐπωνυμίαν παρέχεσθαι.

An indefinite subject has to be supplied with παρέχεσθαι from κατὰ ἔθνη ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸ Πελασγικόν: 'they,' sc. the various peoples of those times. So below, in the words καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις.

οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες κατὰ πόλεις τε, ὅσοι ἀλλήλων ξυνίεσαν, 3. 4.
καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον κληθέντες, οὐδὲν πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν δι' ἀσθένειαν καὶ ἀμιξίαν ἀλλήλων ἀθρόοι ἔπραξαν.

1)*. The several Hellenic tribes in whom the consciousness of their nationality was not yet awakened are described under two aspects, *a*) as those who had in early times a common language, *b*) as those who were hereafter to have a common name. Strictly speaking, οἱ ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες is an improper expression which is explained away in what follows, the writer remembering that the word Ἕλληνες does not yet apply to all those of whom he is speaking.

Thucydides, according to this way of taking the passage, implies that all the tribes of Hellas, though some of them were reckoned Pelasgi and barbarians in after ages, and are so called by himself in other places (see below), were really of the same race and spoke a common language.

Or 2) the construction is οἱ δ' οὖν ὡς ἕκαστοι Ἕλληνες (κληθέντες) κατὰ πόλεις τε (Ἕλληνες κληθέντες) καὶ ξύμπαντες ὕστερον (Ἕλληνες) κληθέντες.

Thucydides is in this case summing up his previous account of the spread of the name Hellenes (i. 3 med. καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτοὺς ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ ἐς τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις, κάθ' ἑκάστους μὲν ἤδη τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μᾶλλον καλεῖσθαι Ἕλληνας):—'Those then who in various ways came to

3. 4. bear the name Hellenes, which they did first city by city, as many as spoke a common language,' (i. e. the original Hellenes, to whom Thucydides must be held to confine the Hellenic language), 'and afterwards collectively,' etc.

The difference between these two modes of explaining the passage turns upon the question whether the word *κληθέντες* is to be taken with the last clause of the sentence only or with the whole sentence.

1) describes the Hellenes in their several communities who spoke a common language before they had a common name.

2) describes the stages by which the name Hellenes, which had been at first confined to a few communities, gradually spread over the whole country, and, with the name, the Hellenic language.

The process by which Thucydides conceived the other tribes of Greece to have passed into the Hellenic circle may be illustrated by the case of the Amphilochians, ii. 68 init., who, though colonists from Argos, are described by him as barbarians, (except such of them as had acquired the Hellenic language from the Ambraciots), and who were so regarded by their Ambraciot neighbours, iii. 112 fin. Again, iv. 109, a Pelasgian race is classed among *βάρβαροι δίγλωσσοι.*

Compare the well-known passage in Herodotus, i. 57, 58, *ἥντινα δὲ γλῶσσαν ἱεσαν οἱ Πελασγοί, οὐκ ἔχω ἀτρεκέως εἰπαι, εἰ δὲ χρεών ἐστι τεκμαιρόμενον λέγειν τοῖσι νῦν ἔτι ἐοῦσι Πελασγῶν . . . εἰ τούτοισι τεκμαιρόμενον δεῖ λέγειν, ἦσαν οἱ Πελασγοὶ βάρβαρον γλῶσσαν ἱέντες. εἰ τοίνυν ἦν καὶ πᾶν τοιοῦτο τὸ Πελασγικόν, τὸ Ἀττικὸν ἔθνος ἐὸν Πελασγικὸν ἅμα τῇ μεταβολῇ τῇ ἐς Ἕλληνας καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν μετέμαθε.*

It is impossible to define with certainty the character of the 'Pelasgians,' in their relation to the original Hellenes. The view which on the whole these passages of Herodotus and Thucydides indicate is that the Pelasgians were a widely-spread race, speaking a barbarous language, which they gradually exchanged for the Hellenic language of historical times. Yet Greek does not appear to be formed out of different elements; and no considerable traces of another language are discernible in it.

If the Pelasgians were widely spread, their language could not have been very different from that of the Hellenes: but if Herodotus is right in inferring, from his knowledge of places in

which the Pelasgians survived, that they spoke a barbarous language, they cannot be supposed to have been very widely diffused. **3. 4.**

δηλοῦσι δὲ τῶν τε ἠπειρωτῶν τινες ἔτι καὶ νῦν, οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾶν κ.τ.λ. **5. 2.**

καλῶς, i.e. successfully: cp. vi. 12 init. *οἷς τό τε ψεύσασθαι καλῶς χρήσιμον κ.τ.λ.*

ἐληίζοντο δὲ καὶ κατ' ἤπειρον ἀλλήλους.

The previous part of the chapter has referred to robbers by sea, whether islanders or dwellers on the coasts. Thucydides now passes on to speak of robbers by land. **5. 3.**

ἐν τοῖς πρῶτοι. See note on iii. 17. 1. **6. 3.**

καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς **6. 3.** *χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες, καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε.*

διὰ τὸ ἁβροδίαιτον is to be taken as explaining, not *ἐπαύσαντο*, but *φοροῦντες*. It may also be connected with *οὐ πολὺς χρόνος*. Either, 1)* 'It is not long since they gave up the luxurious habit of wearing linen garments,' etc.: or 2) 'Their luxurious tastes led them to retain these practices until quite recently': or 3) both notions may be combined. 'They wore this attire, and also long retained it, from a love of luxury.'

ἀφ' οὗ, 'whence derived.'

For the *τέττιγες* cp. Aristophanes:

Knights, 1331,—

ὁδ' ἐκεῖνος ὁρᾶν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός:

Clouds, 984,—

ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα:

where, as in this passage, they are the signs of old-fashioned gentility.

μετρίᾳ δ' αὖ ἐσθῆτι καὶ ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον πρῶτοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐχρήσαντο, **6. 4.** *καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς οἱ τὰ μείζω κεκτημένοι ἰσοδίαιτοι μάλιστα κατέστησαν.*

6. 4. Thucydides traces the outward indications of the process by which the Hellenes passed from barbarism to civilization. The Athenians first gave up the carrying of arms, and adopted a more luxurious style of attire, which has continued until quite recent times (*διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον* is the resumption of *ἐς τὸ τρυφερώτερον*). But in dress the Lacedaemonians took the lead. Whether they, like the Athenians, originally wore the more cumbrous garments or not, we are not told by Thucydides; at any rate they were the first to introduce the simpler costume of later times. Cp. Arist. Pol. iv. 9. 7. 8, *ὅπερ συμβαίνει περὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐγχειροῦσι λέγειν ὡς δημοκρατίας οὔσης διὰ τὸ δημοκρατικὰ πολλὰ τὴν τάξιν ἔχειν, . . . οὐθὲν γὰρ διάδηλος ὁ πλούσιος καὶ ὁ πένης. οὕτω τὰ περὶ τὴν τροφὴν ταὐτὰ πᾶσιν ἐν τοῖς συσσιτίοις, καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα οἱ πλούσιοι τοιαύτην οἵαν ἄν τις παρασκευάσαι δύναιτο καὶ τῶν πενήτων ὁστισοῦν.*

7. *τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν καὶ ἤδη πλωιμωτέρων ὄντων, περιουσίας μᾶλλον ἔχουσαι χρημάτων ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς αἰγιαλοῖς τείχεσιν ἐκτίζοντο, καὶ τοὺς ἰσθμοὺς ἀπελάμβανον ἐμπορίας τε ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς προσοίκους ἕκαστοι ἰσχύος· αἱ δὲ παλαιαὶ διὰ τὴν λῃστείαν ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντισχοῦσαν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης μᾶλλον ᾠκίσθησαν.*

The emphatic part of the passage is the latter sentence, *αἱ δὲ παλαιαί κ.τ.λ.* The words *τῶν δὲ πόλεων ὅσαι μὲν νεώτατα ᾠκίσθησαν κ.τ.λ.* are really a partial anticipation of the statement in i. 8 med. *καὶ οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι κ.τ.λ.*

7. *ἔφερον γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες οὐ θαλάσσιοι κάτω ᾤκουν.*

The nom. to *ἔφερον*, 'the men of those days,' is to be supplied from the general connection.

Δήλου γὰρ καθαιρομένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν θηκῶν ἀναιρεθεισῶν, ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, ὑπὲρ ἥμισυ Κᾶρες ἐφάνησαν.

θήκαι, either 1) 'coffins,' as *θήκη* is elsewhere used for a case or receptacle, or 2)* as clearly in iii. 58 med. *ἀποβλέψατε γὰρ ἐς πατέρων τῶν ὑμετέρων θήκας*, 'tombs' or 'graves.' In the latter case the word *ἀναιρεῖν*, which occurs three times in the same connection (cp. iii. 104 init. v. 1) is used with a slight inaccuracy. 'Taking

up the graves' means taking up the dead, or the chests which were in the graves, or digging up the earth. 8. 1.

ἐφιέμενοι γὰρ τῶν κερδῶν οἵ τε ἧσσους ὑπέμενον τὴν τῶν κρεισσόνων δουλείαν, οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι περιουσίας ἔχοντες προσεποιοῦντο ὑπηκόους τὰς ἐλάσσους πόλεις. 8. 3.

1)* Two indications of this increasing prosperity and stability are described:—the poor became more desirous of wealth now that there was a way of obtaining it, and the rich having the means of coercion subjugated the weaker states.

In this case there is a grammatical irregularity, for although the two clauses *οἵ τε ἧσσους*—*οἵ τε δυνατώτεροι* are parallel and closely connected by *τέ*—*τέ*, the preceding words, *ἐφιέμενοι τῶν κερδῶν*, only apply to the first of them.

Or 2) *ἐφιέμενοι τῶν κερδῶν* may be taken with the whole sentence, and expresses the motive by which the poor in their submission and the rich in their greed of power were alike actuated.

We may note the matter-of-fact way in which Thucydides speaks of the times between Minos and Agamemnon.

καὶ ὕστερον τοῖς ἐκγόνοις ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι, Εὐρυσθέως μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ὑπὸ Ἡρακλειδῶν ἀποθανόντος, Ἀτρέως δὲ μητρὸς ἀδελφοῦ ὄντος αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐπιτρέψαντος Εὐρυσθέως, ὅτ' ἐστράτευε, Μυκήνας τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον Ἀτρεΐ· τυγχάνειν δὲ αὐτὸν φεύγοντα τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸν Χρυσίππου θάνατον· καὶ ὡς οὐκέτι ἀνεχώρησεν Εὐρυσθεύς, βουλομένων καὶ τῶν Μυκηναίων φόβῳ τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν καὶ ἅμα δυνατὸν δοκοῦντα εἶναι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τεθεραπευκότα, τῶν Μυκηναίων τε καὶ ὅσων Εὐρυσθεὺς ἦρχε τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀτρέα παραλαβεῖν. 9. 2.

In this cumbrous passage, which is an enlargement of the words *ἔτι μείζω ξυνενεχθῆναι*, are given first in the clause *Εὐρυσθέως μὲν... Ἀτρεΐ*, to be taken with *ξυνενεχθῆναι*, the remoter,—and then, in the clause *ὡς οὐκέτι... τεθεραπευκότα*, to be taken with *παραλαβεῖν* (*παραλαβεῖν* reverting to the main construction, the infinitive after *λέγουσι*), the nearer, causes of the accession of Atreus.

The clause *τυγχάνειν... Χρυσίππου θάνατον* is a short explanatory parenthesis dependent on *λέγουσι*, which assists the resumption of the infinitive construction in *παραλαβεῖν*.

9. 2. The whole passage is an example of an awkward transition from the *εἰρομένη λέξις* to the period. See note on i. 2. 2.

9. 3. *ἄμοι δοκεῖ Ἀγαμέμνων παραλαβὼν καὶ ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα ἐπὶ πλέον τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχύσας, τὴν στρατείαν οὐ χάριτι τὸ πλεῖον ἢ φόβῳ ξυναγαγὼν ποιήσασθαι.*

In cases where, as here, *καί* and *τέ* occur in the same clause, and one is apparently superfluous, either *a*) *καί* is the connecting particle, and *τέ* is equivalent to 'also' or 'too,' emphasizing the word preceding it; or *b*) as Classen, *τέ* is the connecting particle, and *καί* emphasizes the word following it.

The use of *τέ* may be compared with that of *δέ* in *καί—δέ*, whichever explanation is adopted. But the first explanation, as well of *καί—τέ* as of *καί—δέ*, appears preferable.

i. 132 med. *ἐπυνθάνοντο δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς Εἵλωτας πράσσειν τι αὐτόν, καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως.*

ii. 36 init. *δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς, καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα, ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι.*

vi. 71 fin. *πρὶν ἂν ἱππέας τε μεταπέμψωσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων ἀγείρωσιν . . . καὶ χρήματα δὲ ἅμα αὐτόθεν τε ξυλλέξωνται καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίων ἔλθῃ κ.τ.λ.*

vii. 56 med. *καὶ ἦν δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἀγὼν κατά τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι κ.τ.λ.*

The occurrence of *ἅμα* with *καὶ δέ* in two of these passages may suggest the emendation *καὶ ναυτικῷ δὲ ἅμα* here.

The clearest examples in Thucydides of *καί—τέ* occurring in the same clause are the following:

vi. 44. 3, *καὶ πρός τε τοὺς Ῥηγίνους λόγους ἐποιήσαντο ἀξιοῦντες Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Χαλκιδεῦσιν οὖσι Λεοντίνοις βοηθεῖν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔφασαν ἔσεσθαι ἀλλ' ὅ τι ἂν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰταλιώταις ξυνδοκῇ, τοῦτο ποιήσειν.* Two good MSS. omit *τέ* here.

viii. 68. 2, *καὶ αὐτός τε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτιαθείς, ὡς ξυγκατέστησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.*

(See notes on these passages.)

The word *τέ* in this passage has been doubted on the authority

of one, not very good, MS. (Reg.) The question thus raised, **9. 3.** whether *τέ* can bear the sense of 'too,' can only be determined by a comparison of several places.

Pindar, Isthm. iv. 19,—

τὶν δ' ἐν Ἰσθμῷ διπλόα θάλλοισ' ἀρετά, Φυλάκιδα,
κεῖται, Νεμέᾳ δὲ καὶ ἀμφοῖν, Πυθέᾳ τε, παγκρατίου.

Πυθέᾳ τε, 'for you and Pytheas.'

Aesch. Choeph. 489,—

ΟΡ. *ὦ γαῖ' ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην.*
ΗΛ. *ὦ Περσέφασσα, δὸς δέ τ' εὔμορφον κράτος.*

The corrections *δὸς δ' ἔτ'* or *δὸς δέ γ'* or *δὸς δ' ἔπ'* give an inferior sense.

Soph. Aj. 1310,—

ἐπεὶ καλόν μοι τοῦδ' ὑπερπονουμένῳ
θανεῖν προδήλως μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ
γυναικός, ἢ τοῦ σοῦ θ' ὁμαίμονος λέγω;

'Thy woman, or shall I say, thy brother's too?' But the meaning is doubtful, for the words are addressed to Agamemnon, not to Menelaus.

El. 1416,—

ΚΛ. *ὤμοι μάλ' αὖθις.* ΗΛ. *εἰ γὰρ Αἰγίσθῳ θ' ὁμοῦ.*

Αἰγίσθῳ τε, i. e. *σοί τε Αἰγίσθῳ τε*, 'for Aegisthus too.'

In the difficult place Trach. 1018 (lyrical), *τὲ γάρ* seems to be equivalent to *καὶ γάρ*,—

σὺ δὲ σύλλαβε. *σοί τε γὰρ ὄμμα*
ἔμπλεον ἢ δι' ἐμοῦ σώζειν.

Herod. i. 58, *πρὸς δὴ ὧν ἐμοί τε δοκέει οὐδὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἔθνος, ἐὸν βάρβαρον, οὐδαμὰ μεγάλως αὐξηθῆναι.*

i. 125, *μετὰ δέ, ἀναπτύξας τὸ βιβλίον καὶ ἐπιλεγόμενος, ἔφη Ἀστυάγεά μιν στρατηγὸν Περσέων ἀποδεικνύναι· νῦν, ἔφη τε λέγων, ὦ Πέρσαι, προαγορεύω ὑμῖν, παρεῖναι ἕκαστον ἔχοντα δρέπανον.*

vii. 175, *στεινοτέρη γὰρ ἐφαίνετο ἐοῦσα* (scil. *ἡ ἐν Θερμοπύλῃσι ἐσβολή*) *τῆς ἐς Θεσσαλίην, καὶ ἅμα ἀγχοτέρη τε τῆς ἑωυτῶν.*

viii. 101, *σὺ ὧν ἐμοί, καὶ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίης εὖ συνεβούλευσας τῆς γενομένης, οὐκ ἐῶσα ποιέεσθαι, νῦν τε συμβούλευσον, ὁκότερα ποιέων ἐπιτύχω εὖ βουλευσάμενος.*

The construction of this passage may also be described as an

9. 3. anacoluthon, the parenthetical character of the preceding clause, *καὶ γὰρ . . . τῆς γενομένης*, being forgotten.

Now the occurrence of this use in lyric and dramatic poetry and in Herodotus renders it probable that some vestiges of it are still to be found in Thucydides, though it has entirely disappeared in the Orators. Many of the passages quoted above may be explained away or emended, but not all. The obvious correction *γέ* gives a very poor sense in most of them. Taken all together, they are sufficient to defend this peculiar use of *τέ*, and are best accounted for on a common principle.

We might also compare the Homeric *καί τε*, or *τέ* in apodosi:

Il. ix. 509,—

τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καί τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο.

Od. xxiii. 13,—

καί τε χαλιφρονέοντα σαωφροσύνης ἐπέβησαν.

Il. xx. 28,—

καὶ δέ τέ μιν καὶ πρόσθεν ὑποτρομέεσκον ὁρῶντες.

Il. i. 218,—

ὅς κε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ.

Il. v. 350,—

εἰ δὲ σύ γ' ἐς πόλεμον πωλήσεαι, ἦ τέ σ' οἴω
ῥιγήσειν πόλεμόν γε, καὶ εἴ χ' ἑτέρωθι πύθηαι.

(Theognis 138 is probably a relic of this Epic use,—

πολλάκι γὰρ δοκέων θήσειν κακόν, ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε
καί τε δοκῶν θήσειν ἐσθλὸν ἔθηκε κακόν.)

But these are only some out of the many uses of *τέ* found in Homer, and we ought not to explain a later employment of the word from a stage of the language in which the meaning of *τέ* is shown by its various uses to have been so much wider and more indefinite than it afterwards became. It may be indeed that one of these uses of *τέ*, like that with certain particles and pronouns, *ὥστε*, *οἷός τε*, *ἅτε*, *ἐφ' ᾧτε*, has survived in Attic; cp. also the constant occurrence of *ἐπεί τε* equivalent to *ἐπεί*, in Herodotus. But whether this is really the case or whether the use of *τέ* is to be explained, as seems probable in several of the places cited above, by some association of thought with a

suppressed clause (see Hartung, Lehre v. d. Partikeln, 1. i. § 5, 3) 9. 3. either preceding or to follow, is uncertain.

In the present passage of Thucydides *ναυτικῷ τε ἅμα* may mean 'with a navy as well as with his ancestral wealth,' the mention of which had preceded; or 'with a navy and not only with an army,' of which the previous existence may seem to be implied in that of a navy.

Other peculiar uses of *τέ* in Thucydides are the following:

1) *τέ* owing to a change of construction, or to a confused way of expression, appears to be out of place: e. g. i. 16, *ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, καὶ Ἴωσι, προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία . . . ἐπεστράτευσε.*

iv. 9 init. *ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσυίναις ταῖς πολλαῖς.*

iv. 10 init. *ἦν ἐθέλωμέν τε μεῖναι καὶ μὴ τῷ πλήθει αὐτῶν καταπλαγέντες τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἡμῖν κρείσσω καταπροδοῦναι*: cp. also the *τέ* after *οἰόμενοι* in vi. 85 med., and the *τέ* after *ἀπό* in viii. 14 med. (quoted below).

For similar instances in other authors, cp.—

Herod. ii. 79, *καὶ ἀοιδήν τε ταύτην πρώτην καὶ μούνην σφίσι γίγνεσθαι.*

Xen. Cyr. i. 4. 17, *καὶ πολλούς τε αὐτὸς ἦκεν ἔχων ἱππέας καὶ πεζούς.*

Plat. Crit. 43 B, *ἐν τοσαύτῃ τε ἀγρυπνίᾳ καὶ λύπῃ.*

Lycurg. in Leocr. 149. 14, *ἐπιφανής τε γάρ ἐστι διὰ τὸν ἔκπλουν τὸν εἰς Ῥόδον καὶ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἣν ἐποιήσατο καθ' ὑμῶν πρός τε τὴν πόλιν τὴν τῶν Ῥοδίων καὶ τῶν ἐμπόρων τοῖς ἐπιδημοῦσιν ἐκεῖ.*

(See further Hartung, 1. 1, § 6, 1).

2) Although *τέ* has no *τέ* or *καί* to answer to it, a corresponding clause may be elicited from the context. vi. 6, *μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώρμησαν Ἐγεσταίων τε πρέσβεις παρόντες καὶ προθυμότερον ἐπικαλούμενοι. ὅμοροι γὰρ ὄντες τοῖς Σελινουντίοις κ.τ.λ. . . . ὧν ἀκούοντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τῶν τε Ἐγεσταίων πολλάκις λεγόντων καὶ τῶν ξυναγορευόντων αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.*

3) It is sometimes difficult or impossible to extract from the context a sentence which was intended to follow *τέ*, and the want of symmetry is concealed from the reader, and also from the writer himself, by a connection of sound, though there is little or no connection of sense, with a *καί* following.

vii. 20 init. *ᾧ εἴρητο καὶ ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικομένῳ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν*

9. 3. *παρακαλεῖν Ἀργείων τε ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ὥσπερ ἔμελλον ἀπέστελλον κ.τ.λ.*

viii. 14 med. *τοῖς δ' ὀλίγοις παρεσκεύαστο, ὥστε βουλήν τε τυχεῖν ξυλλεγομένην, καὶ λεγομένων λόγων ἀπό τε τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὡς ἄλλαι τε νῆες πολλαὶ προσπλέουσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ νεῶν οὐ δηλωσάντων ἀφίστανται Χῖοι καὶ αὖθις Ἐρυθραῖοι Ἀθηναίων.*

These passages may also be explained by giving to *τέ* the meaning 'too.'

4) *τέ, τέ,* or *τέ, καί,* are employed to couple two words or clauses which, though varying in construction, are parallel in sense, and subordinated to the same principal word. Here there is no grammatical irregularity.

Herod. iii. 89, *καταστήσας δὲ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐπιστήσας, ἐτάξατο φόρους οἱ προσιέναι κατὰ ἔθνεά τε, καὶ πρὸς τοῖσι ἔθνεσι τοὺς πλησιοχώρους προστάσσων, καὶ ὑπερβαίνων τοὺς προσεχέας, ἄλλοισι ἄλλα τὰ ἑκαστέρω ἔθνεα νέμων.*

Thuc. iv. 32 init. *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἔν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα καὶ λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν κ.τ.λ.*

vi. 67 fin. *μέλλουσι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προτέροις ἐπιχειρήσειν ὁ Νικίας κατά τε ἔθνη ἐπιπαριὼν ἕκαστα καὶ ξύμπασι τοιάδε παρεκελεύετο.*

vi. 82 fin. *δουλείαν δὲ αὐτοί τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν.*

vii. 18 init. *παρεσκευάζοντο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβολὴν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥσπερ τε προεδέδοκτο αὐτοῖς, καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐπαγόντων κ.τ.λ.*

viii. 22 init. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Χῖοι, ὥσπερ ἤρξαντο, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες προθυμίας, ἄνευ τε Πελοποννησίων πλήθει παρόντες ἀποστῆσαι τὰς πόλεις, καὶ βουλόμενοι ἅμα ὡς πλείστους σφίσι ξυγκινδυνεύειν, στρατεύονται κ.τ.λ.*

In this last instance the *τέ* is also out of place; it should have followed *ὥσπερ*.

5) The connection of *τέ—τέ* or *τέ—καί* may be obscured by the substitution of a finite verb for a participle, or—though this use is rarer and harsher—of a participle for a finite verb, and so a grammatical irregularity may arise which is partly concealed, as in 3), by a connection of sound between *τέ* and *καί*.

vii. 47 init. τῆς τε ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ταύτης οὔσης, ἐν ᾗ ἀσθενοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μάλιστα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἅμα, ἐν ᾧ ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο, ἑλῶδες καὶ χαλεπὸν ἦν. 9. 3.

viii. 81 init. οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ καὶ μάλιστα Θρασύβουλος ἀεί τε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα ὥστε κατάγειν Ἀλκιβιάδην, καὶ τέλος ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἔπεισε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ψηφισαμένων αὐτῶν Ἀλκιβιάδῃ κάθοδον καὶ ἄδειαν, πλεύσας ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρνην, κατῆγεν ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

viii. 95 fin. καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Εὔβοιάν τε ἅπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλὴν Ὠρεοῦ (ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον) καὶ τἆλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίσταντο.

iv. 85 med. ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οἰόμενοί τε παρὰ ξυμμάχους καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφικέσθαι τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ ἥξειν καὶ βουλομένοις ἕσεσθαι, κίνδυνόν τε τοσόνδε ἀνερρίψαμεν διὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἰόντες καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόθυμον παρεχόμενοι.

The difficult place, i. 133, may perhaps be explained either in this way, or as in 3). See note.

αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν τε ἐφόρων ἐντός τινας ἔκρυψε, καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας ἤσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς.

There is a similar irregularity in Aesch. Ag. 97,—

τούτων λέξασ' ὅ τι καὶ δυνατὸν
καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν,
παίων τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης
ἥ νῦν τότε μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει κ.τ.λ.

6) τέ, καί, may introduce a like transition from a participial or other qualifying clause to an infinitive:

iii. 94 med. Δημοσθένης δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων ὡς καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι, καὶ ἢν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν, ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσποιήσειν.

iv. 3 fin. τῷ δὲ διάφορόν τι ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἑτέρου μᾶλλον, λιμένος τε προσόντος καὶ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκείους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ὁμοφώνους τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις πλεῖστ' ἂν βλάπτειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ὁρμωμένους, καὶ βεβαίους ἅμα τοῦ χωρίου φύλακας ἕσεσθαι.

9. 3. v. 53 med. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις προσλαβεῖν, ἣν δύνωνται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἕνεκα ἡσυχίας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἢ Σκύλλαιον περιπλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.

Here there is a real connection of sense; but a grammatical irregularity, which again, as in 3) and 5), is concealed by a connection of sound.

The words προσποιήσειν—βλάπτειν and ἔσεσθαι—ἔσεσθαι—are dependent upon ἀναπείθεται—ἐδόκει, which must be taken for this purpose in a slightly different sense. (Krüger, note on iv. 3, 3).

7) τέ qualifies, not the word which it follows, but the whole sentence, or the principal verb of the sentence. ii. 15. 5, καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μέν, τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων, Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι, φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. For another explanation, see note.

8) τέ is followed by δέ, not by a second τέ. vii. 78 init. καὶ ἐπειδή τε ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἀνάπου ποταμοῦ, εὗρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένους τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτοὺς καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ πόρου ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν· οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι παριππεύοντές τε προσέκειντο καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες οἱ ψιλοί.

Cp. note on i. 11. 1.

In viii. 45 med. τέ (which does not occur in the reading of the Vatican), *a*) is out of place, and *b*) can only be explained at all by supposing a far-fetched connection between the clause in which it occurs and that which follows:—τούτων δὲ Ἑρμοκράτης τε ἠναντιοῦτο μόνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ξυμμαχικοῦ. τάς τε πόλεις δεομένας χρημάτων ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους, ὡς κ.τ.λ.

10. 1. καὶ ὅτι μὲν Μυκῆναι μικρὸν ἦν ἢ εἴ τι τῶν τότε πόλισμα νῦν μὴ ἀξιόχρεων δοκεῖ εἶναι, οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἄν τις σημείῳ χρώμενος ἀπιστοίη μὴ γενέσθαι τὸν στόλον τοσοῦτον, ὅσον οἵ τε ποιηταὶ εἰρήκασι, καὶ ὁ λόγος κατέχει.

1) ἦν, sc. 'was, while it existed,' not 'was, in the heroic times.' Mycenae was destroyed by the Argives in 468 B.C.

Thucydides is refuting a common argument from the *existing* state of cities: but as Mycenae has ceased to exist he is obliged to

speak of it in the past tense, and of other cities which had survived 10. 1.
from the heroic times in the present.

Or better, 2)* ἦν may be taken to express the words of the objector, who said, 'Mycenae was a small place in the heroic times:' or may have argued generally that other places which had survived from those times were not of much importance now. According to this view the two clauses ὅτι μὲν ... ἦν, εἴ τι ... εἶναι, are not parallel in sense, but the second gives the reason of statements like the first. 'Mycenae and similar places could not have been large, for their remains appear so inconsiderable.'

In the words οὐκ ἀκριβεῖ ἄν τις σημείῳ κ.τ.λ. the writer is thinking only of the second clause; for the evidence which he rejects in what follows is that drawn, not from the past but from the present condition of ancient cities.

Λακεδαιμονίων γὰρ εἰ ἡ πόλις ἐρημωθείη, λειφθείη δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ καὶ τῆς 10. 2.
κατασκευῆς τὰ ἐδάφη.

The word κατασκευή is general, scil. οἷς κατεσκεύασταί τι, and may mean either the furniture of a house, camp, etc., or, as here, the buildings themselves; for these may be regarded as the furniture of the ground or foundations upon which they stand.

ὅμως δὲ οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως οὔτε ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευαῖς πολυτελέσι 10. 2.
χρησαμένης, κατὰ κώμας δὲ τῷ παλαιῷ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τρόπῳ οἰκισθείσης, φαίνοιτ' ἂν ὑποδεεστέρα.

The absence of the article with πόλεως may be explained by supposing a confusion of the general and particular. In the words οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως, Thucydides is speaking of the general case 'when a city is not continuously built,' etc.: in the latter part of the sentence he reverts to the case of Sparta.

With ὑποδεεστέρα supply ἡ πόλις, either from Λακεδαιμονίων ἡ πόλις at the beginning of the sentence, or from οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως. According to others, δύναμις is the nominative to be supplied.

τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ τόν τε στρατὸν ἐλάσσω ἤγαγον καὶ ὅσον ἤλπιζον 11. 1.
αὐτόθεν πολεμοῦντα βιοτεύσειν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀφικόμενοι μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν (δῆλον δέ· τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οὐκ ἂν ἐτειχίσαντο) φαίνονται δ' οὐδ'

11. 1. *ἐνταῦθα πάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει χρησάμενοι, ἀλλὰ πρὸς γεωργίαν τῆς Χερσονήσου τραπόμενοι καὶ λῃστείαν, τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ.*

The repetition of *τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ* at the beginning and end of the same sentence is a curious example of the want of freedom and fluency which characterises the style of Thucydides.

ἐπειδὴ δέ, we should have expected *τέ* after *τόν τε στρατόν*, but *δέ* is used to express the incidental opposition between the coming of so small an army and its first success.

Cp. Soph. Phil. 1310,—

τὴν φύσιν δ' ἔδειξας, ὦ τέκνον,
ἐξ ἧς ἔβλαστες, οὐχὶ Σισύφου πατρός,
ἀλλ' ἐξ Ἀχιλλέως, ὃς μετὰ ζώντων θ' ὅτ' ἦν
ἤκουσ' ἄριστα, νῦν δὲ τῶν τεθνηκότων,

where *δέ* is used, not *τέ*, because, as the writer proceeds, the opposition between life and death comes more vividly into his mind.

τὸ γὰρ ἔρυμα κ.τ.λ. The fortification of the camp is said in Homer to have been made long afterwards, in the tenth year of the war, by the advice of Nestor, Il. vii. 336–343.

Its erection is described vii. 433 foll.—

τεῖχος ἔδειμαν
πύργους θ' ὑψηλούς, εἶλαρ νηῶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν.
ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλας ἐνεποίεον εὖ ἀραρυίας
ὄφρα δι' αὐτάων ἱππηλασίη ὁδὸς εἴη·
ἔκτοσθεν δὲ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τάφρον ὄρυξαν
εὐρεῖαν, μεγάλην· ἐν δὲ σκόλοπας κατέπηξαν.

Thucydides appears either to have forgotten this passage or to have only a confused recollection of it. He may perhaps be following a different tradition, or be reasoning *à priori*, that the Greeks must have won a battle before they could have had a fortified camp, which he assumes on general grounds that they must have had.

11. 2. *περιουσίαν δὲ εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς καὶ ὄντες ἀθρόοι ἄνευ λῃστείας καὶ γεωργίας ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον, ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἷλον, οἵ γε καὶ οὐκ ἀθρόοι, ἀλλὰ μέρει τῷ ἀεὶ παρόντι ἀντεῖχον.* **πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐν ἐλάσσονί τε χρόνῳ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον.**

1)* ῥᾳδίως ἂν μάχῃ κρατοῦντες εἷλον, 'the Greeks might have taken Troy by superiority in the field,' i.e. by storm after a victory: πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι . . . τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον, 'they might have taken it by blockade.' **11.** 2.

The two suppositions are really alternatives, but the writer prefers to put them in a conjunctive rather than in a disjunctive form.

2) The words μάχῃ κρατοῦντες may also be a resumption of μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν, at the beginning of the chapter: 'having the upper hand in the field, they would easily have taken the place' (i.e. if they had brought plenty of provisions, etc.), 'for, as it was, detachments of them were a match for the whole Trojan force; but in that case they would have blockaded Troy and taken the place in less time and with less trouble.' πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι becomes an expansion of the previous εἷλον. δέ expresses the opposition between a part of the army, mentioned in the words which immediately precede, and the whole of the army, which would have been required for the investment of the city.

3) Classen proposes to connect the clause πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι closely with the preceding words,—'who, even although divided, maintained their ground with the detachments present at any one time, and if they had regularly blockaded Troy (even divided as they were) would have taken it in less time and with less trouble.'

But *a*) the transition is too abrupt. We should have expected rather εἰ δὲ καὶ ἠθέλησαν πολιορκίᾳ προσκαθέζεσθαι.

And *b*) it is clear from the sense that the words πολιορκίᾳ δ' ἂν προσκαθεζόμενοι are to be connected with περιουσίαν δ' εἰ ἦλθον κ.τ.λ., not with οὐκ ἀθρόοι ἀλλὰ μέρει· τῷ ἀεὶ παρόντι. The blockade might have been possible if the army had kept together, but the idea of a blockade is out of harmony with the main thought of the preceding clause, in which the Greek army is represented as divided.

Upon supposition either 1)* or 2), the clause περιουσίαν δ' εἰ ἦλθον ἔχοντες τροφῆς . . . ξυνεχῶς τὸν πόλεμον διέφερον applies to all that follows down to τὴν Τροίαν εἷλον.

ἦν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδασμὸς πρότερον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἐς Ἴλιον **12.** 3.
ἐστράτευσαν.

12. 3. 1) *ἀφ' ὧν καί* marks the natural correlation between Boeotians dwelling in Boeotia and the account in Homer of their going to Troy. Or 2) *καί* may refer to the previous statement in i. 10 fin. *πεποίηκε γὰρ χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων νεῶν, τὰς μὲν Βοιωτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ἀνδρῶν*, 'and these were the Boeotians of whom a detachment fought at Troy.' Cp. Il. ii. 494 foll.

The mention of the *ἀποδασμός* is introduced in order to reconcile the Homeric account with the tradition that the Boeotians did not migrate from Thessaly into Boeotia until after the Trojan war. No other Boeotians are known to Homer.

13. 1. *δυνατωτέρας δὲ γιγνομένης τῆς Ἑλλάδος καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὴν κτῆσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ποιουμένης, τὰ πολλὰ τυραννίδες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καθίσταντο, τῶν προσόδων μειζόνων γιγνομένων· (πρότερον δὲ ἦσαν ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς γέρασι πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι.)*

The words *ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον* refer to i. 8 med. *οἱ παρὰ θάλασσαν ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ἤδη τὴν κτῆσιν τῶν χρημάτων ποιούμενοι*, and indicate a further progress in the same direction.

τῶν προσόδων is a repetition or resumption of *τῶν χρημάτων* in a more definite form. The increase of revenue is the natural result of the increasing pursuit of wealth. 'The Hellenes engaged still more in the pursuit of wealth, and, as their revenues became greater, tyrannies began to be established.' In i. 2 med. the increase of wealth has been already noticed as a cause of *στάσις*.

In a similar strain of reflection Thucydides spoke of the desire of Minos to protect his revenue as his chief motive in putting down the pirates; i. 4.

πατρικαὶ βασιλεῖαι. Such as Homer describes or such as Aristotle recognises, *κατὰ νόμον καὶ πατρικαί*, still existing among barbarians. Cp. Pol. iii. 14. 6. It is observable that Thucydides speaks as if the tyrannies immediately succeeded the hereditary monarchies, taking no notice of the intervening oligarchies.

13. 3. *ἔτη δ' ἐστὶ μάλιστα τριακόσια ἐς τὴν τελευτὴν τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου κ.τ.λ.*

With numbers, *μάλιστα* appears to signify neither 'at most,' nor 'at least:' for neither of these senses accords with all the passages. In vii. 80 med. *τὸ ἥμισυ μάλιστα καὶ πλέον*, it cannot mean 'at most:'

in i. 118 init. where ἔτη πεντήκοντα μάλιστα is actually forty-nine years, it cannot mean 'at least.' 13. 3.

Hence, generally, 'about,' 'as near as we can get to the number,' 'upon reflection we can only say:' or 'with as much accuracy as it is worth while to obtain.' Thus the word has the appearance both of precision and of want of precision.

φαίνεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πολλαῖς γενεαῖς ὕστερα γενόμενα τῶν Τρωικῶν τριήρεσι μὲν ὀλίγαις χρώμενα, πεντηκοντόροις δ' ἔτι καὶ πλοίοις μακροῖς ἐξηρτυμένα ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνα. 14. 1.

πλοίοις μακροῖς. These vessels are called μακρά to indicate that they were ships of war, and πλοῖα, not νῆες, to indicate their rude construction. So πλοῖα μακρά are the ships or galleys of war used before the invention of triremes.

ταῦτα γὰρ τελευταῖα πρὸ τῆς Ξέρξου στρατείας ναυτικὰ ἀξιόλογα ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι κατέστη. Αἰγινῆται γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ εἴ τινες ἄλλοι, βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο, καὶ τούτων τὰ πολλὰ πεντηκοντόρους· ὄψέ τε, ἀφ' οὗ Ἀθηναίους Θεμιστοκλῆς ἔπεισεν Αἰγινήταις πολεμοῦντας, καὶ ἅμα τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, τὰς ναῦς ποιήσασθαι, αἵσπερ καὶ ἐναυμάχησαν· καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον διὰ πάσης καταστρώματα. 14. 2. 3.

τούτων refers grammatically to βραχέα, scil. ναυτικά, but, in meaning, to the ships which composed these navies.

ὀψέ τε ἀφ' οὗ. To repeat either ἐκέκτηντο or βραχέα ἐκέκτηντο with ὀψέ τε will not give the sense required. For the Athenians had a fleet before the time of Themistocles, and they had, not a small fleet, βραχὺ ναυτικόν, but a considerable one afterwards.

Either 1)* we may take ὀψέ τε with καὶ αὗται οὔπω εἶχον κ.τ.λ., καί emphasizing αὗται and marking the apodosis; or 2) ἦν may be supplied with ὀψέ. In either case the ἀφ' οὗ is to be accounted for by a confusion of ὀψέ τε ἐπειδή with οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ. The confusion is not greater than in the converse phrase usually compared, οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδή, i. 6 init.

καί emphasizes ἐναυμάχησαν either with a reference to τοῦ βαρβάρου προσδοκίμου ὄντος, 'with which they actually fought against him when he came,' or 'which they not only built, but fought in them.'

15. 2. *κατὰ γῆν δὲ πόλεμος, ὅθεν τις καὶ δύναμις παρεγένετο, οὐδεὶς ξυνέστη· πάντες δὲ ἦσαν ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἑκάστοις.*

καί in both clauses implies a limitation: *a*) 'a war, not simply a war, but a war whence power accrued;' *b*) 'all the wars, so far as there were any, which occurred.'

16. 1. *Ἐπεγένετο δὲ ἄλλοις τε ἄλλοθι κωλύματα μὴ αὐξηθῆναι, καὶ Ἴωσι, προχωρησάντων ἐπὶ μέγα τῶν πραγμάτων Κῦρος, καὶ ἡ Περσικὴ ἐξουσία, Κροῖσον καθελοῦσα καὶ ὅσα ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν, ἐπεστράτευσε.*

τέ follows *ἄλλοις* as though *Ἴωσι* were intended to be taken with *ἐπεγένετο*, but as the sentence proceeds the original construction is forgotten, and another verb, *ἐπεστράτευσε*, is supplied.

17. *ἐπράχθη τε ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἔργον ἀξιόλογον, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὑτῶν ἑκάστοις. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.*

γάρ implies a confirmation of *εἰ μὴ εἴ τι πρὸς περιοίκους τοὺς αὑτῶν ἑκάστοις*. The only noteworthy actions of the Greek tyrants were wars with their neighbours. For the Sicilian tyrants, e. g. Hippocrates, Gelo, Thero, Hiero (who did encroach upon their neighbours) attained the greatest power of any.

But it is not quite clear whether 1)* Thucydides means to say that the tyrants did no noteworthy action, but only fought with their neighbours; or whether 2) he includes their border wars under the head of noteworthy actions. In the latter case, he would mean that these border wars became noteworthy when they were carried on, as by the Sicilian tyrants, on a great scale.

18. 1. *Ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἵ τε Ἀθηναίων τύραννοι καὶ οἱ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρὶν τυραννευθείσης οἱ πλεῖστοι, καὶ τελευταῖοι πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κατελύθησαν κ.τ.λ.*

1)* *πλεῖστοι*, most, not all: the words which follow, *πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ*, explain who the others were.

Or 2) *πρίν* may refer to the following, not to the preceding words: *οἱ πλεῖστοι* may then be taken to mean 'more than there ever were before,' and will answer to *ἐπὶ πολὺ καὶ πρίν*. 'Hellas, which of old had many tyrants, had now many more than ever, and these were the last.'

In either case the words πλὴν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ, which are a re- 18. 1.
sumption of οἱ γὰρ ἐν Σικελίᾳ at the end of the last chapter, are only to be taken with τελευταῖοι. The great overthrow of the tyrants by Sparta was also the end of them in Greece itself, although in Sicily they still continued.

κοινῇ τε ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ διεκρίθησαν πρός 18. 2.
τε Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους οἵ τε ἀποστάντες βασιλέως Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες.

κοινῇ ἀπωσάμενοι τὸν βάρβαρον does not apply to both ἀποστάντες and ξυμπολεμήσαντες. It is a nominative absolute, referring to οἱ Ἕλληνες of the next clause taken in a more general sense.

The meaning of οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες is uncertain.

1) 'The states were divided, and took sides with the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, as well those which refused allegiance to the King, as those which in the Persian war fought on his side,' i. e. the Thessalians, Boeotians, and, in the battle of Plataea, the Phocians, besides the subject Hellenes of Asia Minor and the islands; οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες (βασιλεῖ) will then answer to οἱ ἀποστάντες βασιλέως. But this use of ἀποστάντες in the sense of 'those who refused allegiance to the King' is very harsh and hardly defensible.

Better 2)*, 'The allied Hellenic forces who took part in the war' are opposed to 'the Hellenes who,' like the Ionians, 'revolted from the King,' after the war. This is confirmed by the comparison of τῶν ξυμπολεμησάντων Ἑλλήνων just above.

The division is in neither case exhaustive, but the writer's love of antithesis blinds him to the flaw. We find the distinction between the original members and the more recent adherents of the confederacy in the following passages:—

Herod. ix. 106, καὶ οὕτω δὴ Σαμίους τε καὶ Χίους καὶ Λεσβίους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας οἳ ἔτυχον συστρατευόμενοι τοῖσι Ἕλλησι, ἐς τὸ συμμαχικὸν ἐποιήσαντο.

Thuc. i. 89 med. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰωνίας καὶ Ἑλλησπόντου ξύμμαχοι ἤδη ἀφεστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως κ.τ.λ.

i. 95 init. οἵ τε ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἤχθοντο καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Ἴωνες καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ βασιλέως νεωστὶ ἠλευθέρωντο.

19. καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς ἐς τόνδε τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἰδία παρασκευὴ μείζων ἢ ὡς τὰ κράτιστά ποτε μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν.

1) Grote (part ii. ch. xliv. note) refers *αὐτοῖς* to the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, *ἀκραιφνὴς ξυμμαχία* to the alliance of both against Persia, and *ἰδία* to the separate armaments of the two confederacies. But, although both Athens and Lacedaemon are described by Thucydides as *ἀκμάζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἀμφότεροι παρασκευῇ τῇ πάσῃ* (i. 1 init.), and as having got over the losses which they had respectively sustained, the Lacedaemonians by the revolt of the Helots, the Athenians by the loss of Boeotia etc., and the diminution of their own population in war (ii. 8 init. *τότε δὲ καὶ νεοτῆς πολλὴ μὲν οὖσα ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ, πολλὴ δ' ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις κ.τ.λ.*), still the individual power of Sparta at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war could not be compared with the united force of the Hellenes who fought against the Persian.

2) If we suppose that the Athenians alone are referred to in *αὐτοῖς*, and are the subject of *ἤνθησαν*, *ἀκραιφνὴς ξυμμαχία* relates to the Athenian alliance as it stood before the loss of Boeotia, Phocis, and Locris in 447, and of Megara in 445, 'while the confederacy remained intact,' and *ἰδία* to the power of Athens excluding that of her independent allies, Chios and Lesbos. On behalf of this interpretation it may be urged that the words *ἀκραιφνὴς ξυμμαχία* apply more naturally to the confederacy of Athens before the Thirty Years Truce than to the whole body of Hellenic states who fought against Persia. The *ξύμμαχοι* of Athens and Lacedaemon have been spoken of in the words immediately preceding: the confederacy against Persia is called *ὁμαιχμία*, or *οἱ ξυμπολεμήσαντες*, not *ξυμμαχία*. But it may be objected that this reference to the events previous to the Peace of Euboea is obscure without further explanation.

3)* It is possible to take *μετὰ ἀκραιφνοῦς τῆς ξυμμαχίας ἤνθησαν*, as Grote does, of the Athenians and Lacedaemonians allied against Persia, but to restrict *αὐτοῖς* to the Athenians. 'The Athenians singly were more powerful than the united confederacy had formerly been.' The growth of Athens was far more striking than that of Sparta, and it is therefore more natural that Thucydides should dwell upon it. Though *αὐτοῖς* refers to the Athenians alone, *ἤνθησαν*

may easily be explained of both the Athenians and Lacedaemonians. **19.**

4) Or ἦνθησαν as well as αὐτοῖς may be confined to the Athenians, referring to the short time during which they were the leaders of the entire Hellenic confederacy against Persia.

τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι. **20. 1.**

The meaning of this passage turns on the question, What is the direct object of πιστεῦσαι? What is it which is 'hard to believe' or 'to trust?'

It may be either 1)* the writer's account of early times, supplied from τὰ παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, or 2) the evidence on which it rests, παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ.

According to 1)* παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ is either instrumental dative, or dative after πιστεῦσαι, which thus takes a double construction, παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι (αὐτά). The words may then have two shades of meaning. Either *a*)* 'when men have the whole proof set forth in order,' i. e. the ignorant impatience of mankind rejects regular historical proofs and prefers popular traditions or the stories of poets; or *b*) 'with the whole proof set forth in order,' i.e. 'even when the whole proof is set forth in order,' i. e. whatever be the care taken in setting forth the historical evidence, the minds of men turn aside into the paths of romance.

According to 2) τεκμηρίῳ is dative after πιστεῦσαι; χαλεπὰ ὄντα πιστεῦσαι means 'they are hard,' i. e. 'of a nature that makes it hard, for any one to trust the several pieces of evidence.' What follows illustrates the difficulty of obtaining trustworthy evidence.

According to 1)* the construction of χαλεπὰ πιστεῦσαι is simple, 'hard to believe,' and that of παντὶ τεκμηρίῳ is somewhat harsh. According to 2) the construction of παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ becomes easy, and that of χαλεπὰ πιστεῦσαι, χαλεπὰ ὥστε πιστεῦσαί τινα, is singular.

Or 3), laying the stress on παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ, 'it is difficult to bring together all the proofs in order so as to make the account credible.' More literally, 'they are difficult for a man to have all the proofs of them set out in order, and so to believe them.'

20. 1. *πιστεῦσαι*, scil. *ὥστε πιστεῦσαί τινα αὐτοῖς. τεκμηρίῳ*, instrumental dative.

This interpretation, though combining the two harsh constructions, gives on the whole the best sense. For the difficulty lies, after all, not in the reader accepting the proofs if he could have them regularly set out in order, but in the writer being able to collect such proofs as will satisfy him.

20. 2. *βουλόμενοι δέ, πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι δράσαντές τι, καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι κ.τ.λ.*

δράσαντες, not *κινδυνεῦσαι*, is the emphatic word; and *πρὶν ξυλληφθῆναι* follows *δράσαντές τι*, not *κινδυνεῦσαι*: 'to do something before they were apprehended, and so to run the risk,' or, 'and then to take their chance.' *κινδυνεῦσαι* seems inappropriate when Harmodius and Aristogiton were in peril already, but really applies to the greater peril which threatened them if they were taken.

Compare, for this strong sense of *κίνδυνος*, i. 32 fin. *καὶ ἅμα μέγας ὁ κίνδυνος εἰ ἐσόμεθα ὑπ' αὐτοῖς*, iii. 59 med. *ὅπερ δὲ ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χαλεπώτατον τοῖς ὧδε ἔχουσιν, λόγου τελευτᾶν, διότι καὶ τοῦ βίου ὁ κίνδυνος ἐγγὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ*. The Corcyraeans and Plataeans in these cases were already in danger, but still may be described as threatened by a greater danger.

Compare also iii. 49. 4, *παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἦλθε κινδύνου*, and note, vii. 2 fin. *παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Συράκουσαι ἦλθον κινδύνου.*

20. 3. *ὥσπερ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέας μὴ μιᾷ ψήφῳ προστίθεσθαι ἑκάτερον, ἀλλὰ δυοῖν.*

Supply with *προστίθεσθαι* either *ψῆφον* (cp. note on iii. 59. 1), or *γνώμην*, or, translate 'add themselves to a side,' i. e. vote.

Cp. Herod. vi. 57, *καὶ παρίζειν βουλεύουσι τοῖσι γέρουσι, ἐοῦσι δυῶν δέουσι τριήκοντα· ἢν δὲ μὴ ἔλθωσι, τοὺς μάλιστά σφι τῶν γερόντων προσήκοντας ἔχειν τὰ τῶν βασιλέων γέρεα, δύο ψήφους τιθεμένους, τρίτην δέ, τὴν ἑωυτῶν*, where, however, Herodotus is really speaking only of voting in the absence of the kings by their representatives, who give two votes, one for each of the kings, and a third vote, or more correctly two third votes, for themselves. He does not say that they gave two votes each; and it is evidently unlikely that in a passage which describes the prerogatives of the Spartan kings

he should only have incidentally indicated a power so important by mentioning what was done in their absence. **20. 3.**

οὕτως ἀταλαίπωρος τοῖς πολλοῖς ἡ ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας. **20. 3.**

Cp. Aristophanes, Danaides, Fragm. (250. 9),—

οὕτως αὐτοῖς ἀταλαιπώρως ἡ ποίησις διέκειτο.

καὶ ὁ πόλεμος οὗτος, καίπερ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι, τὸν **21. 2.** *παρόντα ἀεὶ μέγιστον κρινόντων, παυσαμένων δὲ τὰ ἀρχαῖα μᾶλλον θαυμαζόντων κ.τ.λ.*

Literally, *ἐν ᾧ μὲν ἂν πολεμῶσι*, 'as long as they may be fighting,' not 'in whatever war they may be engaged.' The words taken thus answer better to *παυσαμένων δέ*.

καὶ ὅσα μὲν λόγῳ εἶπον ἕκαστοι ἢ μέλλοντες πολεμήσειν, ἢ ἐν αὐτῷ ἤδη **22. 1.** *ὄντες, χαλεπὸν τὴν ἀκρίβειαν αὐτὴν τῶν λεχθέντων διαμνημονεῦσαι ἦν ἐμοί τε ὧν αὐτὸς ἤκουσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοθέν ποθεν ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν.*

ἄλλοθεν, not 'from some other source as distinct from myself,' which is already implied in the sense of the words *τοῖς ἐμοὶ ἀπαγγέλλουσιν*, but generally 'from any,' or 'whatever source,' as in the well-known usage of *ἄλλος* in Plato and elsewhere.

Cp. iii. 19 fin. *αὐτός τε διαφθείρεται καὶ τῆς ἄλλης στρατιᾶς πολλοί.*

Soph. O. T. 7,—

ἀγὼ δικαιῶν μὴ παρ' ἀγγέλων, τέκνα,
ἄλλων ἀκούειν αὐτὸς ὧδ' ἐλήλυθα.

Eur. Or. 532,—

τί μαρτύρων
ἄλλων ἀκούειν δεῖ μ', ἃ γ' εἰσορᾷν πάρα;

τὰ δ' ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ παρατυχόντος **22. 2.** *πυνθανόμενος ἠξίωσα γράφειν, οὐδ' ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσον δυνατὸν ἀκριβείᾳ περὶ ἑκάστου ἐπεξελθών.*

τὰ ἔργα τῶν πραχθέντων, the actual facts, contrasted with the *λόγοι* just mentioned.

ἃ ἐπεξῆλθον might have been written for *ἐπεξελθών* or *αὐτός τε παραγενόμενος* for *οἷς τε αὐτὸς παρῆν*. 'I narrated only what I saw, and what I learnt by accurate inquiry from others.' In order to provide a construction for *παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων*, either *πυνθανόμενος* is to

22. 2. be repeated from the preceding words, or the sense of *πυνθανόμενος* must be supplied from *ἐπεξελθών*.

22. 4. **ὅσοι δὲ βουλήσονται τῶν τε γενομένων τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ποτὲ αὖθις κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι, ὠφέλιμα κρίνειν αὐτὰ ἀρκούντως ἕξει.**

Supply *τούτους* with *κρίνειν*, not *τούτοις* with *ἀρκούντως ἕξει* or with *ὠφέλιμα*, and take *τῶν μελλόντων* as governed by *τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν*, 'to have present to their eyes the exact facts.' *κατὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπειον*, 'according to the law of human affairs.'

τῶν μελλόντων does not precisely correspond to *τῶν γενομένων* as 'the future' to 'the past,' but is qualified by *τοιούτων καὶ παραπλησίων ἔσεσθαι*, 'of the past and of that which may be expected to resemble the past in the future (*ποτὲ αὖθις*).' The expression thus modified agrees better with *τὸ σαφὲς σκοπεῖν*, which would not, strictly speaking, apply to future events.

23. 1. *τῶν δὲ πρότερον ἔργων μέγιστον ἐπράχθη τὸ Μηδικόν.*

These words refer back to the end of i. 21.

24. 1. **Ἐπίδαμνός ἐστι πόλις ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσπλέοντι τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον.**

Literally, 'there is a city Epidamnus.' Cp. i. 126 init. *Κύλων ἦν Ὀλυμπιονίκης.*

24. 4. *στασιάσαντες δὲ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἔτη πολλά, ὡς λέγεται, ἀπὸ πολέμου τινὸς τῶν προσοίκων βαρβάρων ἐφθάρησαν καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῆς πολλῆς ἐστερήθησαν.*

Thucydides does not clearly express whether 1)* a period of faction was simply followed by a war with the barbarians (*ἀπὸ πολέμου* being taken with *ἐφθάρησαν*) or whether

2) There was any connection between the war and the civil commotion, either *a*) the war giving rise to the faction (*στασιάσαντες* being joined with *ἀπὸ πολέμου*), or *b*) the faction giving rise to the war (*ἀπὸ πολέμου* being again taken with *ἐφθάρησαν*); cp. below § 5, where the aristocratic party join the barbarians.

25. 4. **οὔτε γὰρ ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα, οὔτε Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρὶ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ ἄλλαι ἀποικίαι,**

περιφρονοῦντες δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν 25. 4.
χρόνον ὁμοῖα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων πλουσιωτάτοις καὶ τῇ ἐς πόλεμον παρασκευῇ
δυνατώτεροι, ναυτικῷ δὲ καὶ πολὺ προέχειν ἔστιν ὅτε ἐπαιρόμενοι, καὶ
κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων προενοίκησιν τῆς Κερκύρας κλέος ἐχόντων τὰ
περὶ τὰς ναῦς.

οὔτε γάρ κ.τ.λ. The finite verb is forgotten in the participial clauses which follow: διδόντες—προκαταρχόμενοι—περιφρονοῦντες—ὄντες ὁμοῖα—ἐπαιρόμενοι. The thread of the sentence which, if regular, would have ended in some such words as αἰτίαν εἶχον πρὸς τῶν Κορινθίων, is resumed at the beginning of the next chapter, πάντων οὖν τούτων ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες οἱ Κορίνθιοι.

The word κατάρχεσθαι is applied to any of the various ceremonies with which a sacrifice was commenced. One of these was the practice of cutting a lock of hair from the victim's head: so ἀπάρχεσθαι.

1)* The meaning of ἀνδρὶ Κορινθίῳ προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν is best explained by Classen from Hom. Il. iii. 273,—

ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλέων τάμνε τρίχας, αὐταρ ἔπειτα
κήρυκες Τρώων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν νεῖμαν ἀρίστοις.

(Cp. the Scholiast on this passage of Thucydides, διδόντες τὰς καταρχάς).

The meaning will then be 'assigning the firstfruits' (i. e. the τρίχες) 'of the victim to a representative of Corinth before the rest,' that he might throw them into the sacrificial fire, or more literally, 'taking the firstfruits of the victim,' or 'commencing the sacrifice for a representative of Corinth before the rest;' Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρί being a dativus commodi. Cp. Od. iii. 444,—

γέρων δ' ἱππηλάτα Νέστωρ
χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχύτας τε κατήρχετο· πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνῃ
εὔχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων.

It must be admitted, however, that the passage from Il. iii. is not wholly parallel, as the words describe the ceremonies of a covenant, at which the victim was not burnt. In the case of an ordinary sacrifice we find no mention of the hair of the victim being distributed before being burnt on the altar.

2) Göller proposed to supply, with Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρί, διδόντες γέρα τὰ νομιζόμενα from the first clause; προκαταρχόμενοι τῶν ἱερῶν, 'when

25. 4. commencing the sacrifice,' answering to *ἐν πανηγύρεσι ταῖς κοιναῖς*. But it may be objected that there is nothing in the first clause answering to *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρί*.

Or 3) taking *Κορινθίῳ ἀνδρί* as an instrumental dative, we may translate 'beginning the sacrifice by the hand of a Corinthian.'

The objection to 2) and 3) is that *προ-* in *προκαταρχόμενοι* has no special significance. The exact meaning of the word *προκαταρχόμενοι* remains doubtful. We can only say that it describes some honour or privilege granted at the performance of a sacrifice, but what was the manner of this privilege is not clear.

καὶ χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες κ.τ.λ. *ὁμοῖα* is not put for *ὁμοίοι* but used as if, not *χρημάτων δυνάμει ὄντες* but, *χρήμασι δυνατοὶ ὄντες* had preceded. In iii. 14 init. *Δία τὸν Ὀλύμπιον ἐν οὗ τῷ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ ἱκεταὶ ἐσμέν, ἴσα* is not parallel to *ὁμοῖα* here, because it is not a simple predicate, but is closely connected with *ἱκεταί*.

The statement is remarkable, for we can hardly suppose the wealth of Corcyra to have equalled that of Athens. But Thucydides may be comparing Corcyra, not with his own city, but only with the other states of Hellas.

καὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Φαιάκων κ.τ.λ. *καί* joins *κατὰ τὴν προενοίκησιν* with *ναυτικῷ καὶ πολὺ προέχειν*, 'flattered themselves that they were greatly superior, and also on the ground of the naval fame of the Phaeacians.' With this mention of the Phaeacians cp. iii. 70 med. *φάσκων τέμνειν χάρακας ἐκ τοῦ τε Διὸς τοῦ τεμένους καὶ τοῦ Ἀλκίνου.*

27. 1. *καὶ ἅμα ἀποικίαν ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαμνον ἐκήρυσσον, ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ὁμοίᾳ τὸν βουλόμενον ἰέναι.*

It is uncertain whether these words refer to equality among the settlers themselves, equality with the citizens of Epidamnus, or equality with the citizens who remained at Corinth.

27. 1. *πεντήκοντα* **δραχμὰς** *καταθέντα* **Κορινθίας** *κ.τ.λ.*

See note on iii. 70. 4.

28. 2. *ἤθελον δὲ καὶ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντείῳ ἐπιτρέψαι.*

This appears singular, considering that the oracle had already taken a side in advising the Epidamnians to deliver up their city to

the Corinthians (i. 25 init.). Did they not know of the former response, or did they hope to exert an influence over the oracle? 28. 2.

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἀντέλεγον, ἣν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν Ἐπιδάμνῳ ἀπαγάγωσι, 28. 5.
ποιήσειν ταῦτα· ἑτοῖμοι δὲ εἶναι καὶ ὥστε ἀμφοτέρους μένειν κατὰ χώραν,
σπονδὰς δὲ ποιήσασθαι ἕως ἂν ἡ δίκη γένηται.

It is unnecessary to omit the *δέ* after *σπονδάς*, which is found in all the MSS. There is a slight opposition between the two clauses, 'that both should remain on the spot, but discontinue fighting.'

1)* *ὥστε* may be pleonastic after *ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι*, 'they were ready that both should remain.' According to Herbst and Classen, the willingness of the Corcyraeans to submit to arbitration, and not the terms on which they are willing to submit, should be expressed in the leading verb of the sentence. But the objection is not conclusive. For both sides have already professed their willingness to accept arbitration, on certain conditions: the point in dispute is, what the conditions shall be.

Or 2) we may supply *ποιήσειν ταῦτα* with *ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι*, 'and again they were ready to have an arbitration on condition that both should remain,' etc.

Compare v. 41 med. *ἀλλ' εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι.*

τοῦ τε χρόνου τὸν πλεῖστον μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἐκράτουν τῆς θαλάσσης, 30. 3.—
καὶ τοὺς τῶν Κορινθίων ξυμμάχους ἐπιπλέοντες ἔφθειρον, μέχρι οὗ Κορίνθιοι
περιόντι τῷ θέρει πέμψαντες ναῦς καὶ στρατιάν, ἐπεὶ σφῶν οἱ ξύμμαχοι
ἐπόνουν, ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο ἐπὶ Ἀκτίῳ καὶ περὶ τὸ Χειμέριον τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος
φυλακῆς ἕνεκα τῆς τε Λευκάδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων, ὅσαι σφίσι φίλιαι
ἦσαν. ἀντεστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κερκυραῖοι ἐπὶ τῇ Λευκίμμῃ ναυσί 4.
τε καὶ πεζῷ. ἐπέπλεόν τε οὐδέτεροι ἀλλήλοις, ἀλλὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦτο ἀντι-
καθεζόμενοι χειμῶνος ἤδη ἀνεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου ἑκάτεροι.

Τὸν δ' ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον οἱ 31. 1.
Κορίνθιοι ὀργῇ φέροντες τὸν πρὸς Κερκυραίους πόλεμον ἐνανπηγοῦντο.

The reading *περιόντι τῷ θέρει* has the authority of all the MSS. but one: the exception however is the Augustan, one of the very best, which reads *περιῶντι*.

Nor is *περιόντι* indefensible on grammatical grounds, provided

31. 1. we translate, not 'in what remained of the summer' but, 'in the summer which had not yet come to an end:' *περιόντι* being brought into prominence as the predicate. Cp., though not exactly analogous, vii. 9 init. *ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι.*

τῷ θέρει, like *τὸ θέρος τοῦτο* below, need not here mean the whole summer. That it was a part only may be inferred from the context.

After the battle the Corcyraeans obtained command of the sea, which they retained for the greater part of the remainder of the season, or time still available for naval operations (*τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου*). Towards the end of this summer, *περιόντι τῷ θέρει*, or *περιΐόντι* see below 3, the Corinthians reappeared on the sea, but no engagement occurred during the remaining summer months (*τὸ θέρος τοῦτο*). In i. 31 init. we are told that the Corinthians are getting a new fleet ready 'all the year after the seafight, and the year after that,' *τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν πάντα τὸν μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ τὸν ὕστερον.* This may imply, 1) two full years (spring or summer of 434–432), counting from the date of the sea-fight; or 2) the remainder of the year in which the sea-fight took place and the year following (spring or summer of 434—end of 433); or 3) the year succeeding that in which the sea-fight took place, and the next year (434, 433. The sea-fight will then have taken place in 435). In the first two cases the beginning of ch. 31 is a resumption, and not a continuation of the narrative.

Some editors read *περιΐόντι*, and 1) refer the word to the coming round of the summer after the spring in which the sea-fight occurred. But with Thucydides *θέρος* includes both spring and summer, and it is therefore unlike his way of speaking to divide the half year into spring and summer.

Or 2) *περιΐόντι* may be taken of the coming round of the summer in the next year.

But *a*) then nearly a whole year passed during which the Corinthians remained inactive. This objection, however, is partly answered by the consideration that we do not know at what time the sea-fight took place. It may have been at the end of the summer, and in that case naval operations would only be resumed in the spring. It cannot have been quite early in the year; time

must be allowed for the various events which had occurred since the original occupation of Epidamnus. (i. 26 init. Κερκυραῖοι δὲ ἐπειδή—29 init. ἐναντία πολεμήσοντες.) It is a more serious objection *b*) to this explanation that no definite meaning is given to τὸν πλεῖστον τοῦ χρόνου. For why 'the greater part of the season,' unless the superiority of the Corcyraeans at sea was put an end to by the re-appearance of the Corinthian fleet during the same season? 30. 3.

3) It is also possible that περιϊόντι τῷ θέρει may mean simply 'when the summer was completing its cycle,' or 'was coming round to autumn.'

The phrase περιϊόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ is found in Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 25, where the words may be taken either as in 3), of the 'turn of the year,' or, as in 2), of the 'coming round of the next year.' The same variation of reading, περιόντι for περιϊόντι, occurs there.

That there is some harshness or meagreness in the explanation which has been offered of περιόντι τῷ θέρει cannot be denied. On the other hand, περιόντι is found in every MS. but one. The other reading περιϊόντι is best explained as in 3) 'when the summer came round to autumn.' But of this usage of the word we are not quite certain. Even if the meaning in Xenophon could be precisely determined, περιϊόντι τῷ θέρει is not exactly parallel with περιϊόντι τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ.

καὶ περιέστηκεν ἡ δοκοῦσα ἡμῶν πρότερον σωφροσύνη, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ξυμμαχίᾳ τῇ τοῦ πέλας γνώμῃ ξυγκινδυνεύειν, νῦν ἀβουλία καὶ ἀσθένεια φαινομένη. 32. 4.

φαινομένη is the explanation of περιέστηκεν, and is opposed to δοκοῦσα. 'Our fancied wisdom has changed its character, and is now clearly seen to be folly and weakness.'

καὶ ξυγγνώμη εἰ μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ, τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἐναντία τολμῶμεν. 32. 5.

The expression is inaccurate. The words μὴ μετὰ κακίας, δόξης δὲ μᾶλλον ἁμαρτίᾳ refer, not to the conduct of the Corcyraeans in seeking the Athenian alliance, but to their previous policy in avoiding alliances, with which their present appeal to Athens was inconsistent (ἐναντία. Cp. ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἄλογον, § 3).

32. 5. Instead of saying 'excuse us if we formerly made an innocent mistake, and now prefer a request which is inconsistent with it,' Thucydides says, 'if we innocently and by an error of judgment (i.e. by reason of our former conduct which was innocent and an error of judgment) fall into inconsistency.' *μετὰ κακίας* and *ἁμαρτίᾳ*, though grammatically joined with *ἐναντία τολμῶμεν*, are in idea connected with *τῇ πρότερον ἀπραγμοσύνῃ*,—the error lay in their previous conduct which made their present action inconsistent.

33. 1. *γενήσεται δὲ ὑμῖν πειθομένοις καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία κατὰ πολλὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας· πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἀδικουμένοις καὶ οὐχ ἑτέρους βλάπτουσι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε, ἔπειτα περὶ τῶν μεγίστων κινδυνεύοντας δεξάμενοι ὡς ἂν μάλιστα μετὰ ἀειμνήστου μαρτυρίου τὴν χάριν κατάθησθε, ναυτικόν τε κεκτήμεθα πλὴν τοῦ παρ' ὑμῖν πλεῖστον.*

The *μαρτύριον* is the signal benefit conferred which will always be a witness to the goodwill of the Athenians.

All the MSS. read *κατάθησθε* or *καταθῆσθε*, though in the Laurentian MS. there was originally room for two letters where *η* now stands.

1) The second clause, *ἔπειτα . . . κατάθησθε*, has been taken, not as parallel to the first, *πρῶτον μὲν . . . ποιήσεσθε*, but as a participial clause dependent on *τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ποιήσεσθε*, 'because in the first place you will be helping the injured and not the injurers by receiving in the second place those whose dearest interests are at stake.'

It is then possible to give *ὡς ἄν* the meaning 'in order that.' But *δεξάμενοι*, if really subordinate to *ποιήσεσθε*, would hardly have been introduced by *ἔπειτα*.

Or 2), *δεξάμενοι* may be regarded as parallel to *ὅτι ποιήσεσθε* and dependent on *ἕξετε ξυντυχίαν* latent in *καλὴ ἡ ξυντυχία* (Shilleto).

Still the flow of the sentence leads us to suppose that the verb answering to *ποιήσεσθε* will be found in the clause *ὡς ἂν . . . κατάθησθε*. This verb, if the MS. reading be retained, must be *καταθήσεσθε* supplied out of *κατάθησθε*. The meaning will then be—

3) 'You will store up gratitude in whatever way you best store it up.' (Cp. Dem. Olynth. i. 22, *ἄξιον δὲ ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματα, ἐν ᾧ καθέστηκε νυνί, τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε γάρ, ὡς δοκεῖ καὶ φήσειέ*

τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς, εὑτρεπῶς, οὐδ' ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ' ἔχῃ (scil. *ἔχει*), where however *ἔχῃ* is harsh, and *ἔχει* may very probably be the true reading.) 33. 1.

But the sense required in the text is, 4)* 'you will store up gratitude in the way in which you would best store it up.' This sense is gained by the easiest correction of the MSS. reading, *καταθεῖσθε, ἂν καταθεῖσθε* being parallel to *ποιήσεσθε*.

We might have expected indeed *ὡς μάλιστ' ἄν* rather than *ὡς ἂν μάλιστα*. But the position of *ἄν* is not a serious objection. The alteration of the text is slight, and therefore preferable to the more violent emendation, *καταθήσεσθε*, although the latter secures, it is true, a better balance with *ποιήσεσθε*, and obviates the difficulty arising from the position of *ἄν*. The corruption may possibly have arisen out of the insertion of *κατάθησθε* as a gloss on *ὡς ἂν μάλιστα*. We may observe that *μέν* is slightly out of place; *ὅτι πρῶτον μέν* would be more regular than *πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι*.

καὶ οὐκ αἰσθάνεται τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους **φόβῳ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ** *πολεμησείοντας*. 33. 3.

For this objective use of the possessive pronoun cp. just below, *ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν*, i. 69 fin. *αἱ ὑμέτεραι ἐλπίδες*, i. 77 fin. *διὰ τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος*, i. 137 fin. *διὰ τὴν σὴν φιλίαν*.

καὶ τοὺς Κορινθίους δυναμένους παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑμῖν ἐχθροὺς ὄντας, καὶ προκαταλαμβάνοντας ἡμᾶς νῦν ἐς τὴν ὑμετέραν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἵνα μὴ τῷ κοινῷ ἔχθει κατ' αὐτῶν μετ' ἀλλήλων στῶμεν, μηδὲ **δυοῖν φθάσαι ἁμάρτωσιν**, *ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι.* 33. 3.

δυοῖν is governed by *ἁμαρτῶσι, φθάσαι* is an explanatory or supplemental infinitive.

1) The Corinthians hope 'to secure in good time' (i. e. before the Athenians and Corcyraeans unite) 'one of two things: either the injury of the Corcyraeans or their own aggrandisement.' If they do not strengthen themselves they will at any rate injure the Corcyraeans; or, if they do not injure the Corcyraeans, they will at any rate strengthen themselves. Cp. i. 122. 3, and note.

There is a further refinement of language: they intend 'not to miss both of two things:' i. e. 'one of two things.' *δυοῖν* can be

33. 3. taken in this sense if joined, not with the positive notion *φθάσαι*, but with the negative *ἁμάρτωσι*.

2) It has been suggested that *κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς* may mean 'to destroy the Corcyraeans,' and *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι* 'to strengthen themselves by forcing the Corcyraeans into an alliance.' But there is no hint of this in the context, and the thought would be too imperfectly expressed.

3) It has also been supposed that the force of the *μηδέ* extends over the two *ἤ*'s. They will then become equivalent to *μήτε—μήτε*, 'that they may not fail both to ruin us and increase their own strength.' But such a use of *ἤ* after *μηδέ* cannot be admitted unless other passages are quoted in support of it.

35. 4. *ἦν οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ' ἢ κἀκείνων κωλύειν τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας μισθοφόρους, ἢ καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν καθ' ὅ τι ἂν πείσθητε ὠφελίαν.*

καὶ ἐκείνων κωλύειν, 'as well as refusing to aid us:' *καὶ ἡμῖν πέμπειν*, 'as well as continuing to aid them.'

35. 5. *πολλὰ δὲ ὥσπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ ὑπείπομεν τὰ ξυμφέροντα ἀποδείκνυμεν· καὶ μέγιστον ὅτι οἵ τε αὐτοὶ πολέμιοι ἡμῖν ἦσαν, ὅπερ σαφεστάτη πίστις κ.τ.λ.*

ἦσαν, the past tense, answering to *ὑπείπομεν*, 'were shown to be.'

35. 5. *καὶ ναυτικῆς καὶ οὐκ ἠπειρώτιδος τῆς ξυμμαχίας διδομένης* **οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις**· *ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μέν, εἰ δύνασθε, μηδένα ἄλλον ἐᾷν κεκτῆσθαι ναῦς· εἰ δὲ μή, ὅστις ἐχυρώτατος, τοῦτον φίλον ἔχειν.*

The infinitives *ἐᾷν*, *ἔχειν*, depend on *δεῖ* understood from *οὐχ ὁμοία ἡ ἀλλοτρίωσις*, as though *ἧττον δεῖ ἀλλοτριοῦν* had preceded.

36. 1. *καὶ ὅτῳ τάδε ξυμφέροντα μὲν δοκεῖ λέγεσθαι, φοβεῖται δὲ μὴ δι' αὐτὰ πειθόμενος τὰς σπονδὰς λύσῃ, γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, ἰσχὺν ἔχον, τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσον· τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὂν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον.*

Mr. Shilleto translates, 'let him know that the cautious apprehension of danger (*which will lead him to accept our offer*) when backed by strength will be more formidable to his enemies, whereas his overweening confidence if he accept not the offer, not backed by strength, will be less formidable to meet his adversaries when strong.'

He argues that τὸ δεδιός cannot refer to φοβεῖται, *a*) because 'as long as the fear (of violating the peace of Euboea) lasted, the offer would not be accepted. How could *such* fear then be backed by strength? An accepter of the strength (their proffered alliance) would first have dismissed *this* fear.' 36. 1.

And *b*), because δέος and allied words mean simply apprehension of evil, not like φόβος, panic fear, (although φόβος is sometimes synonymous with δέος): 'Does any passage in Thucydides, where δεδιέναι occurs, suggest the meaning *timidity, cowardly fear*?'

But *a*) as no opposition between φοβεῖται and τὸ δεδιός is indicated by their place in the sentence, or by anything in the context, it seems more natural to suppose that one is the resumption of the other. And such a resumption accords with the verbal character of this passage.

And *b*), the word δεδιέναι is clearly used of cowardly fear in ii. 65 med. *ὁπότε γοῦν αἴσθοιτό τι αὐτοὺς παρὰ καιρὸν ὕβρει θαρσοῦντας, λέγων κατέπλησσεν ἐπὶ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ δεδιότας αὖ ἀλόγως ἀντικαθίστη πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν.* If it be said that ἀλόγως here qualifies δεδιότας, we may quote iv. 126 init. *βαρβάρους δέ, οὓς νῦν ἀπειρίᾳ δέδιτε, μαθεῖν χρή, . . . οὐ δεινοὺς ἐσομένους.*

It must be admitted that τὸ δεδιός is not accurate, but denotes the fear which the Athenians are supposed to entertain previously to accepting the alliance. We may conceive a person arguing the matter thus, 'This fear which you have of entering into alliance will cease when you have made the alliance; it will then be the turn of your enemies to fear.' Strictly speaking, it is not the fear which has 'acquired strength,' but the person who fears. But the love of antithesis, however bald, overrides many inaccuracies of language in Thucydides.

Or, the fear of the consequences may be supposed to remain, even after the Athenians have accepted the new alliance: although, now that they have an increase in material strength, the enemy, rather than they, have reason to be afraid. 'Some one fears that in accepting us he will be breaking the treaty! Let such "cautelous" persons know that the best way of comforting their timid souls is to get strength on their side.'

καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς προνοῶν, ὅτ' ἂν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ 36. 1.

36. 1. *παρόντα πόλεμον, τὸ αὐτίκα περισκοπῶν, ἐνδοιάζῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν οἰκειοῦταί τε καὶ πολεμοῦται.*

ὅτ' ἄν. Cp. note on i. 141. 6.

ὃ μετὰ μεγίστων καιρῶν κ.τ.λ., 'of which no one can make a friend or an enemy without gaining or losing great opportunities.'

36. 3. *βραχυτάτῳ δ' ἂν κεφαλαίῳ τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον τῷδ' ἂν μὴ προέσθαι ὑμᾶς μάθοιτε· τρία μὲν ὄντα λόγου ἄξια τοῖς Ἕλλησι ναυτικά, τὸ παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον, καὶ τὸ τῶν Κορινθίων, τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε τὰ δύο ἐς ταὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ Κορίνθιοι ἡμᾶς προκαταλήψονται, Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε· δεξάμενοι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἕξετε πρὸς αὐτοὺς πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ἀγωνίζεσθαι.*

τοῖς is the dative in apposition with *βραχυτάτῳ κεφαλαίῳ . . . τῷδε*, and includes *καθ' ἕκαστον* as well as *ξύμπασι*. *τοῖς τε ξύμπασι καὶ τοῖς καθ' ἕκαστον* would be the full expression, 'by the shortest possible summary of the facts, embracing the whole and each particular, which is this.'

Compare for the pleonasm the last two lines of Macbeth:—

'So thanks to all at once and to each one
Whom we invite to see us crowned at Scone.'

τρία μὲν ὄντα κ.τ.λ.

1) Poppo explains the accusative by taking *μάθοιτε ἄν* in two constructions, with the infinitive in the sense of 'learn,' and with the participle in the sense of 'know.'

Or better (as Shilleto), retaining the same meaning for *μάθοιτε*, 'You may learn by one short argument not to betray us,' and then, as if the writer forgot that *μάθοιτε* has already a construction with the infinitive, '(you may learn) that Hellas has but three considerable navies;' this last statement being of course subordinate in sense to *τούτων δ' εἰ περιόψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*

2) Classen would rather supply *ἐστί*, taking *ὄντα* with *λόγου ἄξια*. But it seems unlikely that *ὄντα* should be supplied while *ἐστί* is omitted.

It is simpler 3)* to take *τρία ὄντα* as an accusativus pendens, partly supported by the coming verb *περιόψεσθε*, 'that whereas there are three navies, etc., if you allow,' etc.

More regularly the sentence would have run *ὅτι τριῶν μὲν ὄντων . . .*

περιορώντων δὲ ὑμῶν . . . Κερκυραίοις τε καὶ Πελοποννησίοις ἅμα ναυμαχήσετε. 36. 3. The formal opposition of the clauses, expressed in *μέν* and *δέ*, is retained, and adds dignity to the sentence, which may be expressed in English by 'whereas,' 'forasmuch as.' But as the first clause is subordinated to the second, the opposition is not to be pressed.

πλείοσι ναυσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις, not 'with more ships,' but 'with additional ships, namely, with ours.'

ξύμμαχόν τε οὐδένα βουλόμενοι πρὸς τἀδικήματα οὐδὲ μάρτυρα ἔχειν, οὔτε παρακαλοῦντες αἰσχύνεσθαι. 37. 2.

οὔτε answers to *τέ*, and *μάρτυρα* is in apposition with *ξύμμαχον*: *οὐδέ* emphasizes *μάρτυρα*. 'They wanted no ally who would certainly be a witness of their crimes, even if he did not interfere with them.'

παρακαλοῦντες. The general notion of alliance in the first clause is opposed to the special occasions of calling in the ally in the second.

καὶ ἡ πόλις αὐτῶν ἅμα, αὐτάρκη θέσιν κειμένη, παρέχει αὐτοὺς δικαστὰς ὧν βλάπτουσί τινα μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας γίγνεσθαι. 37. 3.

1)* Supply *δικαστάς* with *γίγνεσθαι*, 'than that arbitrators should be appointed according to a previous treaty,' such as would have bound the Corcyraeans had they entered into relations with other states.

This seems preferable to the rendering 2) 'than they would be if bound by a regular treaty,' *γίγνεσθαι* being separated from *ἢ κατὰ ξυνθήκας* and taken with *παρέχει δικαστάς*. For the pleonastic *γίγνεσθαι* comes in awkwardly so far after *παρέχει δικαστάς*.

αὐτοὺς δικαστάς, judges in their own cause.

Their isolated position, and the consequent rarity of their visits to others, enabled them to dispense with *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* (cp. note on i. 77. 1), because they did not require the protection afforded by them.

καὶ δῆλον, ὅτι, εἰ τοῖς πλέοσιν ἀρέσκοντές ἐσμεν, τοῖσδ' ἂν μόνοις οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἀπαρέσκοιμεν, οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι. 38. 4.

38. 4. There is a great preponderance of good MS. authority against *ἐπιστρατεύοιμεν* and *εὐπρεπῶς* which look like conjectures.

It is doubtful whether *ἐκπρεπῶς* is connected closely 1)* with the verb, or 2) with the negative,—in the first case admitting, in the second denying, the exceptional character of the Corinthian proceedings.

Its position after *ἐπιστρατεύομεν*, not after *οὐδέ*, and the parallel implied in *καί* between *διαφερόντως* and *ἐκπρεπῶς*, 'we do not make an attack of so unusual a character without being at the same time signally injured,' are in favour of 1)*. According to 2) the clause *μὴ καὶ . . . ἀδικούμενοι* is explanatory of *ἐκπρεπῶς* (just as *εἰ μή τι ἠδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆεσαν* is of *ἄκοντας* in iii. 11. 3. See note there). The two expressions would naturally be separated; united they overload the sentence. 'We are not attacking them in an extraordinary way—we should not be attacking them if we were not also being signally wronged by them.'

39. 1. *καὶ φασὶ δὴ δίκῃ πρότερον ἐθελῆσαι κρίνεσθαι· ἦν γε οὐ τὸν προὔχοντα καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς προκαλούμενον λέγειν τι δοκεῖν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐς ἴσον*
2. *τά τε ἔργα ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς λόγους, πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι, καθιστάντα. οὗτοι δ' οὐ πρὶν πολιορκεῖν τὸ χωρίον, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡγήσαντο ἡμᾶς οὐ περιόψεσθαι, τότε καὶ τὸ εὐπρεπὲς τῆς δίκης παρέσχοντο.*

πρότερον refers to *ἑλόντες βίᾳ ἔχουσι* at the end of ch. 38; 'before taking Epidamnus,' not 'before attacking it,' which would not have been true. Cp. i. 28 fin., 29 fin.

ἐς ἴσον, on a fair footing as regards the enemy. Or possibly the meaning is *τὰ ἔργα ἐς ἴσον τοῖς λόγοις καθιστάντα*. In this case *ὁμοίως* is pleonastic.

τὸν ἐς ἴσον κ.τ.λ. 'The appeal to arbitration might have a meaning in the mouth of one who dealt fairly with his enemy, in deed as well as word, before appealing to arms:' i.e. one who proposed arbitration before going to war—when it would have been a fair arbitration—and not afterwards, as the Corcyraeans have done, when he has already gained an advantage, and when the offer, though plausible, is insincere.

It has been suggested that *πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι* may = 'before appealing to arbitration.' A good sense is thus given to *ἐς ἴσον*

καθιστάντα, 'a man should put himself on an equality before he enters on an arbitration:' i. e. the Corcyraeans should have retired from Epidamnus. 39. 1.

But even if this meaning of διαγωνίζεσθαι were possible it seems to be forbidden here by the obvious parallelism between πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι and πρὶν πολιορκεῖν, which immediately follows, and is a variation or more precise description of πρὶν διαγωνίζεσθαι. Some editors take διαγωνίζεσθαι in a more extended sense, 'before he undertakes the struggle,' meaning 'before he appeals either to law or arms.' But this explanation is equally inconsistent with the following words.

[ἐγκλημάτων δὲ μόνων ἀμετόχους οὕτω τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν.] 39. 3.

There are reasons in the state of the text for regarding these words as a gloss. They are found in the Laurentian MS. Bekker's C. But of the eight MSS. in Poppo's first class they are wanting in three, and in two others found only on the margin. Of the six in his second class they are wanting in three, on the margin in one. It may be argued, on the other side, that they are more likely to have been omitted than inserted. Instances of long glosses occur very rarely. That the words are tautological is no argument against them. They cannot be an explanation, and no other reason can be given for their insertion.

If genuine, they may be taken 1)* in Hermann's way: ἀμετόχους referring by a change of subject to the Athenians, and μόνων being an anticipation of τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων μὴ κοινωνεῖν. 'You ought not, when their crimes,' (literally, 'the grounds of blame,') 'are thus the only things in which you do not partake, nevertheless (οὕτω, being guiltless of their crimes), to share in their punishment,' literally, 'to share in the consequences of the actions of these men.'

Still we should have expected μηδέ, ἐγκλημάτων μόνων ἀμετόχους, οὕτω τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις τούτων κοινωνεῖν.

It is an apparent objection only that the words ἐγκλημάτων ἀμετόχους are in contradiction to τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αἰτίας τὸ ἴσον ἕξετε just

39. 3. above. For a distinction may be drawn. The Athenians might incur blame in the eyes of the Corinthians, though as a matter of fact they had no share in the grounds of blame. For *ἔγκλημα* in this objective sense cp. iv. 23 init. *οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες ἐπιδρομήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι παράσπονδον καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι, οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν.*

2) The words have also been translated, 'You should not have a share in the charges which we bring only, being so guiltless of the consequences of their actions,' *τῶν μετὰ τὰς πράξεις* being taken after *ἀμετόχους*, and the comma being placed after *μόνων* and *τούτων*. But the meaning thus given to *ἀμετόχους* is forced, and the order of words unnatural.

40. 2. *ἀλλ' ὅστις μὴ ἄλλου αὐτὸν ἀποστερῶν ἀσφαλείας δεῖται, καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντ' εἰρήνης ποιήσει.*

1)* *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* appears to be an afterthought: *δεξαμένοις εἰ σωφρονοῦσι=σωφρόνως δεξαμένοις*. The meaning is, 'the treaty applies to such as will not bring war instead of peace to those who (in that case wisely) receive them,' *wisely*, because they will not bring war instead of peace to their new allies. In other words, 'who only receive them on the condition of their not bringing war.' Cp. note on iii. 11. 3.

The hypothetical form, *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι*, is chosen because in the words 'those who receive them' is implied 'those who will not receive others—if they are wise.'

2) *εἰ σωφρονοῦσι* has been taken, 'if they deal with their new allies discreetly.' But this limitation is pointless, and contrary to the general context. For Thucydides does not mean to say, 'who will not involve in war those who receive them if they show ordinary prudence,' but 'who will under no circumstances involve them in war.' He is drawing a picture of a safe alliance which he contrasts in the strongest manner with that offered by the Corcyraeans. And, except in the case of a state like Corcyra, why should any particular prudence be required?

41. 1. *οὐκ ἐχθροὶ ὄντες ὥστε βλάπτειν οὐδ' αὖ φίλοι ὥστε ἐπιχρῆσθαι.*

1) *ἐπιχρῆσθαι* has been supposed to have the meaning 'to be inti-

mate with,' as in Herodotus iii. 99, *ὃς ἂν κάμῃ τῶν ἀστῶν, ἤν τε γυνὴ* **41. 1.** *ἤν τε ἀνήρ, τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα ἄνδρες οἱ μάλιστα οἱ ὁμιλέοντες κτείνουσι . . . ἢν δὲ γύνη κάμῃ, αἱ ἐπιχρεώμεναι μάλιστα γυναῖκες ταὐτὰ τοῖσι ἀνδράσι ποιεῦσιν.* But there is then a want of point in the opposition of *βλάπτειν* and *ἐπιχρῆσθαι*.

2) The use of the word in Plato's Laws, xii. 953 A, approaches more nearly to the sense here required, *φυλάττοντας μὴ νεωτερίζῃ τίς τι τῶν τοιούτων ξένων, καὶ δίκας αὐτοῖς ὀρθῶς διανέμοντας, ἀναγκαῖα μέν, ὡς ὀλίγιστα δ' ἐπιχρωμένους*, 'having dealings with them as little as possible.' We may suppose this meaning modified by the reciprocal force of *ἐπί* in composition, as in *ἐπιγαμία, ἐπαλλαγή, ἐπαμείβω*. Thus we arrive at the sense 'so as to interchange services' or 'good offices.' The speaker means to say, 'we are not friends so intimate that we do not think of claiming the repayment of obligations.'

ἡμεῖς δὲ περιπεπτωκότες οἷς ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ προείπομεν, τοὺς **43. 1.** *σφετέρους ξυμμάχους αὐτόν τινα κολάζειν κ.τ.λ.*

οἷς 1)* scil. *οἷς περιπεπτωκότα τινά.*

Or 2) *περιπεπτωκότες ἐκείνοις ἃ προείπομεν*, 'coming under the principle which we laid down.' But this use of *περιπίπτειν* is doubtful.

ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς. **44. 2.**

καὶ ὡς, see note on iii. 33. 2.

ἦν τε ἡ ναυμαχία καρτερά, τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως, πεζομαχίᾳ δὲ τὸ **49. 2.** *πλέον προσφερὴς οὖσα.*

τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ οὐχ ὁμοίως. Some more general word, like *ἐπίσημος*, has to be supplied from *καρτερά*. 'The engagement was fierce, not indeed displaying much skill, but resembling a land-fight more than a sea-fight,' i.e. 'after the manner of a land-fight, which it for the most part resembled.'

τῆς δὲ τροπῆς γενομένης, οἱ Κορίνθιοι τὰ σκάφη μὲν οὐχ εἷλκον ἀναδού- **50. 1.** *μενοι τῶν νεῶν, ἃς καταδύσειαν, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτράποντο φονεύειν διεκπλέοντες μᾶλλον ἢ ζωγρεῖν.*

50. 1. *ἐτράποντο* is here used in a double construction, *ἐτράποντο πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἐτράποντο φονεύειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους.* Compare for the latter construction ii. 65 fin. *ἐτράποντο καθ' ἡδονὰς τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τὰ πράγματα ἐνδιδόναι.*

50. 2. *πολλῶν γὰρ νεῶν οὐσῶν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπεχουσῶν, ἐπειδὴ ξυνέμιξαν ἀλλήλοις, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὴν διάγνωσιν ἐποιοῦντο ὁποῖοι ἐκράτουν ἢ ἐκρατοῦντο.*

ὁποῖοι is the predicate of the sentence and nearly equivalent to *οἵτινες* (of what sort, or who, they were). It expresses the confusion and indistinctness of the struggle. The meaning is, not that the combatants saw, as for example in the harbour of Syracuse (vii. 71), two adversaries, and were uncertain which was the conqueror; but that they were uncertain who was who, i. e. whether any one was Corcyraean, or Corinthian, Elean, Megarian, etc., among the conquerors and conquered whom they saw.

If this explanation is considered too subtle, we have no alternative except to read *ὁπότεροι* instead of *ὁποῖοι*.

53. 1. *ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐς κελήτιον ἐμβιβάσαντας ἄνευ κηρυκείου προσπέμψαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ πεῖραν ποιήσασθαι.*

The appearance of the Corinthians without a flag of truce was intended to deny on their part that they were at war with Athens, and to throw the responsibility of beginning war upon the Athenians.

53. 2. *Ἀδικεῖτε, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολέμου ἄρχοντες καὶ σπονδὰς λύοντες.*

σπονδαί can be used of a particular treaty as well without as with the article, being one of those words which approximate in their use to proper names. Cp. the following:

In i. 71 fin. the sense is clearly indefinite, *λύουσι γὰρ σπονδὰς οὐχ οἱ δι' ἐρημίαν ἄλλοις προσιόντες κ.τ.λ.*

In the three next passages either meaning, definite or indefinite, is possible.

i. 55 fin. *ὅτι σφίσιν ἐν σπονδαῖς μετὰ Κερκυραίων ἐναυμάχουν.*

i. 67 init. *κατεβόων ἐλθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὅτι σπονδάς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον.*

i. 78 fin. *λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς*

μὴ λύειν μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους, τὰ δὲ διάφορα δίκῃ λύεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ξυνθήκην. 53. 2.

In v. 36 init. if σπονδαῖς, which has most authority, is the right reading, the definite meaning, 'the treaty,' not 'peace with Athens,' gives a better sense. ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔφοροι ἕτεροι, καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο, ἄρχοντες ἤδη, καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναντίοι σπονδαῖς. 'Opposed to treaties,' or 'to treaties with Athens' in general, can hardly be the meaning.

In i. 123 fin. it seems better 1) to adopt the definite meaning:—σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἅς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι. The γέ following ἅς proves that these words signify, 'you will not be the first to break the treaty, seeing that it is a treaty which the God declares to have been already transgressed;' not 'you will not be the first to break a treaty which,' or 'such as, the God declares to have been already transgressed.'

Or 2) there may be a sudden turn from the indefinite to the definite, σπονδάς being taken indefinitely, but a definite antecedent to ἅς being obtained from it. 'You will not be the first to break treaties, when the God declares that this treaty has been already broken.'

This analysis shows that whether the meaning of the word is definite or indefinite can only be determined by the context.

ἔτυχον γὰρ τριάκοντα ναῦς ἀποστέλλοντες καὶ χιλίους ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ, Ἀρχεστράτου τοῦ Λυκομήδους μετ' ἄλλων δέκα στρατηγοῦντος. 57. 6.

The number of ten + one commanders in addition to the five mentioned below (i. 61 init.) seems excessive, and does not agree either with the number of στρατηγοί usually employed on an expedition, or with the whole number (ten) appointed in one year. It has been proposed therefore to read τεσσάρων instead of δέκα, Δ representing ten not four (which is written ||||) in some of the older MSS.; hence the confusion. Thus, including Archestratus, there would be five generals, making up, with the five spoken of below, the usual number of ten. This conjecture is probable and ingenious. But the change is not absolutely necessary. For additional στρατηγοί may have been appointed on extraordinary occasions.

57. 6. The probability of a numerical error in this passage can only be estimated by a comparison of other places in which it has been proposed to alter numbers by conjecture.

1) In i. 103 init. *οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει ὡς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κ.τ.λ.* Krüger, Historisch Philologische Studien, i. p. 156 foll., would read *τετάρτῳ* instead of *δεκάτῳ*, and brings forward many strong objections to the reading generally received. On the other hand, Diodorus, who (xi. 64 fin.) speaks of a ten years' war, had evidently read Thucydides, and the mention of the number ten in his narrative is best accounted for by the supposition that he found *δεκάτῳ ἔτει* in the MSS. of his time.

2) In ii. 2 init. the contradiction (if there be one of any importance, for the variation between the beginnings of the Attic months in different years, which might amount to nearly thirty days, throws considerable doubt on the question) between *Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοις* and *ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ* would be removed if *τέτταρας*, not *δύο*, were read, as Krüger proposes (Stud. i. p. 221 foll.)

3) In ii. 20 med. *ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως τριςχίλιοι γὰρ ὁπλῖται ἐγένοντο*, Müller-Strübing (Aristophanes und die Historische Kritik: Excursus to p. 432) objects to the number *τριςχίλιοι*. He considers it impossible that a single one of the 174 demes into which Attica was divided could have furnished so large a proportion of the Athenian hoplites, and would read Γ=300, instead of Τ=3000. But 300 men could not possibly be called *μέγα μέρος τῆς πόλεως*. See note on ii. 20. 4.

4) In ii. 65 fin. *ὁμῶς τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον*, the received reading, is defensible, cp. Krüger, Studien, ii. p. 133, 150 foll. *δέκα ἔτη*, an emendation proposed by Haacke, adopted by Classen, and favourably mentioned by Poppo (ed. maj. i. 2. p. 572), gives too long a period; we require eight and a half years. Cp. however Isocr. Panath. (xii.) 62, *ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὕροι τις ἄν, ἁπάντων αὐτῇ καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιθεμένων, ἔτη δέκα τούτοις ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσαν*,—a rhetorical passage from which nothing can be inferred, and in which *ἔτη δέκα* is probably a reminiscence of the Trojan War.

5) In v. 25 fin. *καὶ ἐπὶ ἓξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ* **57. 6.** *τὴν γῆν ἑκατέρων στρατεῦσαι*, Krüger wishes to read seven years and four months (i. e. down to the fortification of Decelea); Ullrich six years and four months (i. e. down to the Sicilian expedition), instead of six years and ten months. See Classen, Append. to book v. But there is no need to alter the text.

6) In viii. 29 fin. Madvig's conjecture *τριάκοντα*, for *τρία* (which is wanting altogether in the reading of the Vatican MS), gives a better sense: but the MS. reading is defensible.

For a further discussion of all these places see notes.

Difficulties with regard to the number of ships mentioned by Thucydides occur in iv. 11 init., viii. 10 med., 30, 99 fin., 103 init. 104 init. But it is very unlikely that in all these passages, which cannot be explained by any common error, the text should be equally corrupt.

This analysis of passages in which suspicion has been entertained of numbers shows that the confusion of them with one another is not a common error in the MSS. of Thucydides. And, however low the authority of MSS. in regard to numerals may be rated, it is in itself improbable that the MSS. should have erred all together in so many passages when there is an appearance of a difficulty in the narrative.

Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ πέμψαντες μὲν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίους πρέσβεις, εἴ πως **58. 1.** *πείσειαν μὴ σφῶν πέρι νεωτερίζειν μηδέν*, ἐλθόντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα μετὰ Κορινθίων [ἔπρασσον], ὅπως ἑτοιμάσαιντο τιμωρίαν, ἢν δέῃ, ἐπειδὴ ἔκ τε Ἀθηναίων ἐκ πολλοῦ πράσσοντες οὐδὲν εὕροντο ἐπιτήδειον, ἀλλ' αἱ νῆες αἱ ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ὁμοίως ἔπλεον, καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπέσχετο αὐτοῖς, ἢν ἐπὶ Ποτίδαιαν ἴωσιν Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐσβαλεῖν, τότε δὴ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἀφίστανται μετὰ Χαλκιδέων καὶ Βοττιαίων κοινῇ ξυνομόσαντες.

ἔπρασσον is superfluous, and, not being connected with *ἀφίστανται* which follows, causes an asyndeton. There is the further difficulty that *ἔπρασσον* cannot be joined in sense with *ἐλθόντες μέν*, but only with *πράσσοντες δέ*, for the Potidaeans did not go to Athens for help. If *ἔπρασσον* is not a gloss, it is best to take *ἐλθόντες ... ἢν δέῃ* as a parenthesis.

58. 1. *εὕροντο* (med.), not 'found,' but 'obtained no satisfaction.'

60. 2. *ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀριστεὺς ὁ Ἀδειμάντου, κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐκ Κορίνθου στρατιῶται ἐθελονταὶ ξυνέσποντο· ἦν γὰρ τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις ἀεί ποτε ἐπιτήδειος.*

γάρ refers to the clause *ἐστρατήγει δὲ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.* not to the words immediately preceding, which are subordinate in sense, and might have been expressed, not *κατὰ φιλίαν τε αὐτοῦ*, but *οὗ κατὰ φιλίαν ξυνέσποντο.*

60. 3. *καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἡ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη.* See note on iii. 92, 4.

61. 3. *προσκαθεζόμενοι δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν Πύδναν ἐπολιόρκησαν μέν, ἔπειτα δὲ ξύμβασιν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχίαν ἀναγκαίαν πρὸς τὸν Περδίκκαν, ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτίδαια καὶ ὁ Ἀριστεὺς παρελήλυθώς, ἀπανίστανται*

4. *ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας. καὶ ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Βέροιαν κἀκεῖθεν ἐπιστρέψαντες καὶ πειράσαντες πρῶτον τοῦ χωρίου καὶ οὐχ ἑλόντες ἐπορεύοντο κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν τρισχιλίοις μὲν ὁπλίταις ἑαυτῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων πολλοῖς, ἱππεῦσι δὲ ἑξακοσίοις Μακεδόνων τοῖς μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ Παυσανίου· ἅμα δὲ νῆες παρέπλεον ἑβδομήκοντα. κατ' ὀλίγον δὲ προϊόντες τριταῖοι ἀφίκοντο ἐς Γίγωνον καὶ ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο.*

There are considerable difficulties in this passage.

a) Why should the Athenians have attacked a place belonging to Perdiccas, with whom they had just concluded an alliance? unless we suppose that his defection (i. 62 init.) had already occurred; but of this Thucydides says nothing here. Moreover they were in a hurry to reach Potidaea (*ὡς αὐτοὺς κατήπειγεν ἡ Ποτίδαια*).

b) The order of the words is strange. *πειράσαντες τοῦ χωρίου* should come before *ἐπιστρέψαντες.*

c) Beroea is at least sixty miles from Gigonus. It is impossible that this distance could have been traversed by an army marching slowly (*κατ' ὀλίγον προϊόντες*) in two or three days.

It has been conjectured that another Beroea, and not the well-known place of that name, is intended. In support of this conjecture Grote appeals to Stephanus Byzantinus. Stephanus speaks

a) of a town Beres (Βέρης πόλις Θρᾴκης, ἀπὸ Βέρητος υἱοῦ Μακεδόνος, 61. 3. *b*) of the well-known Beroea in Macedonia, *c*) of Beroea in Syria. This Beres is perhaps the same as the town of Beroea or Beroè in Thrace, mentioned by other Byzantine writers, and by Ammianus Marcellinus. But *a*) it may not have existed at this time; *b*) it was over a hundred miles from the head of the Thermaic Gulf. (See Dict. of Geography, s. v. Beroea.) And *c*) Thucydides would not have mentioned another Beroea without distinguishing it from the better-known place of the same name.

It has been conjectured (by Pluygers, see Cobet, Nov. Lect. p. 382,) that instead of ἐπιστρέψαντες we should read ἐπὶ Στρέψαν. This emendation is ingenious, and meets the difficulty of the order of the words. It also makes it possible that the Athenians went to Beroea with a friendly and not with a hostile purpose. It might further explain the distance traversed by the army in three days, if we knew exactly where Strepsa was.

The name Στρεψαῖοι occurs repeatedly, between the years 454–431, in the lists of tributary cities discovered on the Acropolis, and edited by Boeckh (Staatshaushaltung der Athener, 2nd ed.) and U. Köhler. But nothing can hence be inferred as to the position of the town. For *a*) its place in the lists varies, *b*) the towns mentioned in the lists are not arranged in any exact order of place. Strepsa is also mentioned by Aeschines, F. L. (ii.) 29, εἰληφότος δὲ (scil. τοῦ Παυσανίου) Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Θέρμην καὶ Στρέψαν. And if we could be sure that Aeschines is naming these three places in their true geographical order, we might infer from this passage that the position of Strepsa was not far from that required by the context in Thucydides. The name Στρέψα or Στρεψαῖοι is also found in Stephanus Byzantinus, Hesychius, and Harpocration, and is quoted by Photius from Ar. (Fragm. 174. 19.) But if the proposed emendation is adopted, a new difficulty arises: Beroea is then mentioned for no apparent reason, and without any hint, such as is afforded by the word ἐπιστρέψαντες, that it lay quite out of the direct road.

Considering that the situation of the place is really unknown to us, and that Thucydides gives no sufficient indication of the route pursued by the Athenians, we may regard the conjecture, though possible, as extremely uncertain.

62. 1. Ποτιδαιᾶται δὲ καὶ οἱ μετὰ Ἀριστέως Πελοποννήσιοι προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο **πρὸς Ὀλύνθου** ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, καὶ ἀγορὰν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐπεποίηντο.

The reading required by the context is *πρὸς Ὀλύνθου*. This has the authority of the Laurentian MS. The other readings, *πρὸ Ὀλύνθου*, or *πρὸς Ὀλύνθῳ*, are indefensible. For the troops commanded by Aristeus must have been stationed in the neighbourhood of Potidaea, where they had their market, not in the neighbourhood of Olynthus, which was seven miles distant and beyond the isthmus. And Aristeus cannot have drawn up his own troops 'in front of' or 'close to Olynthus,' and those of the Chalcidians etc. 'in Olynthus,' for in that case *a*) he would have left Potidaea, which was his base of operations, undefended, and *b*) he could not have carried out his intention of placing the Athenians between two fires (*ἐν μέσῳ ποιεῖν αὐτῶν τοὺς πολεμίους*, 62 med.).

63. 1. *ἠπόρησε μὲν ὁποτέρωσε διακινδυνεύσῃ χωρήσας, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς Ὀλύνθου ἢ ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, ἔδοξε δ' οὖν ξυναγαγόντι τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ἐς ἐλάχιστον χωρίον, δρόμῳ βιάσασθαι ἐς τὴν Ποτίδαιαν.*

δ' οὖν is a correction for *γοῦν*, the restrictive or argumentative sense of which appears quite out of place here. A few inferior MSS. read *ἔδοξεν οὖν*.

63. 3. *μετὰ δὲ τὴν μάχην τροπαῖον ἔστησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ὑποσπόνδους ἀπέδοσαν τοῖς Ποτιδαιάταις.*

The inscription in honour of the dead who fell in the battle of Potidaea has been discovered in or near the Ceramicus.

It is restored and edited in the following form by Messrs. Newton and Hicks (Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part I. Attika; see also Boeckh, C. I. G. vol. i. no. 170) :—

ἀθάνατόν με θα[νοῦσι χάριν θέσαν· οἱ γὰρ ἐν ὅπλοις (?)
σημαίνειν ἀρετ[ὴν ἱέμενοι σφετέραν (?)
καὶ προγόνω[ν] σθέν[ο]ς [ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχοντες (?)
νίκην εὐπόλεμον (sic) *μνῆμ' ἔλαβο[ν σ]φ[ετέρου.*
αἰθὴρ μὲμ (sic) *ψυχὰς ὑπεδέξατο, σώ[ματα δὲ χθὼν*
τῶνδε· Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔλ[ασαν.

ἐχθρῶν δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος, [οἱ δὲ φυγόντες 63. 3.
τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἐλπίδ' (sic) ἔθεντο [βίου.
ἄνδρας μὲμ (sic) πόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθέως,
πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας οἱ θάνον ἐν πρ[ομάχοις,
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων, ψυχὰς δ' ἀντίῤῥο[πα θέντες
ἠ[λλ]άξαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατρ[ίδ'] εὐκλέϊσαν.

ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθε, βουλόμενος τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις παρασκευάζειν κ.τ.λ. 65. 1.

τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις = 'what was to be done thereupon,' or 'under the circumstances:' with special reference to the preceding words, 'after the refusal of the garrison to sail out.' The meaning is illustrated by vi. 45 init. τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις ἐν τούτῳ πολλαχόθεν τε ἤδη καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν κατασκόπων σαφῆ ἠγγέλλετο ὅτι ἐν Ῥηγίῳ αἱ νῆες εἰσι· καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτοις παρεσκευάζοντο πάσῃ τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ οὐκέτι ἠπίστουν.

ὅτι σπονδάς τε λελυκότες εἶεν καὶ ἀδικοῖεν τὴν Πελοπόννησον. 67. 1.

For σπονδάς without the article cp. note on i. 53. 2.

Αἰγινῆταί τε φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι, δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους 67. 2.
κρύφα δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον.

1) φανερῶς οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι and κρύφα are two qualifications of the verb ἐνῆγον, opposed to each other by μέν and δέ:

Or 2) πρεσβευόμενοι may be supplied with κρύφα δέ.

τὸ πιστὸν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας καὶ 68. 1.
ὁμιλίας ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους ἢν τι λέγωμεν καθίστησι.

The general meaning is, 'You are too apt to believe that all the world are honourable men like yourselves, and to distrust those who say otherwise.'

1)* There is a transition from the third person (ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους) to the first (λέγωμεν). 'Your trust in one another makes you distrust us others if we say anything:' i. e. 'makes you distrust charges brought by others like ourselves.' ἀπιστοτέρους is to be taken with ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους, and ἢν τι λέγωμεν is a litotes, 'if we have anything to say.' τὸ πιστόν must mean not 'good faith,' but 'trustfulness.' The sense thus given to πιστόν and ἀπιστοτέρους is identical.

Or 2) ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους may be taken with ἢν τι λέγωμεν, 'Your own good faith makes you incredulous of us if we say anything against

68. 1. others.' But the order of the words and the parallelism of the clauses are against this interpretation. For *ἀπιστοτέρους ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους* answers to *τὸ πιστὸν τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς πολιτείας*.

Or 3) *ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους* may be taken in a somewhat different sense, and, referring not to the Corinthians but to the Athenians, with *ἀπιστοτέρους*, 'indisposed to believe about others:' *ἤν τι λέγωμεν* being added as an explanation; 'if we say anything against them.'

According to 3) as well as 2) *τὸ πιστόν* is to be taken in the sense of 'good faith.'

68. 2. *οὐ περὶ ὧν ἐδιδάσκομεν ἑκάστοτε τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε.*

τὴν μάθησιν ἐποιεῖσθε, something more than *ἐμανθάνετε*, 'you took no pains to be informed,' 'did not attend to the information which we gave you.'

69. 1. *οὐ γὰρ ὁ δουλωσάμενος, ἀλλ' ὁ δυνάμενος μὲν παῦσαι, περιορῶν δέ, ἀληθέστερον αὐτὸ δρᾷ, εἴπερ καὶ τὴν ἀξίωσιν τῆς ἀρετῆς ὡς ἐλευθερῶν τὴν Ἑλλάδα φέρεται.*

εἴπερ καί κ.τ.λ. 'if, as is actually the case, he further enjoys the reputation of superior merit or virtue,' etc. *εἴπερ καί* is put where we might have expected *ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰ*, because, although the preceding statement is general in form, the speaker is really thinking only of the case of the Lacedaemonians.

69. 2. *μόλις δὲ νῦν τε ξυνήλθομεν καὶ οὐδὲ νῦν ἐπὶ φανεροῖς. χρῆν γὰρ οὐκ εἰ ἀδικούμεθα ἔτι σκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ καθ' ὅ τι ἀμυνούμεθα. οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὓς διεγνωκότας, ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες, ἐπέρχονται.*

1) *χρῆν γάρ*, i.e. *εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ φανεροῖς ξυνήλθομεν, χρῆν [ἄν] σκοπεῖν* κ.τ.λ. 'for if we had any definite object it would have been our business to have been considering, not whether we were wronged, but how we should revenge ourselves.' Or 2)*, *χρῆν* expresses a past time, extending into the present. 'What we ought to have been considering from the first,' or 'from the instant we met (*ξυνήλθομεν*) is no longer whether we are wronged, but how we can revenge ourselves.'

οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες, 'those who are acting,' i.e. the Athenians. See note on iv. 33. 2.

βεβουλευμένοι is opposed to *οὐ διεγνωκότας*, and *ἤδη* to *μέλλοντες*.

οἱ μέν γε νεωτεροποιοί, καὶ ἐπινοῆσαι ὀξεῖς καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι ἔργῳ ὃ ἂν γνῶσιν· ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδὲν καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι. 70. 2.

The infinitives, σώζειν, ἐπιγνῶναι, ἐξικέσθαι, are probably governed, not by ὀξεῖς, but by some general notion of 'skilled' or 'ready,' which is supplied from it. Cp. however iii. 38 fin. ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι κ.τ.λ.

ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν σώμασιν ἀλλοτριωτάτοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως χρῶνται, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ οἰκειοτάτῃ ἐς τὸ πράσσειν τι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. 70. 6.

A somewhat forced antithesis between ἀλλοτριωτάτοις and οἰκειοτάτῃ is the veil of a noble sentiment. 'Their bodies they throw away, as freely as though they did not belong to them, in the service of their country: their minds they jealously preserve as the thing dearest to them, that they may use them on her behalf.' Or, in other words, 'their outer self is nothing to them, their inner self everything, because they can serve their country best by a willingness to sacrifice the one and by a determination to preserve the other.'

γνώμῃ here includes the idea of the spirit, purpose, or resolution, which an Athenian never loses. Compare other passages in which Thucydides speaks of men being conquered by fortune though their resolution is unconquered, ii. 87 init., vi. 11 fin., 72 init.

The thought is further developed in what follows. οἰκεῖα just below corresponds to οἰκειοτάτῃ.

καὶ ἃ μὲν ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται, ἃ δ' ἂν ἐπελθόντες κτήσωνται, ὀλίγα πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα τυχεῖν πράξαντες. 70. 7.

τυχεῖν is significant, though unemphatic. 'They seem to have gained little in comparison with what they will gain, and that little by chance.' Or more simply, 'Anything which they have succeeded in effecting,' or 'which they have just effected, seems to them a small matter in comparison of what they are about to effect.'

καὶ ἀπολαύουσιν ἐλάχιστα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων διὰ τὸ ἀεὶ κτᾶσθαι καὶ μήτε ἑορτὴν ἄλλο τι ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πρᾶξαι, ξυμφοράν τε οὐχ ἧσσον ἡσυχίαν ἀπράγμονα ἢ ἀσχολίαν ἐπίπονον. 70. 8.

70. 8. Compare Burke, Speech on American Taxation (of Lord Grenville), 'He took public business, not as a duty which he was to fulfil, but as a pleasure which he was to enjoy.' The same thought recurs, a little exaggerated, in the 'Letter to a Noble Lord.' Speaking of his own son, Burke says, 'He was made a public creature; and had no enjoyment whatever, but in the performance of some duty.'

Cp. also Shakespeare, Macbeth, i. 4, 'The rest is labour, which is not used for you:' Goethe, Pandora (sub fin.)—

'*Prometheus.* Was kündest du für Feste mir? Sie lieb ich nicht;
Erholung reichet Müden jede Nacht genug.
Des echten Mannes wahre Feier ist die That!'

71. 1, *καὶ οἴεσθε τὴν ἡσυχίαν οὐ τούτοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀρκεῖν, οἳ ἂν τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ δίκαια πράσσωσι, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ, ἢν ἀδικῶνται, δῆλοι ὦσι μὴ ἐπιτρέψοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι μὴ βλάπτεσθαι τὸ ἴσον νέμετε.*

τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ—τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ is a variation of Thucydides' favourite antithesis between the outward and inward. 'Who never use their material force unjustly, but who show a temper of mind which is prepared to resist if necessary.' The two datives, although they answer to one another, are in slightly different constructions: *τῇ παρασκεύῃ* being an instrumental dative, *τῇ γνώμῃ*, taken with *δῆλοι ὦσι*, a dative of manner.

ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ λυπεῖν κ.τ.λ. 1)* 'You deal justice to your neighbours on the principle of doing no harm to any one and defending yourselves in such a way as not to be injured,' in other words, your policy is simply inoffensive and defensive. At a time when the Athenians were robbing Hellas of her liberties this apathy might fairly be denounced as a crime. 'Non-interference' was 'political suicide' (Mazzini).

The other explanation, 2) 'on the principle of not incurring any loss in self-defence,' as Mr. Wilkins points out in his note on the passage, is less suitable to the position of *μή*: and would have required *ἐπὶ τῷ μήτε λυπεῖν ἄλλους μήτε αὐτοὶ ἀμυνόμενοι βλάπτεσθαι.* The place of *ἀμυνόμενοι* before *μή* shows that it is the emphatic word, and expresses what the Lacedaemonians did do and not

what they failed to do,—'to defend yourselves so as to avoid injury,' not 'to avoid injuring yourselves by defending yourselves.' 71. 1.

ἀνάγκη δ' ὥσπερ τέχνης ἀεὶ τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα κρατεῖν. 71. 2.

τέχνης, which is generally taken as genitive after τὰ ἐπιγιγνόμενα repeated, may also be a genitive of relation, 'as in the case of the arts.' Cp. note on i. 142 fin. τὸ δὲ ναυτικὰν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι.

δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδὲν οὔτε πρὸς θεῶν τῶν ὁρκίων οὔτε πρὸς ἀνθρώπων τῶν αἰσθανομένων. 71. 5.

τῶν αἰσθανομένων, 1)* 'men who look on:' who are witnesses in one way as the Gods are in another, whether with the outward eye or with the mind.

Or 2) 'men who appreciate the situation.' Compare v. 26 fin. αἰσθανόμενος τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, 'old enough to understand.'

βουλομένων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι, μενοῦμεν. οὔτε γὰρ ὅσια ἂν ποιοῖμεν μεταβαλλόμενοι οὔτε ξυνηθεστέρους ἂν ἄλλους εὕροιμεν. 71. 6.

With οὔτε γὰρ ... ποιοῖμεν, βουλομένων ὑμῶν προθύμων εἶναι is still to be supplied; so that the words do not contradict δρῶμεν δ' ἂν ἄδικον οὐδέν above.

τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων, ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία πρότερον ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι περὶ ἄλλων παροῦσα, καὶ ὡς ἤσθοντο τῶν λόγων, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς παριτητέα ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι. 72. 1.

The sentence is a confusion of two constructions. It might have run οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτυχε γὰρ πρεσβεία, ὡς ἤσθοντο, or τῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων ἔτυχε πρεσβεία, καὶ ὡς ἤσθοντο. The Greek fondness for expressing logical relations has inserted γάρ out of place. The writer begins as if γάρ were not to follow, and after γάρ has been introduced resumes the sentence, in the words καὶ ὡς ἤσθοντο τῶν λόγων, as if γάρ had not preceded.

τὰ δὲ Μηδικὰ καὶ ὅσα αὐτοὶ ξύνιστε, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις, ἀνάγκη λέγειν. 73. 2.

1)* δι' ὄχλου, to the Athenians themselves. μᾶλλον, disagreeable rather than agreeable. Or 2) δι' ὄχλου may refer to the hearers, in

73. 2. which case προβαλλομένοις must be taken as a dative of relation, 'in relation to us who bring them forward,' and not with δι' ὄχλου, 'although we who are always bringing them forward may very likely find that they are more disagreeable than agreeable to the hearers.' The ambiguity is not greater than in iv. 10 med. ὑποχωρήσασι δέ, καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὄν, εὔπορον ἔσται.

But 1)* is more consistent with the haughty tone of the speech.

74. 1. ναῦς μέν γε ἐς τὰς τετρακοσίας ὀλίγῳ ἐλάσσους τῶν δύο μοιρῶν κ.τ.λ.

The reading τετρακοσίας must be retained; the other, τριακοσίας, being a palpable correction, and being supported only by four bad MSS.

According to Herodotus the actual number of triremes was 378 (viii. 48); in the battle itself 380 (viii. 82), two ships having deserted from the enemy. Of these the Athenians supplied 180 (viii. 44), or, as Themistocles is made to say in another place, 200 (viii. 61), perhaps including the twenty which they had lent to the Chalcidians (viii. 1). The whole number in Aesch. Pers. 338 is 300 or 310,—

καὶ γὰρ Ἕλλησιν μὲν ἦν
ὁ πᾶς ἀριθμὸς ἐς τριακάδας δέκα
ναῶν, δεκὰς δ' ἦν τῶνδε χωρὶς ἔκκριτος.

But then it must be remembered that the poet is dwelling upon the numerical inferiority of the Greek fleet, in order to exalt its victory.

The numbers in the text may be the exaggeration of the Athenian orator into whose mouth the speech is put, or they may be founded on some popular estimate.

75. 1. ἆρ' ἄξιοί ἐσμεν, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ προθυμίας ἕνεκα τῆς τότε καὶ γνώμης ξυνέσεως, ἀρχῆς γε ἧς ἔχομεν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μὴ οὕτως ἄγαν ἐπιφθόνως διακεῖσθαι;

ἆρα is here put for ἆρ' οὐ; 'are we not?' or, more correctly, the delicacy of Attic speech forbears to ask for a distinct answer even where the case is abundantly clear. For examples see Hartung, 5. 2. 2. 2 foll., (who, however, explains ἆρα here as expressing a union of question and inference.) Cp. especially Xen. Cyr. vii. 5. 40, ἆρα, ἔφη, ὦ ἄνδρες, νῦν μὲν καιρὸς διαλυθῆναι; 'is it not time to disperse?'

γνώμης ξυνέσεως, the 'ability of mind,' or 'sagacity of judg- 75. 1.
ment,' which we showed. *γνώμης*, genitive of the subject after *ξυνέσεως*.

πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ 75. 5.
τίθεσθαι.

1) *τὰ ξυμφέροντα εὖ τίθεσθαι.* A pleonastic expression. We should have expected simply *τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι.* But the participle is used in a proleptic sense. Not 'rightly to arrange their interests when they have to meet the greatest dangers,' but 'rightly to arrange things so as to be for their interest.'

Or 2) *τὰ ξυμφέροντα εὖ τίθεσθαι* may be taken, like *εὐτυχίαν τὴν παροῦσαν καλῶς τίθεσθαι* iv. 17 med., 'making good use of the advantages which offer.' But the other explanation, though more difficult, is more suitable to the context. For the Athenians are describing their situation at the time, not as advantageous, but as full of danger.

For *τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων* cp. i. 123 init. *περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν.*

καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ξυμβολαίαις πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους δίκαις 77. 1.
καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις νόμοις ποιήσαντες τὰς κρίσεις φιλοδικεῖν δοκοῦμεν.

1)* 'For because,' or 'whereas, we even (*καί*) give up our just rights and judge our allies in our own dicasteries, and by the same law which judges ourselves, we are thought litigious.' The two clauses *ἐλασσούμενοι . . . δίκαις* : *παρ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς . . . κρίσεις* present different aspects of the same idea. Hence *καί—καί* cannot be connected with each other so as to mean 'both'—'and.' The comma after *δίκαις* is better omitted.

Or 2) *καὶ—γάρ* may be taken together. 'And the proof is that, because we remit our rights, etc., we are thought litigious.'

It has been attempted to find in the two clauses a distinction between the treatment of the autonomous allies (Chios and Lesbos) with whom *δίκαι ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων* in the ordinary sense are supposed to have been held, and that of the *ξύμμαχοι ὑπήκοοι* who were compelled to resort for justice to Athens. But *a*) though such a

77. 1. distinction may have existed, nothing is anywhere said of it, and *b*) in this passage the allusion, if intended, would have been more fully expressed.

ξυμβολαίαι δίκαι=*δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*. The word *σύμβολα* generally refers to the treaties regulating disputes between members of independent states. It here seems to be applied by analogy to a similar arrangement between Athens and her allies.

But it cannot be considered certain that the term *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων* was applied to suits between Athens and her allies.

On the one hand, Pollux, Hesychius, and the author of one of the Lexicons (6) in Bekker's Anecdota, professing to quote Aristotle (*Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπὸ συμβόλων ἐδίκαζον τοῖς ὑπηκόοις· οὕτως Ἀριστοτέλης*), say that the term was so applied. But the entire statement may arise out of an imperfect understanding of the words of Thucydides, and we cannot rely upon the reference to Aristotle, occurring as it does in a writing of unknown but certainly late date.

On the other hand, there is a passage in Antiphon which seems to favour the opposite view, De Caed. Herod. (v.) 78, *εἰ δ' ἐν Αἴνῳ χωροφιλεῖ, τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποστερῶν γε τῶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἑαυτὸν οὐδένος οὐδ' ἑτέρας πόλεως πολίτης γεγενημένος, ὥσπερ ἑτέρους ὁρῶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον ἰόντας καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις τοῖς ὑμετέροις* καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ξυμβόλων ὑμῖν δικαζομένους, *οὐδὲ φεύγων τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον, τοὺς δ' οἵους ὑμεῖς μισῶν συκοφάντας*. The defendant is speaking of the loyalty shown by his father, a citizen of Mitylene, towards Athens during the time following the revolt and reduction of Mitylene. The words seem to imply that he might have gone into a foreign country, which the writer rhetorically calls an enemies' country, and thereby have obtained the right of carrying on *δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων*, which he had not possessed as a member of an allied and subject state.

ξυμβόλαιαι δίκαι has therefore been taken to mean 'suits relating to contracts.' But why these only, and not criminal, or other civil, suits?

See, on the whole subject, Platner, Der Attische Process, i. p. 111, (who gives a different and somewhat forced explanation of the passage in Antiphon.)

ποιήσαντες, instituting, not holding, which would be *ποιούμενοι* (pres. middle, not aor. active).

οἱ δὲ εἰθισμένοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλεῖν, ἤν τι παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι 77. 3.
χρῆναι ἡ γνώμη, ἢ δυνάμει τῇ διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ ὑπωσοῦν ἐλασσωθῶσιν, οὐ τοῦ πλέονος μὴ στερισκόμενοι χάριν ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς χαλεπώτερον φέρουσιν, ἢ εἰ ἀπὸ πρώτης ἀποθέμενοι τὸν νόμον φανερῶς ἐπλεονεκτοῦμεν.

παρὰ τὸ μὴ οἴεσθαι χρῆναι=παρὰ τὸ οἴεσθαι μὴ χρῆναι, 'contrary to their opinion that it is wrong,' i. e. to their opinion that what they suffer in the particular case is unjust. The negative is connected with the main verb, as in expressions like οὐκ οἶμαι χρῆναι, οὔ φημι χρῆναι,

τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς, they are angry 'at the lack of some part,' or 'at not obtaining the whole' of the advantages which they claim; opposed, not directly but by inference, as 'the smaller part' to τοῦ πλέονος, the larger. τοῦ ἐνδεοῦς is a genitive of reference after χαλεπῶς φέρειν. Compare ii. 62 med. χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν.

ἀδικούμενοί τε, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι μᾶλλον ὀργίζονται ἢ βιαζόμενοι. 77. 4.
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου δοκεῖ πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, τὸ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείσσονος καταναγκάζεσθαι.

ἴσου and κρείσσονος are neuter, not masculine, as the frequency of the expression ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου and the use of the preposition ἀπό, not ὑπό, show.

1)* 'The one case appears to be an over-reaching where men are equal, the other to be an act of compulsion where there is superiority.' πλεονεκτεῖσθαι = πλεονέκτημα εἶναι, 'to be a case of unfair advantage.' καταναγκάζεσθαι=ἀνάγκη εἶναι, 'to be a case of compulsion.'

Or 2) τὸ μέν, τὸ δέ are adverbial accusatives. We may translate, *a*) 'for in the one case he' (supplied from οἱ ἄνθρωποι) 'seems to be defrauded.' Or *b*)—δοκεῖ being impersonal—'In the one case there seems to be an unfair advantage taken,' etc.

Compare for the passive sense of πλεονεκτεῖσθαι, Xen. Mem. iii. 5. 2, Βοιωτῶν μὲν γὰρ πολλοὶ πλεονεκτούμενοι ὑπὸ Θηβαίων δυσμενῶς αὐτοῖς ἔχουσιν.

μηκυνόμενος γὰρ φιλεῖ ἐς τύχας τὰ πολλὰ περιίστασθαι, ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχο- 78. 2.
μεν, καὶ ὁποτέρως ἔσται ἐν ἀδήλῳ κινδυνεύεται.

ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν, literally, 'from which we are both equally

78. 2. distant,' i. e. 'which are beyond the control of either of us.' *ὁποτέρως ἔσται* follows *ἐν ἀδήλῳ*. Although the clause *καὶ ... κινδυνεύεται* has no grammatical connection with *ὧν*, the connection of idea may be given by supplying *ἐν αἷς*, scil. *τύχαις*, or, more generally, *ἐν ᾧ*, 'in which case,' after *καί*: as thus, *ὧν ἴσον τε ἀπέχομεν καὶ ἐν αἷς*, or *ἐν ᾧ, οὐκ εἰδότες ὁποτέρως ἔσται κινδυνεύομεν.*

78. 4. *λέγομεν ὑμῖν, ἕως ἔτι αὐθαίρετος ἀμφοτέροις ἡ εὐβουλία, σπονδὰς μὴ λύειν, μηδὲ παραβαίνειν τοὺς ὅρκους.* See note on i. 53. 2.

80. 1. *καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειρός εἰμι, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ κ.τ.λ.*

τοὺς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὁρῶ, scil. *ἐμπείρους ὄντας.*

80. 3. *πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους καὶ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας παρόμοιος ἡμῶν ἡ ἀλκή.*

'The Peloponnesians' and 'our neighbours' are really the same persons, but they are presented under different aspects, and the difference is emphasized by the repetition of the article; they are 'the Peloponnesians,' and also they are 'our neighbours.' Cp. Aristot. Pol. iii. 10. 3, *ἀλλ' ἆρα τοὺς ἐλάττους δίκαιον ἄρχειν καὶ τοὺς πλουσίους;*

81. 4. *τίς οὖν ἔσται ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος; εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἢ ναυσὶ κρατήσομεν ἢ τὰς προσόδους ἀφαιρήσομεν, ἀφ' ὧν τὸ ναυτικὸν τρέφουσι, βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω.*

βλαψόμεθα τὰ πλέω, literally 1) 'we shall generally be unsuccessful,' or 2) 'we shall lose more than our enemies will,' or 3) 'we shall lose more often than we shall gain.'

82. 5. *εἰ γὰρ ἀπαράσκευοι τοῖς τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐγκλήμασιν ἐπειχθέντες τεμοῦμεν αὐτήν, ὁρᾶτε, ὅπως μὴ αἴσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ πράξωμεν.*

Either 1)* 'in greater difficulty and disgrace than at present,' *αἴσχιον* answering to the idea of *αἰσχύνη* contained in *ἐγκλήμασι*, and referring to the complaints of the allies that Peloponnesus was involved in difficulty and disgrace already; or 2) 'we shall bring difficulty and disgrace upon Peloponnesus rather than upon our

enemies;' or 3) 'dishonour and difficulty rather than ease and honour,' αἴσχιον καὶ ἀπορώτερον=αἰσχρῶς καὶ ἀπόρως μᾶλλον. Cp. note on ii. 40. 1. 82. 5.

Cp. for 2) and 3) the note on τὰ πλείω above.

καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον, ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ. 83. 2.

δι' ἥν, literally, not 'by which,' but 'because of which;'—'which is' not 'the instrument,' but 'the reason,' or 'secret, of success in arms.'

καὶ ἅμα ἐλευθέραν καὶ εὐδοξοτάτην πόλιν διὰ παντὸς νεμόμεθα· καὶ δύναται μάλιστα σωφροσύνη ἔμφρων τοῦτ' εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ δι' αὐτὸ εὐπραγίαις τε οὐκ ἐξυβρίζομεν, καὶ ξυμφοραῖς ἧσσον ἑτέρων εἴκομεν· τῶν τε ξὺν ἐπαίνῳ ἐξοτρυνόντων ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰ δεινὰ παρὰ τὸ δοκοῦν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἐπαιρόμεθα ἡδονῇ, καὶ ἤν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀχθεσθέντες ἀνεπείσθημεν. 84. 1. 2.

καὶ ἅμα... νεμόμεθα. Another reason why the Lacedaemonians could afford to maintain a cautious policy.

τοῦτο, 'this caution,' referring to τὸ βραδὺ καὶ μέλλον at the beginning of the chapter, and resumed by δι' αὐτό in the next line. μάλιστα, 'implies these qualities more than any others,' or 'above all other courses.

καὶ δύναται κ.τ.λ. is a proposition which, according to a favourite Greek idiom, is qualified in form but not in meaning. No doubt is intended. 'This is very possibly,' or 'Who can say that this is not?' are equivalent expressions in English. δύναται σωφροσύνη εἶναι in this place=not 'means moderation,' but simply 'may be moderation.'

ἤν τις ἄρα ξὺν κατηγορίᾳ παροξύνῃ, scil. the Corinthian orator. Perhaps a reference to the mention of κατηγορία in the Corinthian speech, i. 69 fin. 'You say that you do not accuse us, but we do not care if you do.'

πολεμικοί τε καὶ εὔβουλοι διὰ τὸ εὔκοσμον γιγνόμεθα, τὸ μὲν ὅτι αἰδῶς σωφροσύνης πλεῖστον μετέχει, αἰσχύνης δὲ εὐψυχία, εὔβουλοι δὲ ἀμαθέστερον τῶν νόμων τῆς ὑπεροψίας παιδευόμενοι, καὶ ξὺν χαλεπότητι σωφρονέστερον ἢ ὥστε αὐτῶν ἀνηκουστεῖν, καὶ μή, τὰ ἀχρεῖα ξυνετοὶ ἄγαν ὄντες, 84. 3.

84. 3. *τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευὰς λόγῳ καλῶς μεμφόμενοι ἀνομοίως ἔργῳ ἐπεξιέναι.*

Either *a*) 'the sense of shame enters most largely into' (or, 'more largely than anything else into,') 'the spirit of order,' or *b*) 'the sense of shame is most largely made up of the spirit of order,' i. e. 'the spirit of order enters most largely into,' (or 'is a main ingredient in,') 'the sense of shame.' It is not quite clear in which of these two forms Thucydides means to represent the inseparable connection between *σωφροσύνη* and *αἰδώς*. But in either case the argument is from *σωφροσύνη* to *αἰδώς*, not from *αἰδώς* to *σωφροσύνη*. For *σωφροσύνη* is the resumption of *τὸ εὔκοσμον*. Cp. iii. 83 init. *καὶ τὸ εὔηθες, οὗ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μετέχει, καταγελασθὲν ἠφανίσθη*, where the argument is from the absence of *τὸ εὔηθες* to the absence of *τὸ γενναῖον*.

Although *αἰσχύνη* is often distinguished from *αἰδώς*, as the shame which follows, from the shame which prevents, an evil act,—cp. *αἰδώς, φόβος ἐπὶ προσδοκίᾳ ψόγου· αἰσχύνη δέ, φόβος ἐπ' αἰσχρῷ πεπραγμένῳ*, Niceph. Greg. see Steph. s. v. *αἰδώς*,—there is no distinction in their use here. The variation of the word is only a false attempt to evade tautology by a difference of sound which is not one of meaning.

First comes the habit of discipline, *τὸ εὔκοσμον*, then the spirit of obedience, then the fine sense of honour, which makes cowardice impossible. The connection of ideas recalls the familiar passage of Burke, 'Never, never more shall we behold that generous loyalty to rank and sex, that proud submission, that dignified obedience, that subordination of the heart' (*σωφροσύνη*), 'which kept alive even in servitude itself the spirit of an exalted freedom. . . . It is gone, that sensibility of principle, that chastity of honour, which felt a stain like a wound, which inspired courage while it mitigated ferocity,' etc. (*αἰδώς* and *εὐψυχία*).

The idea of the connection between *αἰδώς* and the discipline of an army is as old as Homer;—Il. v. 531,—

αἰδομένων δ' ἀνδρῶν πλέονες σόοι ἠὲ πέφανται.

ἐπεξιέναι is dependent upon some more general word, such as *εἰωθότες*, understood from *παιδευόμενοι*. Cp. note on i. 70. 2. Or more directly upon *παιδευόμενοι*, which is used by Xenophon with

an infinitive, (Mem. ii. 1. 3, *τῷ ἄρχειν παιδευομένῳ*); the construction 84. 3.
is here assisted by the words *ὥστε ἀνηκουστεῖν* which intervene.

ἐπεξιέναι may be taken either absolutely 'to carry a purpose into execution,' or with *τὰς τῶν πολεμίων παρασκευάς*, 'to proceed against, or meet, the preparations of an enemy in another spirit when we have to act.' In either case *ἔργῳ* is adverbial, not governed by *ἐπεξιέναι*.

ἄλλοις μὲν γὰρ χρήματά ἐστι πολλὰ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἵπποι, ἡμῖν δὲ ξύμμαχοι 86. 3.
ἀγαθοί, οὓς οὐ παραδοτέα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐστίν, οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα μὴ λόγῳ καὶ αὐτοὺς βλαπτομένους, ἀλλὰ τιμωρητέα ἐν τάχει καὶ παντὶ σθένει.

βλαπτομένους 1) refers to the allies, and is dependent partly, like *οὓς*, on *παραδοτέα*, partly on some transitive notion to be gathered from the intervening words *οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα*.

Or 2) it refers to the Lacedaemonians, following *διακριτέα* as if *οὐ δεῖ διακρίνειν ἡμᾶς* had preceded.

Or 3)* the words may be regarded as an accusative absolute, or remote accusative after the whole clause *οὐδὲ δίκαις καὶ λόγοις διακριτέα*, (cp. note on i. 93. 3,) referring either *a*)* to the allies, or *b*) to the Lacedaemonians. 'And we must not be litigating and talking, when it is not in word only that "our allies," or "we ourselves," are being injured.'

1) and 3 *a*) agree better with the general scope of the passage, in which, not the Lacedaemonians, but the allies, are represented as the sufferers. Compare *οἱ δ' οὐκέτι μέλλουσι κακῶς πάσχειν* just above. *καὶ αὐτούς*, 'they on their part;' *καί* compares the Lacedaemonians with the allies, and indicates that, if the aid offered by the one be a word only, the sufferings of the other should also be a word.

μή has a subjective or hypothetical sense with a touch of irony, 'unless we assume that the allies themselves are suffering in word.'

ἡ δὲ διαγνώμη αὕτη τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τοῦ τὰς σπονδὰς λελύσθαι, ἐγένετο ἐν 87. 6.
τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει καὶ δεκάτῳ τῶν τριακοντουτίδων σπονδῶν προκεχωρηκυιῶν, αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὰ Εὐβοϊκά.

προκεχωρηκυιῶν, scil. *ἐς τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος*, 'which had run thus far.'

87. 6. For the position of the participle cp. i. 8 med. *γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν ὅπλων ξυντεθαμμένῃ.*

90. 2. *ἠξίουν τε αὐτοὺς μὴ τειχίζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου μᾶλλον ὅσοις ξυνειστήκει ξυγκαθελεῖν μετὰ σφῶν τοὺς περιβόλους.*

ὅσοις ξυνειστήκει, nót 'which had a continuous line of wall standing,' but simply 'which had a wall standing.' *ξύν* adds an idea of strength or firmness to the simple verb. Cp. note on *ξυγκατοικίσαντες*, ii. 41. 4.

ὅσοις ξυνειστήκει=ὅσοις εἱστήκει καὶ μὴ κατεβέβλητο.

90. 3. *ἐπισχεῖν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν αἴρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους.*

ἕως ἂν αἴρωσιν. The present, where we should have expected the aorist, is used to give *ἐνάργεια* to the description: 'until they find that they are raising the wall to a sufficient height.' Cp. *ὅτι τειχίζεταί τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει*, i. 91 init.

91. 1. *οἱ δὲ ἀκούοντες τῷ μὲν Θεμιστοκλεῖ ἐπείθοντο διὰ φιλίαν αὐτοῦ· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἀφικνουμένων καὶ σαφῶς κατηγορούντων, ὅτι τειχίζεταί τε καὶ ἤδη ὕψος λαμβάνει, οὐκ εἶχον, ὅπως χρὴ ἀπιστῆσαι.*

τῶν δὲ ἄλλων, 1) when the others (i. e. every one who came from Athens except Themistocles) came declaring, etc.

Or 2) giving an emphatic meaning to *καί*, which may be taken either with *σαφῶς* or *κατηγορούντων*, 'but when the others who came quite plainly told them,' or 'further plainly told them.'

91. 6. *δοκεῖν οὖν σφίσι καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον εἶναι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν τεῖχος ἔχειν, καὶ ἰδίᾳ τοῖς πολίταις καὶ ἐς τοὺς πάντας ξυμμάχους ὠφελιμώτερον ἔσεσθαι.*

1)* 'It would be better for the Athenians themselves, and better for all the allies, that Athens should have walls.'

Or 2) 'It would be better for the citizens in their own interest (i.e. safer for the city) and better for the citizens in their relation to the allies (i. e. having regard to their influence in the confederacy) that Athens should have walls.' So, nearly, Classen.

93. 3. *ἔπεισε δὲ καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ λοιπὰ ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς οἰκοδομεῖν (ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀρχῆς ἧς κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν Ἀθηναίοις ἦρξε),*

νομίζων τό τε χωρίον καλὸν εἶναι, λιμένας ἔχον τρεῖς αὐτοφυεῖς, καὶ αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. 93. 3.

ὑπῆρκτο δ' αὐτοῦ. The verb is used impersonally, 'a beginning had been made of it.' κατ' ἐνιαυτόν in meaning qualifies ἀρχῆς, 'the yearly office of archon which he held.'

1)* αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους is used as the 'accusative absolute,' or remote accusative following μέγα προφέρειν ἐς τὸ κτήσασθαι δύναμιν. 'And, the Athenians having become sailors, it was greatly conducive to the increase of their power.' The subject of μέγα προφέρειν is an idea to be gathered from the previous sentence, 'the possession of a good harbour.'

2) αὐτούς has been taken as the direct object of προφέρειν, τὸ χωρίον being the subject, and προφέρειν meaning 'to advance,' or 'promote.' But this active use of προφέρειν is rare.

3) The words αὐτοὺς ναυτικοὺς γεγενημένους have also been made the subject to προφέρειν, 'their having become a naval power was greatly conducive, etc.'

4) αὐτούς may be the subject of προφέρειν, and μέγα προφέρειν may mean 'to have a superiority, or advantage, over others.' Cp. i. 123 med. εἰ ἄρα πλούτῳ τε νῦν καὶ ἐξουσίᾳ ὀλίγον προφέρετε, ii. 89 init., vii. 64 fin., 77 init. This interpretation avoids all grammatical irregularity, and gives the opposition between χωρίον and αὐτούς which seems to be intended.

καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν εὐθὺς ξυγκατεσκεύαζε. 93. 4.

ξυγκατεσκεύαζε, cp. note on ii. 41. 4.

καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τῇ ἐκείνου γνώμῃ τὸ πάχος τοῦ τείχους, ὅπερ νῦν ἔτι δῆλόν 93. 5.
ἐστι περὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ. δύο γὰρ ἅμαξαι ἐναντίαι ἀλλήλαις τοὺς λίθους ἐπῆγον.

Cp. the parody in Ar. Birds, 1126,—

ΑΓ. ὥστ' ἂν ἐπάνω μὲν Προξενίδης ὁ Κομπαρεὺς
καὶ Θεογένης ἐναντίω δὺ' ἅρματε,
ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ δούριος
ὑπὸ τοῦ πλάτους ἂν παρελασαίτην.

ΠΕ. Ἡράκλεις.

καὶ εἷλον τριήρεις Φοινίκων καὶ διέφθειραν τὰς πάσας ἐς διακοσίας. 100. 1.

100. 1. If *ἐς τὰς διακοσίας*, which has the lesser weight of MS. authority, be read, we must translate 'amounting to 200, which was the whole fleet,' *τάς* referring to *τὰς πάσας*. The larger numbers ascribed to the Persian fleet by later writers, Ephorus (350), Phanodemus (600),—(both referred to in Plutarch, Cimon xii,)—Diodorus xi. 60, (340) must then be rejected.

100. 3. *τῶν μὲν Ἐννέα Ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, ἃς εἶχον Ἠδωνοί, προελθόντες δὲ τῆς Θρᾴκης ἐς μεσόγειαν διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἠδωνικῇ ὑπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ξυμπάντων, οἷς πολέμιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον αἱ Ἐννέα Ὁδοὶ κτιζόμενον.*

αὐτοί, in opposition to the Edoni. *ξυμπάντων* is the reading of all the MSS. and is probably correct, though the Edonians alone are mentioned by Herod. ix. 75, Pausanias i. 29. 4, Diodorus xi. 70. It has been proposed to read *ξύμπαντες*. But *a*) the two accounts are not really inconsistent, as the Edonians, being the former possessors of *Ἐννέα Ὁδοί*, would be chiefly concerned. *b*) There is nothing surprising in the Thracians having collected and overwhelmed the new colony. Nor *c*) is it likely that the Edonians, a single barbarian tribe, could have cut off 10,000 settlers to a man. Nor *d*) does there appear any reason for the sudden change in the narrative of Thucydides from the Edonians to the Thracians, if only the Edonians are meant. And *e*) in iv. 102 med. the destruction of the colony is attributed to the Thracians.

It is true that the reading *ξυμπάντων*, which is found in all the MSS., may be supposed to have arisen from *ὁμοιοτέλευτον*. But the change to *ξύμπαντες* is unnecessary.

101. 2. *πλεῖστοι δὲ τῶν Εἰλώτων ἐγένοντο οἱ τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων τότε δουλωθέντων ἀπόγονοι· ᾗ καὶ Μεσσήνιοι ἐκλήθησαν οἱ πάντες.*

πλεῖστοι is, strictly speaking, the predicate: *τότε*, at the time when they were conquered, implied in *τῶν παλαιῶν Μεσσηνίων*. Cp. note on viii. 62. 3.

101. 3. *Θάσιοι δὲ τρίτῳ ἔτει πολιορκούμενοι ὡμολόγησαν Ἀθηναίοις τεῖχός τε καθελόντες, καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν, τήν τε ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ μέταλλον ἀφέντες.*

The actions indicated by the aorist participles are not prior in time to that indicated in the main verb: cp. i. 108 fin., 117 fin., and note on iv. 112. 2. **101.** 3.

μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπεκαλέσαντο ὅτι τειχομαχεῖν ἐδόκουν δυνατοὶ εἶναι, **102.** 2. **τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο·** *βίᾳ γὰρ ἂν εἷλον τὸ χωρίον.*

τούτου ἐνδεᾶ ἐφαίνετο. It has been doubted whether the deficiency spoken of is that of the Lacedaemonians or the Athenians, whether Thucydides means to say 1)* that the Lacedaemonians called in the Athenians because 'their want of skill in siege operations,' (or, taking *ἐνδεᾶ* in a different sense, 'their need of the skill for which the Athenians were famed'), 'was proved by the time during which the siege had lasted,' *τοῖς δὲ πολιορκίας μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας*: or, 2) that the Athenians showed themselves less skilful in siege-works than the Lacedaemonians expected, 'which was proved by the further protraction of the siege.'

In the first case *μακρᾶς καθεστηκυίας* refers to the length of the siege before the Athenians came, in the second to its continuance afterwards.

The reading *τοῖς δέ* has the majority of MSS. in its favour.

Cp. with the whole passage, Aristoph. Lysistr. 1137–1147,

εἶτ', ὦ Λάκωνες, πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς τρέψομαι,
οὐκ ἴσθ', ὅτ' ἐλθὼν δεῦρο Περικλείδας ποτε
ὁ Λάκων Ἀθηναίων ἱκετὴς καθέζετο
ἐπὶ τοῖσι βωμοῖς ὠχρὸς ἐν φοινικίδι,
στρατιὰν προσαιτῶν; ἡ δὲ Μεσσήνη τότε
ὑμῖν ἐπεκεῖτο, χὠ θεὸς σείων ἅμα.
ἐλθὼν δὲ σὺν ὁπλίταισι τετρακισχιλίοις
Κίμων ὅλην ἔσωσε τὴν Λακεδαίμονα.
ταυτὶ παθόντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕπο
δηοῦτε χώραν, ἧς ὑπ' εὖ πεπόνθατε;

where however the comic poet has taken considerable liberties with the facts.

οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰθώμῃ δεκάτῳ ἔτει, ὡς οὐκέτι ἐδύναντο ἀντέχειν, ξυνέβησαν **103.** 1. *πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους κ.τ.λ.*

103. 1. Krüger (Historisch Philologische Studien, i. p. 156) would read τετάρτῳ, not δεκάτῳ, ἔτει. His chief grounds are as follows:

a) If δεκάτῳ be read, Thucydides must be supposed to anticipate the course of events by several years in order to complete the narrative of the siege of Ithomè, and then to resume the thread, in the account of the Megarian alliance, at the point where it had been broken off (*προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν, Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποστάντες κ.τ.λ.*), without any hint of the interruption. Whereas in the words immediately preceding he has already suspended the narrative of the siege (i. 102 fin.) (We may also compare 101 med.)

The Megarian alliance clearly belongs (*προσεχώρησαν δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς κ.τ.λ.*) to the same period as the Argive alliance of Athens. And neither can have taken place ten years after the outbreak of the third Messenian War; for then room would not be left for the events spoken of by Thucydides as intervening between them and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. (Cp. i. 104 init., 110 init., 112 init., 114 med., 115 init.; ii. 2 init.: 6 + 3 + 5 + 14 = 28 years, and there are besides a few intervals of uncertain duration. Cp. Krüger, i. p. 165.) Hence the dismissal of the Athenians from Ithomè cannot have taken place later than 459.

b) The expression used by Thucydides about the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus, *καὶ αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναῖοι δεξάμενοι κατ' ἔχθος ἤδη τὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐς Ναύπακτον κατῴκισαν* seems to imply that the measure was adopted at an early stage of their enmity, not after several years had intervened, and several battles had been fought between them.

c) Pausanias, who seems to follow Thucydides in other respects, says nothing about the war lasting ten years, but in iv. 24. 3 connects closely the settlement of the Messenians in Naupactus by the Athenians with the Argive alliance, describing both as consequences of the quarrel with Sparta. *Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, τὴν ἐς αὐτοὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὑπόνοιαν συνέντες, Ἀργείοις τε φίλοι δι' αὐτὸ ἐγένοντο, καὶ Μεσσηνίων τοῖς ἐν Ἰθώμῃ πολιορκουμένοις ἐκπεσοῦσιν ὑποσπόνδοις ἔδοσαν Ναύπακτον.*

d) Diodorus, it is true, xi. 64 fin., supposes the third Messenian War to have lasted ten years. But his authority is of little value,

for he is inconsistent with himself; he makes it begin in Ol. 77. 4, 103. 1. and end in Ol. 81. 1 (xi. 63 init., 64 init., 84 init. and fin.)

e) It is unlikely, *a priori*, that the revolted Helots could have defended Ithomè for ten years; and

f) That the Lacedaemonians, while still engaged in the siege, could send out, to protect Doris, the large army which fought at Tanagra; fifteen hundred men of their own, and ten thousand of their allies, Thuc. i. 107. Cp. i. 118 med., where it is said of their slowness in resisting the growth of the Athenian power, *ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ μὴ ταχεῖς ἰέναι εἰς τοὺς πολέμους εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι.*

The origin of the idea that the siege of Ithome lasted ten years, Krüger finds *a*) in the desire to connect the fall of Ithomè and the settlement of the Messenians at Naupactus, with the expedition of Tolmides (cp. Thuc. i. 108 fin.), as is done by Diodorus (xi. 84 fin.), *b*) in a probable confusion with the siege of Ira in the second Messenian War. It may be added that ten years was the time likely to be assigned by tradition to a siege (cp. note on i. 57. 6. § 4), so that the miswriting *δεκάτῳ* for *τετάρτῳ*, if it once occurred, would readily be adopted.

The change of *δεκάτῳ* into *τετάρτῳ* is not much more serious than that of *δέκα* into *τέτταρες* in i. 57. 6. For the ordinal numbers are represented in MSS. either by a single letter with a line over it like the cardinals; or by a letter with the appropriate termination *-ος*, *-ῳ*, etc., (sometimes in an abbreviated form) written over it. (See Bast, Commentatio Palaeographica, in Schäfer's Gregorius de Dialectis, vol. ii. p. 850.)

But it must be admitted, on the other hand, that the reading *δεκάτῳ ἔτει*, which is now found in all the MSS., is confirmed by the authority of Diodorus. Cp. note on i. 57. 6. § 1.

The precise chronology of this part of the history is very uncertain. Thucydides censures Hellanicus for his inaccuracy in this respect (i. 97 fin.), but he was not precisely informed himself. Else why, instead of recounting the years accurately, does he omit to specify the duration of several intervals of time? (e.g. those between the fall of Eion and the battle of the Eurymedon, the battle of

103. 1. Coronea and the revolt of Euboea; cp. especially i. 98, 100, 105, 113, 114.)

This consideration might lead us to infer, in defence of the reading δεκάτῳ ἔτει, that the siege of Ithomè began some five or six years earlier than is generally supposed. But the beginning of the siege is subsequent to the revolt of Thasos and to the second colonization of Ennea Hodoi or Amphipolis (i. 100, 101), which second colonization is placed by Thucydides (iv. 102 init.) twenty-eight or twenty-nine years ('in the twenty-ninth year') before the third. And the probable date of the third, given by Diodorus xii. 32, and the Scholiast on Aeschines (ii.) De F. L. § 34, Reiske, vol. iii. pp. 754, 755, is the archonship of Euthymenes, 437. Hence the second cannot be placed earlier than 466 or 465.

And even if we give up the date 437 for the third colonization of Amphipolis, we cannot antedate the second colonization, which precedes the siege of Ithomè, by so much as five or six years. For the second colonization of Amphipolis is thirty-two years after the first. (Thuc. iv. 102 init.) And the first, when the new city was founded by Aristagoras, flying from Miletus, must have occurred after the outbreak of the Ionian revolt. But the dates given by Herodotus fix the Ionian revolt in 499. Thus we shall be driven back for the foundation of Amphipolis to a date three or four years prior to the beginning of the revolt.

The conclusion at which we arrive is that the fall of Ithomè cannot be placed either earlier or later than the received date. If therefore the reading of the MSS. is to be retained, we must suppose that Thucydides has anticipated the order of events by six years for the sake of concluding the narrative at once.

The inscription recording the names of the men of the tribe Erechtheis who fell in battle in one year about this time was discovered in the seventeenth century,—

Ἐρεχθηίδος.

οἵδε ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπέθανον, ἐν Κύπρῳ, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,
ἐν Φοινίκῃ, ἐν Ἁλιεῦσιν, ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, Μεγαρο[ῖ] τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

Boeckh, C. I. G. vol. i. no. 165.

ὡμολόγησαν δὲ καὶ Αἰγινῆται μετὰ ταῦτα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τείχη τε περιελόντες, καὶ ναῦς παραδόντες, φόρον τε ταξάμενοι ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον. 108. 4.

For the use of the aorist cp. note on i. 101. 3.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ Θριῶζε ἐσβαλόντες ἐδῄωσαν, Πλειστοάνακτος τοῦ Παυσανίου βασιλέως Λακεδαιμονίων ἡγουμένου, καὶ τὸ πλέον οὐκέτι προελθόντες ἀπεχώρησαν ἐπ' οἴκου. 114. 2.

Θριῶζε, cp. Steph. Byz. Θρία, δῆμος τῆς Οἰνηΐδος φυλῆς· λέγεται καὶ Θριῶ.

We may observe that Thucydides does not here mention, probably because it was more immediately connected with the later history, the reason why Pleistoanax was believed to have withdrawn from Athens. Cp. ii. 21 init., v. 16 fin.

ἀποδόντες Νίσαιαν, καὶ Πηγὰς καὶ Τροιζῆνα καὶ Ἀχαΐαν. 115. 1.

Respecting Achaia cp. above i. 111 fin., where the Athenians are described as taking with them Achaean troops against Oeniadae, iv. 21 fin., where the Athenians demand that Achaea, together with the other places given up by them at the peace of Euboea, shall be restored. In both these passages, as well as the present, it is implied that Achaea had become part of the Athenian empire, though the fact is nowhere expressly mentioned.

Cp. also ii. 9 init. Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν οἵδε ξύμμαχοι, Πελοποννήσιοι μὲν οἱ ἐντὸς Ἰσθμοῦ πάντες, πλὴν Ἀργείων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν (τούτοις δ' ἐς ἀμφοτέρους φιλία ἦν· Πελληνῆς δὲ Ἀχαιῶν μόνοι ξυνεπολέμουν τὸ πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δὲ ὕστερον καὶ ἅπαντες) where the Achaeans are described as being neutral at the commencement of the war; v. 52 fin., where Alcibiades is actively engaged in Achaia in promoting the Athenian interests; and v. 82 init. τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι τὰ ἐν Ἀχαΐᾳ οὐκ ἐπιτηδείως πρότερον ἔχοντα καθίσταντο, which shows that Achaia was not completely under Spartan control before.

ἐσαγγελθέντων ὅτι Φοίνισσαι νῆες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς πλέουσιν. 116. 3.

ἐπ' αὐτούς is either 1) 'to relieve the Samians,' or 2) 'to attack the Athenians.'

καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες τὰς ἀνταναγομένας ἐνίκησαν. 117. 1.

For this use of the present, which need not necessarily imply

117. 1. 'which were putting out to meet them,' see note on viii. 14. 2. More simply 'which came out to meet them.'

117. 3. **προσεχώρησαν** *ὁμολογίᾳ τείχός τε* **καθελόντες**, *καὶ ὁμήρους* **δόντες**, *καὶ ναῦς* **παραδόντες**, *καὶ χρήματα τὰ ἀναλωθέντα κατὰ χρόνους* **ταξάμενοι** *ἀποδοῦναι.*

Cp. note on i. 101. 3.

118. 2. *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι αἰσθόμενοι οὔτε ἐκώλυον, εἰ μὴ ἐπὶ βραχύ, ἡσύχαζόν τε τὸ πλέον τοῦ χρόνου, ὄντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ* **μὴ ταχεῖς** *ἰέναι ἐς τοὺς πολέμους, εἰ μὴ ἀναγκάζοιντο, τὸ δέ τι καὶ πολέμοις οἰκείοις ἐξειργόμενοι, πρὶν δὴ ἡ δύναμις τῶν Ἀθηναίων σαφῶς ἤρετο καὶ τῆς ξυμμαχίας αὐτῶν ἥπτοντο.*

μὴ ταχεῖς. This use of *μή* may be explained 'as describing an individual under a general aspect,' (see Prof. Campbell, vol. i. Essay on Language of Sophocles, p. 48. 2, especially 2 *δ*), or as adding a shade of indefiniteness or subjectivity. 'Who were not of the sort to be prompt,' or 'who are not to be supposed to have been prompt in taking up arms.'

120. 1. *Τοὺς μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους, ὦ ἄνδρες ξύμμαχοι, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι αἰτιασαίμεθα, ὡς οὐ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐψηφισμένοι τὸν πόλεμόν εἰσι,* **καὶ ἡμᾶς** *ἐς τοῦτο νῦν ξυνήγαγον. χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας* **τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας** *τὰ κοινὰ προσκοπεῖν, ὥσπερ* **καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις** *ἐκ πάντων προτιμῶνται.*

τὰ ἴδια, τὰ κοινά, correspond to *καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ἡμᾶς,* above.

τὰ ἴδια ἐξ ἴσου νέμοντας is a qualification; 'the duty of the leaders of a confederacy is first to consider the common interest, but they are not to neglect their own.' The moderation of the statement adds to its strength. Cp. for a similar qualification iii. 56 fin. *καίτοι χρὴ . . . τὸ ξυμφέρον μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν ἀεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχωσι,* **καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα που ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῆται.**

καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις, 'in general;' i.e. where their privileges and not, as here, their duties are concerned.

120. 2. *τοὺς δὲ τὴν μεσόγειαν μᾶλλον καὶ μὴ ἐν πόρῳ κατῳκημένους εἰδέναι* **χρή**, *ὅτι, τοῖς κάτω ἢν μὴ ἀμύνωσι, χαλεπωτέραν ἕξουσι τὴν κατακομιδὴν τῶν ὡραίων καὶ πάλιν ἀντίληψιν ὧν ἡ θάλασσα τῇ ἠπείρῳ δίδωσι, καὶ τῶν*

νῦν λεγομένων μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς ὡς μὴ προσηκόντων εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι δέ ποτε, εἰ τὰ κάτω πρόοιντο, κἂν μέχρι σφῶν τὸ δεινὸν προελθεῖν, καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ ἧσσον νῦν βουλεύεσθαι. 120. 2.

βουλεύεσθαι may be taken 1) as depending on χρή, and parallel to μὴ κακοὺς κριτὰς εἶναι, προσδέχεσθαι: or better, 2) as depending on some more general idea, such as νομίζειν, supplied from προσδέχεσθαι. Cp. note on i. 70. 2; 84. 3; vi. 12. 1.

ἀνδρῶν γὰρ σωφρόνων μέν ἐστιν, εἰ μὴ ἀδικοῖντο, ἡσυχάζειν, ἀγαθῶν δὲ ἀδικουμένους ἐκ μὲν εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν, εὖ δὲ παρασχὸν ἐκ πολέμου πάλιν ξυμβῆναι. 120. 3.

The optative emphasizes the hypothetical character of the clause, and is here used to express the alternative which is more remote or unlikely in the present case, 'supposing they are not wronged,' as you are.

Compare i. 121 med. εἰ δ' ἀντίσχοιεν, μελετήσομεν καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐν πλέονι χρόνῳ τὰ ναυτικά, 'and if, which is improbable, they should hold out;' ii. 39 4, and note, καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ, καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρίας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν κ.τ.λ., where the optative modestly expresses as a possibility what is really the fact, not 'if we prefer to meet danger,' but 'if it be the case that we prefer to meet danger;' iii. 9 med. καὶ οὐκ ἄδικος αὕτη ἡ ἀξίωσίς ἐστιν, εἰ τύχοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἵ τε ἀφιστάμενοι καὶ ἀφ' ὧν διακρίνοιντο ἴσοι μὲν τῇ γνώμῃ ὄντες καὶ εὐνοίᾳ κ.τ.λ., 'if they really stand in a certain relation to each other, which we and the Athenians do not.'

ἐνθυμεῖται γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὁμοῖα τῇ πίστει καὶ ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζομεν, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπομεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν καὶ ἀδικούμενοι τὸν πόλεμον ἐγείρομεν καὶ ἱκανὰ ἔχοντες ἐγκλήματα, καὶ ὅταν ἀμυνώμεθα Ἀθηναίους, καταθησόμεθα αὐτὸν ἐν καιρῷ. 120. 5. 121. 1.

ὁμοῖα, the reading of all the MSS., has been altered into ὁμοίᾳ, in order to justify the article which follows. But the occurrence of the article in one member of the sentence and not in the other is sufficiently justified by the idiomatic use of ἔργῳ without the article. Or it may be said that the opposition is not between ἔργῳ and τῇ πίστει, but between ἔργῳ ἐπεξέρχεται and

121. 1. *ἐνθυμεῖται τῇ πίστει.* In other words, *τῇ πίστει* and *ἔργῳ* are closely connected with their respective verbs rather than opposed to each other.

ἡμεῖς δὲ νῦν κ.τ.λ. 'But we are not open to these charges of imprudence and over-confidence: for we only go to war because we are injured, and we shall not protract the war when the occasion for it has ceased.' The Corinthians, having dwelt upon the dangers of war, now return to the other side of the question, and try to work upon the constitutional indolence of the Spartans by two motives, *a*) the provocation offered by the Athenians, *b*) the prospect of a speedy settlement.

121. 3. *δάνεισμα γὰρ ποιησάμενοι ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοί τε ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας. ὠνητὴ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις μᾶλλον ἢ οἰκεία. ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἧσσον ἂν τοῦτο πάθοι, τοῖς σώμασι τὸ πλέον ἰσχύουσα ἢ τοῖς χρήμασι.*

τοῦτο, the liability to be bought by higher pay, referring back to *ὑπολαβεῖν οἷοί τ' ἐσμὲν μισθῷ μείζονι τοὺς ξένους αὐτῶν ναυβάτας*, not to *ὠνητή*. For *ὠνητή* refers not to the possibility of the Athenian forces being bought by higher pay, but to the fact that they were mercenary, as appears from the opposition to *οἰκεία*.

δύναμις is first concrete (*Ἀθηναίων ἡ δύναμις*, forces), and secondly abstract (*ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα*, power).

The argument is that the Lacedaemonian soldiers, not having been bought by the Lacedaemonian government, which was too poor to use mercenaries, could not be bought by their enemies.

122. 1. *ἐν ᾧ ὁ μὲν εὐοργήτως αὐτῷ προσομιλήσας βεβαιότερος, ὁ δὲ ὀργισθεὶς περὶ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει.*

οὐκ ἐλάσσω πταίει may be taken either 1)* as parallel to *βεβαιότερος*, 'has a worse fall than if he had kept his temper;' or 2) as equivalent to *ὅμως πταίει*, 'however angry he may be, meets with a reverse all the same;' or again 3) may be connected with *περὶ αὐτόν*, 'by his own fault more than by the hand of the enemy;' compare i. 69 fin. *ἐπιστάμενοι καὶ τὸν βάρβαρον αὐτὸν περὶ αὑτῷ τὰ πλείω σφαλέντα. περὶ αὐτόν*, if read, must be taken with *ὀργισθείς*, 'he who gets into a passion over war;' *αὐτόν*, scil. *τὸν πόλεμον*.

ἐν ᾧ ἢ δικαίως δοκοῖμεν ἂν πάσχειν ἢ διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ τῶν **122. 3.** πατέρων χείρους φαίνεσθαι οἳ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἠλευθέρωσαν.

The form of antithesis in Thucydides often gets the better of the meaning. So in this passage; 1) Two clauses, of which one is really emphatic, are represented as mere alternatives. For the emphasis is to be placed on *δικαίως πάσχειν*, not on *διὰ δειλίαν ἀνέχεσθαι*. 'We shall be thought to deserve our fate, or at any rate to submit through cowardice.' Cp. i. 33 fin. *ἢ κακῶσαι ἡμᾶς ἢ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς βεβαιώσασθαι*. Or 2)* there is an imaginary opposition of two seeming alternatives which are really in a different relation: 'We shall be thought to be rightly served, or to be too cowardly to resist,' is another way of saying, 'it will be thought that we are rightly served, because we are too cowardly to resist.'

καὶ οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὅπως τάδε τριῶν τῶν μεγίστων ξυμφορῶν ἀπήλλακται, ἀξυνε- **122. 4.** σίας ἢ μαλακίας ἢ ἀμελείας. οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε, ἢ ἐκ τοῦ πολλοὺς σφάλλειν τὸ ἐναντίον ὄνομα ἀφροσύνη μετωνόμασται.

Either 1)* the emphasis is on *οὐ πεφευγότες ταῦτα*, 'For you have not evaded these charges when you have taken refuge in that fatal contempt of others, etc.,' or 2) the clause is ironical, meaning 'For we cannot suppose' (i. e. we strongly suspect) 'that you have avoided these charges, and fallen into foolish self-conceit,' (which is the only other possible explanation of your conduct.)

τὰ μὲν οὖν προγεγενημένα τί δεῖ μακρότερον ἢ ἐς ὅσον τοῖς νῦν ξυμ- **123. 1.** φέρει αἰτιᾶσθαι; περὶ δὲ τῶν ἔπειτα μελλόντων τοῖς παροῦσι βοηθοῦντας χρὴ ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν.

ἐπιταλαιπωρεῖν is to be taken with *τοῖς παροῦσι*, 'to spend our labour upon.' For the use of *περί* cp. i. 75 fin. *πᾶσι δὲ ἀνεπίφθονον τὰ ξυμφέροντα τῶν μεγίστων πέρι κινδύνων εὖ τίθεσθαι*.

σπονδάς τε οὐ λύσετε πρότεροι, ἄς γε καὶ ὁ θεὸς κελεύων πολεμεῖν **123. 1.** νομίζει παραβεβάσθαι.

Cp. note on i. 53. 2.

ψηφίσασθε τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ φοβηθέντες τὰ αὐτίκα δεινόν, τῆς δ' ἀπ' **124. 2.**

124. 2. αὐτοῦ διὰ πλείονος εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμήσαντες· ἐκ πολέμου μὲν γὰρ εἰρήνη μᾶλλον βεβαιοῦται, ἀφ' ἡσυχίας δὲ μὴ πολεμῆσαι οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον.

τοῦ διὰ πλείονος, either 1*) 'the peace of long duration,' opposed to the momentary struggle, or 2) 'the remoter peace,' i. e. 'the peace, although it be more remote,' opposed to the immediate danger.

οὐχ ὁμοίως ἀκίνδυνον, i.e. 'is not really so safe a course as to go to war;' or 'is really more dangerous than to go to war.'

126. 2. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ.

ἄγος ἐλαύνειν, to drive out the pollution, or curse, which was supposed to rest on the heads of certain persons. Compare i. 135 init. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄγος κρίναντος, ἀντεπέταξαν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐλαύνειν αὐτό. Hence the only way of expelling the curse was by expelling them. Compare i. 139 init. περὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν τῆς ἐλάσεως.

126. 6. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις, Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια.

1) 'For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus, namely, of Zeus Meilichius, the Diasia as it is called.' Or 2) altering the punctuation, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτή κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, namely, the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius.'

In neither case is the καί precisely accurate, for, although there was both at Athens and at Olympia a festival, and a 'greatest festival,' of Zeus, there was at Olympia neither a 'greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius,' nor a 'Diasia.'

126. 11. καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Σεμνῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ διεχρήσαντο.

ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ 1*) with καθεζομένους, 'who had taken their places at the altar as they were being led to execution past it.' The altar here spoken of is not that in the Acropolis. Or 2) with διεχρήσαντο, 'they slew them in passing the altar as they placed themselves at

it.' The sense favours 1), the order of the words 2). The expression *ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ*, 'in passing the altar,' applies better to the prisoners, who first ran to the altar, than to their captors who followed them thither. **126.** 11.

Ἀντεκέλευον δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου ἄγος ἐλαύνειν. οἱ γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀναστήσαντές ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἀπὸ Ταινάρου τῶν Εἱλώτων ἱκέτας, ἀπαγαγόντες διέφθειραν. διὸ δὴ καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν μέγαν σεισμὸν γενέσθαι ἐν Σπάρτῃ. **128.** 1.

a) *τὸ ἀπὸ Ταινάρου*, 'arising out of the affair of Taenarus.' *b*) *ἀπὸ Ταινάρου*, merely in the local sense, with *ἀναστήσαντες*, 'raising them up and taking them from Taenarus.'

Cp. Ar. Ach. 509,—

ἐγὼ δὲ μισῶ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίους σφόδρα,
καὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν, οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ θεός,
σείσας ἁπάσιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας.

Cp. also note on i. 102. 2.

καὶ παρὰ Παυσανίαν ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπιστολὴν ἀντεπετίθει αὐτῷ ὡς τάχιστα διαπέμψαι καὶ τὴν σφραγῖδα ἀποδεῖξαι καὶ ἤν τι αὐτῷ Παυσανίας παραγγέλλῃ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων, πράσσειν ὡς ἄριστα καὶ πιστότατα. **129.** 1.

The words *διαπέμψαι* here, and *διέπεμψεν* just below, indicate that the satrap sent and did not take the letter to Pausanias. But how in that case could he show him the seal? The word *ἀποδεῖξαι* must be taken in a less strict sense, not 'show him the seal,' but 'draw his attention to it,' or 'tell the messenger to show it him.' That the satrap himself could not have gone to Byzantium is evident, for it was now in the hands of the Athenians.

σφραγίς is the royal seal attached to the letter. Compare Xen. Hell. i. 4. 3, *ἐπιστολήν τε ἔφερε τοῖς κάτω πᾶσι τὸ βασίλειον σφράγισμα ἔχουσαν, ἐν ᾗ ἐνῆν καὶ τάδε*: vii. 1. 39, *ὡς δὲ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐκάλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ἁπασῶν ἀκουσομένους τῆς παρὰ βασιλέως ἐπιστολῆς, καὶ ὁ Πέρσης, ὁ φέρων τὰ γράμματα, δείξας τὴν βασιλέως σφραγῖδα, ἀνέγνω τὰ γεγραμμένα κ.τ.λ.*

τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐλεγεῖον οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐξεκόλαψαν εὐθὺς τότε ἀπὸ τοῦ **132.** 3.

132. 3. τρίποος τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπέγραψαν ὀνομαστὶ τὰς πόλεις, ὅσαι ξυγκαθελοῦσαι τὸν βάρβαρον ἔστησαν τὸ ἀνάθημα· τοῦ μέντοι Παυσανίου ἀδίκημα καὶ τοῦτο ἐδόκει εἶναι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τούτῳ καθειστήκει, πολλῷ μᾶλλον παρόμοιον πραχθῆναι ἐφαίνετο τῇ παρούσῃ διανοίᾳ.

μέντοι. This act of Pausanias, though the Lacedaemonians obliterated the inscription at the time, still gave offence :—καὶ—καὶ—: it appeared wrong in itself, and also received a still darker colour when interpreted by his subsequent conduct. Observe τοῦτο referring to the first offence, ἐν τούτῳ to the subsequent treason of Pausanias.

The correction τότε, for τοῦτο, is unnecessary. For τοῦτο means 'the offence as it was regarded at the time,' cp. note on ii. 15. 5. But πολλῷ μᾶλλον is slightly inaccurate. For the correspondence between his past offence and his present designs would not be observed at all before the latter came to light.

The same tripod is mentioned by Herod. ix. 81, δεκάτην ἐξελόντες τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι θεῷ, ἀπ' ἧς ὁ τρίπους ὁ χρύσεος ἀνετέθη, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ τρικαρήνου ὄφιος τοῦ χαλκέου ἐπεστεὼς ἄγχιστα τοῦ βωμοῦ. A bronze serpent, believed to be identical with this, still stands in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. See an article by Dr. Frick in the Archäologischer Anzeiger, June, 1856, No. 90; Stein, Herodotus, ad loc.; Rawlinson, Herodotus, ad loc. and Appendix.

Upon the serpent is inscribed a list of Greek states nearly identical with that recorded by Pausanias, v. 23. 1, to have been inscribed upon the votive statue of Zeus at Olympia after the Persian wars. It should be observed that Thucydides speaks of the inscription as being on the tripod, while Herodotus distinguishes the tripod from the serpent on which it stood. Nevertheless the evidence (for which see Gibbon, Decline and Fall, ch. xvii) seems satisfactorily to establish the identity of the monument now at Constantinople with that mentioned by Herodotus and Thucydides.

133. τότε δὲ οἱ ἔφοροι, δείξαντος αὐτοῦ τὰ γράμματα, μᾶλλον μὲν ἐπίστευσαν, αὐτήκοοι δὲ βουληθέντες ἔτι γενέσθαι αὐτοῦ Παυσανίου τι λέγοντος, ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐπὶ Ταίναρον ἱκέτου οἰχομένου καὶ σκηνησαμένου διπλῆν διαφράγματι καλύβην, ἐς ἣν τῶν τε ἐφόρων ἐντὸς τινας ἔκρυψε,

καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος καὶ ἐρωτῶντος τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς ἱκετείας, ἤσθοντο πάντα σαφῶς. 133.

τέ before ἐφόρων 1) is connected with the καί which follows by sound (see note on i. 9. 3. § 3) and by association of ideas. The presence of the ephors and of Pausanias in the same hut are naturally brought into relation. But there is no grammatical connection between τέ and καί, for καί joins the participles ἐλθόντος, ἐρωτῶντος with οἰχομένου, σκηνησαμένου.

2) There may be an anacoluthon, τέ and καί connecting a participle with a finite verb, as though the second clause had run καὶ Παυσανίας ἦλθε.

3) τέ, καί, may join ἔκρυψε and ἤσθοντο, and the relative character of the clause ἐς ἣν κ.τ.λ. may be forgotten in the length of the sentence, which is thus left incomplete.

According to 3) either ἐν ᾗ is latent in ἐς ἣν, or ἐς ἣν is dropped out of sight in the clause καὶ Παυσανίου ὡς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντος κ.τ.λ. For a similar irregularity cp. note on i. 78. 2.

αἰτιωμένου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τά τε περὶ αὐτοῦ γραφέντα καὶ τἆλλα ἀποφαίνοντος καθ' ἕκαστον ὡς οὐδὲν πώποτε αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς βασιλέα διακονίαις παραβάλοιτο, προτιμηθείη δ' ἐν ἴσῳ τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν διακόνων ἀποθανεῖν. 133.

Either 1) the other messengers were to have death, and he with them, as the reward of their special services; προτιμηθείη = ἀξιωθείη. Or 2) προτιμηθείη ἐν ἴσῳ is an ironical oxymoron. 'His preferment was to be treated like the rest and put to death,' i. e. οὐδὲν προτιμηθείη τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ἐν ἴσῳ ἀξιωθείη.

καὶ αὐτὸν ἐμέλλησαν μὲν ἐς τὸν Καιάδαν, οὗπερ τοὺς κακούργους, ἐμβάλλειν· ἔπειτα ἔδοξε πλησίον που κατορύξαι. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ὁ ἐν Δελφοῖς τόν τε τάφον ὕστερον ἔχρησε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις μετενεγκεῖν οὗπερ ἀπέθανε κ.τ.λ. 134. 4.

κακούργους, scil. εἰώθεσαν, understood from ἐμέλλησαν, an explanation which has passed into the text in the majority of MSS.

πλησίον που, either near the Caeadas; or near the place where he died, the God afterwards ordering him to be buried on the exact spot.

ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφή, ὅτι 'Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρὰ σέ, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστα Ἑλλήνων εἴργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον τὸν σὸν πατέρα 137. 4.

137. 4. *ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἠμυνόμην, πολὺ δ' ἔτι πλείω ἀγαθά, ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ πάλιν ἡ ἀποκομιδὴ ἐγίγνετο. καί μοι εὐεργεσία ὀφείλεται,'* (*γράψας τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν, ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο, τότε δι' αὐτὸν οὐ διάλυσιν,*) *κ.τ.λ.*

The motive of Themistocles was to bring on the battle in the straits, which in fact led to the defeat of Xerxes. But it is not surprising that after the event he should attempt to give a new interpretation to this astute move, though we can hardly suppose that such a double policy was intended at the time. We need not assume that Xerxes had his eyes opened by the defeat to the real character of the proceeding.

At any rate, we are informed, in Herod. viii. 110, that after the battle Themistocles did actually send a second message to the King by the same messenger, as if his treachery were unsuspected, informing him that he might retreat at leisure, for the bridges were not to be broken down. And according to Herodotus, viii. 109 fin., he really intended on this second occasion to make himself a friend of the King and secure himself against the consequences of a Greek reverse. But it must be observed that the pretended obligation was not claimed until fourteen or fifteen years afterwards.

It has been supposed that the words here, *τὴν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως*, refer to the second message. But *a*) the words in which Thucydides elsewhere speaks of Themistocles, (*ὃς αἰτιώτατος ἐν τῷ στενῷ ναυμαχῆσαι ἐγένετο, ὅπερ σαφέστατα ἔσωσε τὰ πράγματα*, i. 74 init.) make it probable that he is referring not to the second but to the first message. *b*) The second, according to Herodotus, was sent from Andros, not from Salamis. And *c*) *τὴν προάγγελσιν τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως* would mean 'the warning to retreat,' not the information that Xerxes might retreat at leisure.

Here, however, a difficulty arises, Themistocles was *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ*, and Xerxes was retreating and *ἐν ἐπικινδύνῳ*, when the second message was sent, but this would be untrue of the first. If Thucydides has not confused two occasions, there is a slip of language, and the words *ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν ἐμοί κ.τ.λ.* apply only to the second of the two clauses which follow, *καὶ τὴν τῶν γεφυρῶν κ.τ.λ.*

ἣν ψευδῶς προσεποιήσατο. It has been objected that Themistocles 137. 4.
dissuaded the Athenians from breaking down the bridges; so that these words must mean 'the credit of which, *as a service to the King*, he falsely claimed,' (Classen, Böhme). But in reality Themistocles originally proposed that Xerxes should be pursued and the bridges broken down; to Eurybiades who opposed him, and who was supported by the other Peloponnesian commanders, really belonged the credit which Themistocles is here said to claim. He did not change sides until he perceived that he had no chance of carrying his point with the majority; he then began to dissuade the Athenians, who were still eager to sail to the Hellespont, from the execution of his own proposal. See Herod. viii. 108–110.

οἰκείᾳ γὰρ ξυνέσει καὶ οὔτε προμαθὼν ἐς αὐτὴν οὐδὲν οὔτ' ἐπιμαθὼν 138. 3.
τῶν τε παραχρῆμα δι' ἐλαχίστης βουλῆς κράτιστος γνώμων, καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ γενησομένου ἄριστος εἰκαστής.

'Without study before and without study after' the occasion for action had arisen.

καὶ ἃ μὲν μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι, καὶ ἐξηγήσασθαι οἷός τε· ὧν δὲ ἄπειρος 138. 3.
εἴη, κρῖναι ἱκανῶς οὐκ ἀπήλλακτο. τό τε ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον ἐν τῷ ἀφανεῖ ἔτι προεώρα μάλιστα.

ἐξηγήσασθαι, either 'to explain,' or 'to conduct to an issue,' a possible meaning of the word, but without authority. In either case the antithesis between ὧν ἄπειρος εἴη and ἃ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχοι (which cannot mean 'things in which he was practically versed,' Arn.) is somewhat forced.

τὸ ἄμεινον ἢ χεῖρον, the prospective advantages or disadvantages of a given policy.

ἐπικαλοῦντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρεῦσι τῆς γῆς τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ τῆς ἀορίστου. 139. 2.

It is not known with certainty whether the γῆ ἱερά and the γῆ ἀόριστος were the same (as the Scholiast here says), or (as the repetition of the article would seem to indicate) different pieces of ground: and whether ἀόριστος means 'not included within the boundaries of Attica and Megara,' or 'not marked out by boundaries as the property of private persons.'

140. 4. *ὑμῶν δὲ μηδεὶς νομίσῃ περὶ βραχέος ἂν πολεμεῖν εἰ τὸ Μεγαρέων ψήφισμα μὴ καθέλοιμεν, ὅπερ μάλιστα προὔχονται, εἰ καθαιρεθείη, μὴ ἂν γίγνεσθαι τὸν πόλεμον.*

εἰ καθαιρεθείη κ.τ.λ. is epexegetical of *ὅπερ*, 'which they put forward above all things; namely, this about it, that if it were rescinded, etc.'

Compare Aristoph. Peace, 606–611,—

εἶτα Περικλέης φοβηθεὶς μὴ μετάσχοι τῆς τύχης,
τὰς φύσεις ὑμῶν δεδοικὼς καὶ τὸν αὐτοδαξ τρόπον,
πρὶν παθεῖν τι δεινόν, αὐτὸς ἐξέφλεξε τὴν πόλιν,
ἐμβαλὼν σπινθῆρα μικρὸν Μεγαρικοῦ ψηφίσματος,
κἀξεφύσησεν τοσοῦτον πόλεμον, ὥστε τῷ καπνῷ
πάντας Ἕλληνας δακρῦσαι, τούς τ' ἐκεῖ, τούς τ' ἐνθάδε.

For the sentiments which follow, Poppo, ed. maj. compares what Hume, History of England, ch. lxiv. says of De Witt: 'It was ever his maxim that no independent government should yield to another any evident point of reason or equity, and that all such concessions, so far from preventing war, served to no other purpose than to provoke fresh claims and insolencies.'

141. 6. *πολεμεῖν δὲ μὴ πρὸς ὁμοίαν ἀντιπαρασκευὴν ἀδύνατοι, ὅτ' ἂν μήτε βουλευτηρίῳ ἑνὶ χρώμενοι παραχρῆμά τι ὀξέως ἐπιτελῶσι κ.τ.λ.*

ὅτ' ἄν bears a sense *a*) of causality, *b*) of indefinite time, 'seeing that they cannot execute anything quickly if ever they want to do so.' Cp. beginning of next ch. *μέγιστον δέ, τῇ τῶν χρημάτων σπάνει κωλύσονται, ὅτ' ἂν σχολῇ αὐτὰ ποριζόμενοι διαμέλλωσι*, and i. 36 init. *καὶ οὐ τὰ κράτιστα αὐταῖς προνοῶν ὅτ' ἂν ἐς τὸν μέλλοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐ παρόντα πόλεμον ἐνδοιάζῃ χωρίον προσλαβεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

142. 3. *καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἡ ἐπιτείχισις, οὐδὲ τὸ ναυτικὸν αὐτῶν ἄξιον φοβηθῆναι. τὴν μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ πόλιν ἀντίπαλον παρασκευάσασθαι, ἥπου δὴ ἐν πολεμίᾳ τε καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐκείνοις ἡμῶν ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων· φρούριον δ' εἰ ποιήσονται, τῆς μὲν γῆς βλάπτοιεν ἄν τι μέρος καταδρομαῖς καὶ αὐτομολίαις, οὐ μέντοι ἱκανόν γε ἔσται ἐπιτειχίζειν τε κωλύειν ἡμᾶς πλεύσαντας ἐς τὴν ἐκείνων, καί, ἥπερ ἰσχύομεν, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀμύνεσθαι.*

Two kinds of *ἐπιτείχισις* are referred to: *a*) the founding of a city in the neighbourhood (like Heraclea, iii. 92, 93, Anaea, Antandrus, iv. 52, 75,) intended to control Athens; *b*) the raising of detached forts, such as Decelea.

πόλιν ἀντίπαλον is in loose apposition with τὴν μὲν γάρ. 'For the 142. 3.
first (scil. ἐπιτείχισιν), in the form of a city which could compete with us, it would be difficult to establish.'

ἀντεπιτετειχισμένων, that is to say, while we already have our city which is an ἐπιτείχισις over against their new city if it were possible for them to establish it. The word, although describing obscurely a fact sufficiently obvious, has a rhetorical force. There is no reason for giving it a future perfect sense, as though Pericles were referring to some future city which the Athenians were to raise as the rival to Sparta. The Athenians had certainly no idea of founding a πόλις ἀντίπαλος to Sparta, though they might a φρούριον, as at Pylos, and again on the Laconian coast (vii. 26 med.).

Both Decelea and Pylos (cp. especially the words ἐπιτειχίζειν κωλύειν ἡμᾶς κ.τ.λ.) seem to be anticipated in this passage.

τὸ δὲ ναυτικὸν τέχνης ἐστὶν ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ οὐκ ἐνδέχεται, ὅταν 142. 9.
τύχῃ, ἐκ παρέργου μελετᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μηδὲν ἐκείνῳ πάρεργον ἄλλο γίγνεσθαι.

τέχνης 1)* is a genitive of relation, literally, 'naval skill in relation to art is like anything else in relation to art,' in other words, naval skill is like skill of other kinds. Cp. for examples, Prof. Campbell's Essay on Language of Sophocles, § 9. 3.

Or 2) 'naval skill is, like other things,' i. e, like anything else which requires art, 'a matter of art.' Cp. vi. 18 fin. καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὲν ἡσυχάζῃ, τρίψεσθαί τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὑτήν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλο τι, καὶ πάντων τὴν ἐπιστήμην ἐγγηράσεσθαι.

νῦν δὲ τόδε τε ὑπάρχει, καί, ὅπερ κράτιστον, κυβερνήτας ἔχομεν πολίτας 143. 1.
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν πλείους καὶ ἀμείνους ἢ πᾶσα ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλάς.
καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ οὐδεὶς ἂν δέξαιτο τῶν ξένων τήν τε αὐτοῦ φεύγειν, καὶ 2.
μετὰ τῆς ἥσσονος ἅμα ἐλπίδος ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν ἕνεκα μεγάλου μισθοῦ δόσεως ἐκείνοις ξυναγωνίζεσθαι.

τὴν ἄλλην ὑπηρεσίαν has sometimes been taken to mean 'our other petty officers.' Compare vi. 31 med. But the fact would not be sufficiently important to be introduced here.

The argument is *a*) that the pilots of the fleet are Athenian citizens. *b*) That the Athenian sailors, whether citizens or not,

143. 1. are the best and most numerous in Hellas, and that therefore the loss of a few hired sailors will not matter. And *c*) that the *ξένοι* themselves will be less likely to desert because of the danger of fighting against so superior a force, *καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ κ.τ.λ.*

τὴν αὐτοῦ φεύγειν, 'to lose his home,' because after enlisting in the Spartan service no native of any town under Athenian control would be allowed to return to it.

BOOK II.

καὶ Αἰνησίου ἐφόρου ἐν Σπάρτῃ, καὶ Πυθοδώρου ἔτι δύο μῆνας ἄρχοντος 2. 1.
Ἀθηναίοις, μετὰ τὴν ἐν Ποτιδαίᾳ μάχην μηνὶ ἕκτῳ, καὶ ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ κ.τ.λ.

It is difficult to fix the date of the attack on Plataea with certainty. It took place *a*) 'when Pythodorus had two months of his archonship to run,' *b*) 'at the beginning of spring,' *c*) about eighty days before the first Peloponnesian invasion of Attica, which occurred τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ii. 19 init., *d*) about the time of the new moon (ii. 4 med.). But the first of these data appears to give a different result to the second and third.

a) The archons came into office on the first day of Hecatombaeon, the first month of the Attic year. Hecatombaeon might begin as early as the beginning of July (according to others towards the end of June), or as late as the beginning of August (according to others towards the end of July). The attack on Plataea will thus fall at the earliest towards the end of April.

b) The meaning of 'at the beginning of spring,' ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, is shown by a comparison of iv. 117 init. Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἐκεχειρίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἐνιαύσιον with iv. 118 fin. καὶ ὡμολόγησαν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν εἶναι ἐνιαυτόν, ἄρχειν δὲ τήνδε τὴν ἡμέραν, τετράδα ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνός, and v. 19 init. ἄρχει δὲ τῶν σπονδῶν... ἄρχων Ἀλκαῖος, Ἐλαφηβολιῶνος μηνὸς ἕκτῃ φθίνοντος with v. 20 init. αὗται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι.

The date thus obtained for the attack on Plataea would be the middle or end of Elaphebolion, i. e. roughly speaking, some time in March, or the beginning of April. But the consideration mentioned in *d*) fixes the date within these limits to about March $\frac{8}{9}$ or April 7, on which days there was a new moon. See Boeckh, Mondcyclen der Hellenen, Jahrb. für Class. Phil. Suppl. i. p. 78. It

2. 1. must be remembered that 'the beginning of spring' is a point in the natural year, of which the place in the civil year might vary considerably. In the passages just quoted, the time described as *ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους* is actually ten days earlier according to the civil year than that described as *τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι*, the first being the 14th of Elaphebolion, B.C. 423, the second being the 25th of Elaphebolion, B.C. 421.

c) In ii. 19 init. *μετὰ τὰ ἐν Πλαταίᾳ τῶν ἐσελθόντων Θηβαίων γενόμενα ἡμέρᾳ ὀγδοηκοστῇ μάλιστα τοῦ θέρους καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος, ἐσέβαλον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικήν*, *τοῦ σίτου ἀκμάζοντος* denotes probably the time, not when the corn was ripe for the harvest, but when it was ripening, or in full ear, i. e. in Attica about May 10—June 10, harvest beginning about June 15 (see Classen in loc. and Arn. ii. 19), or according to Mommsen, Griech. Jahreszeiten, p. 571, 572, a month earlier. Cp. iii. 1 init. and 15 fin., where a considerable period intervenes between the *ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου* and the harvest; also iv. 1 init., 2 init., and 6 med., where *πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι=τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλώρου ὄντος* and *περὶ σίτου ἐκβολήν*.

These passages tend to prove that the word *ἀκμάζειν* refers to some time when the corn, though in full ear, was not yet ready for the harvest. And although it is not impossible that *ἀκμάζειν* may after all include the beginning of harvest, and so may extend to a few days later, yet considerations of another kind show that the invasion cannot have taken place much after June 15. For the solar eclipse which is mentioned in ii. 28 among the events subsequent to the evacuation of Attica by the Lacedaemonians (ii. 24–32) is calculated to have taken place on Aug. 3. Now they had remained in the country an uncertain time—as long as their supplies lasted (ii. 23 fin.)—but probably not less than thirty days; as forty days was the longest (ii. 57 fin.) and fifteen days the shortest time (iv. 6 fin.) which they ever remained; the latter under peculiar circumstances. To this period of thirty days occupied by the invasion has to be added a further uncertain period comprehending the events between the retreat of the Peloponnesians and the eclipse, ii. 24—27. Thus considerably more than a month would seem to have elapsed between the eclipse of Aug. 3 and the invasion of Attica. And for the attack on Plataea,

eighty days before the invasion, May 10—June 10, we are led back **2. 1.**
to Feb. 20—March 20, i.e. to the new moon of March $\frac{8}{9}$, or within a few days of it.

It seems to follow, after making every allowance for the possible difference between the civil and natural year at Athens, that there is a discrepancy of about six weeks between the various statements of Thucydides. The difference may be reduced to nothing if we put the attack on Plataea about the time of the next new moon, April 7, and suppose *a*) that *ἀκμάζοντος τοῦ σίτου* extends to the beginning of harvest, *b*) that the events subsequent to the invasion of Attica are not narrated in chronological order, so that the eclipse of Aug. 3 might have immediately followed the evacuation of the country, *c*) that Pythodorus might have been said to have two months of his archonship to run during the last fortnight or three weeks of his tenth month of office. (Cp. Arn. on ii. 19.) But then we have to assume, not only the latest possible date (towards the end of June) for the invasion of Attica, but also the earliest possible date (about June 25) for the end of Pythodorus' archonship. This makes the reconciliation extremely doubtful. We must suppose then, either that there is some mistake or confusion in the words of Thucydides, or that an error has crept into the text. This might be rectified by the emendation of Krüger (Studien, i. 221 foll.) who would read *τέσσαρας* (*δ'*) for *δύο*. On the other hand, there is no variation in the MSS., and it may be argued against Krüger, that the Greek phrase, 'having still so many months of his archonship to run,' is better suited to a shorter than to a longer period of time.

It is evident that Thucydides intended to give a precise mark of time. But the state of the Greek calendar was confused, and our knowledge of it is imperfect. It is probable indeed, from Diodorus xii. 36 and Ptolemy Μεγ. Συνταξ. iii. 2. p. 162, that the first year of Meton's calendar (which was based on a period of nineteen years, and was reckoned from the beginning of Ol. 87. 1, the middle of 432 B.C., being the year preceding the Peloponnesian war), began with the first new moon (July 15 or 16) after the summer solstice (June 27, really 28) of that year. But we do not know in what years the intercalary month was added. We cannot

2. 1. therefore in any case determine within about thirty days how far the Attic months corresponded to our own.

The cycle in common use in Greece, before that of Meton was introduced at Athens, appears to have been one of eight years. We are told by Geminus (vi. 35 *c*) that the intercalary months were inserted in the 3rd, 5th, and 8th years. It is further probable, from the passages in Diodorus and Ptolemy quoted above, that the 13th Skirophorion of this cycle, Ol. 86. 4, answered to June 27, B.C. 432, of our own reckoning. But we do not know with what year the cycle began or ended.

It is further uncertain whether the cycle of Meton came into public use immediately after its promulgation. Ideler and A. Mommsen are of opinion that it did; Redlich, Boeckh, E. Müller, and Unger that it did not.

a) It has been argued from Aristoph. Clouds, 607–621, that the Metonic cycle cannot have come into use at that time (423 or 422), or the poet would not have ridiculed the confused state of the calendar. But it has been well answered that he may be ridiculing the new calendar, to which, although more regular in itself, he may object as a novelty.

b) The arguments of Boeckh against the earlier introduction of the Metonic cycle, resting on inscriptions discovered at Athens, involve too many conjectures to be at all conclusive. From the accounts of the sums of money drawn at particular times by the state from the treasuries of Athene and other deities, and of the interest reckoned on them, he infers that certain years of the Peloponnesian war contained an intercalary month which would not have occurred in the Metonic cycle. (Cp. Kirchhoff, Corpus Inscrr. Att. vol. i. pp. 146, 148). But his argument assumes that we are certain of the distribution of the intercalary month according to Meton's system.

c) The Scholiast on Aristoph. Clouds mentions an eclipse of the moon which took place in the month of Boedromion, Ol. 88. 4. Now this eclipse is calculated to have occurred on Oct. 9, B.C. 425. It is argued that, if the Metonic cycle had been already in use at that date, the civil would not have been so far behind the natural year, and the eclipse would have fallen in Pyanepsion, the follow-

ing month. But the uncertain authority and probably late date of the Scholiast renders the argument extremely doubtful. **2.** 1.

The variety of opinion among modern authors may be illustrated by the following table :—

Date of Hecatombaeon 1st, Ol. 87. 2 (431), the first day of the year following the attack on Plataea.

Octaeteris, or cycle of eight years.	*Metonic cycle.*
Redlich[1], Aug. 1.	Ideler[3], July 6.
Boeckh[1], Aug. 1.	E. Müller[4], July 5.
Unger[2], Aug. 2.	A. Mommsen[6], Aug. 5.

Dates within which Hecatombaeon 1st might vary in different years.

Octaeteris.	*Metonic cycle.*
Redlich, July 9—Aug. 7.	Ideler, June 25—July 25.
Boeckh, June 20[6]—Aug. 7.	Müller, June 28—July 27.
Unger, June 28—Aug. 9.	Mommsen, July 14—Aug. 12.

(These dates are according to the Julian calendar. The corresponding dates according to the Gregorian, our present calendar, would be five days earlier.)

Thus we end with uncertainty; but it is often worth while, instead of adding a new conjecture, to acknowledge that in this, as in many critical inquiries, if no new evidence can be adduced, uncertainty is the only attainable result. Long after authentic history begins, the uncertainty of chronology continues, owing to the deficiency of early registers and inscriptions, and also to the fabrication of dates in a later generation when the truth can no longer be recovered. Cp. Boeckh's excellent remarks on the uncertainty of inferences obtained from restored inscriptions (Jahrb. Suppl. ii. p. 91).

σῖτόν τε ἐσήγαγον κ.τ.λ. **6.** 4.

Not, as in the translation, 'brought in the harvest,' but 'brought in corn.'

[1] Boeckh, Jahrb. für Class. Phil. Suppl. i., see also Epigraphisch-chronologische Studien, Suppl. ii.
[2] Sitzungsb. der Acad. zu München, 1875.
[3] Handbuch der Chronologie, i. p. 384.
[4] Pauly, Real. Encycl. i. 1. 'Annus.'
[5] Jahrb. für Class. Phil. Suppl. i.
[6] Until the year 414 B.C., after which it occasionally falls earlier.

7. 2. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἐς τὸν πάντα ἀριθμὸν πεντακοσίων νεῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἀργύριον ῥητὸν ἑτοιμάζειν, τά τ' ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηΐ.

The sense given in the translation is obtained by taking *a*) αὐτοῦ, 'on the spot,' as meaning in Italy and Sicily, *b*) ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας, either with τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις, or with ὑπαρχούσαις in explanation of αὐτοῦ, *c*) the dative ἑλομένοις as governed by ὑπαρχούσαις, and *d*) by supplying either οἱ τἀκείνων ἑλόμενοι from τοῖς τἀκείνων ἑλομένοις, or αἱ πόλεις by anticipation from κατὰ μέγεθος τῶν πόλεων, as the nominative to ἐπετάχθησαν. If this explanation is too harsh, there is no difficulty in altering ναῦς (the accusative) into νῆες.

It is impossible to take πρὸς ταῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπαρχούσαις ἐξ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας together in the sense 'in addition to the ships already on the coast of Peloponnesus from Italy and Sicily.' For it is clear from iii. 86 init. that the Lacedaemonians had as yet received no help from their Italian and Sicilian allies, ξύμμαχοι δὲ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις ἦσαν, πλὴν Καμαριναίων, αἱ ἄλλαι Δωρίδες πόλεις, αἵπερ καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὸ πρῶτον ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου ξυμμαχίαν ἐτάχθησαν, οὐ μέντοι ξυνεπολέμησάν γε.

There is no regular construction for ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ἡσυχάζοντας καὶ Ἀθηναίους δεχομένους μιᾷ νηΐ. The words are really governed by some such expressions as οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ναῦς ἐπέταξαν ποιεῖσθαι latent in τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ... ναῦς ἐπετάχθησαν ποιεῖσθαι.

The number 500 evidently includes all the ships, both of the Lacedaemonians and of their Italian and Sicilian allies. Even on this supposition such a number seems extraordinary, considering that the Athenians themselves never had more than 300 triremes at the most (ii. 13 fin., iii. 17), and the number of the Peloponnesian fleet, in the earlier years of the war at least, never approached 100. (Cp. ii. 86 med., iii. 16 fin., 76, iv. 2 med., 16 fin.)

8. 2. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγοντο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾖδον.

The opposition is not between λόγια and χρησμόλογοι, but between the general circulation of oracles, frequently of unknown origin, among the people, and the special predictions of professional

collectors of oracles. 'Many oracles were in men's mouths, and many were the predictions recited by soothsayers.' 8. 2.

ἔτι δὲ Δῆλος ἐκινήθη ὀλίγον πρὸ τούτων, πρότερον οὔπω σεισθεῖσα, ἀφ' οὗ Ἕλληνες μέμνηνται. 8. 3.

Yet Herodotus (vi. 98) makes mention of a previous earthquake (in 490), 'the first and last which had taken place up to his time.' The contradiction may show equally well 1) that Thucydides was unacquainted with his history, or 2) that he intentionally criticised him.

ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἑκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα, ᾧ μή τις αὐτὸς παρέσται. 8. 4.

Either 1)* ἐν τούτῳ is the antecedent to ᾧ; in which case it is unnecessary to supply any substantive with ᾧ, because ἐν τούτῳ is a familiar adverbial phrase. ᾧ may be taken as the dative after παρέσται, or with ἐν supplied from ἐν τούτῳ.

Or 2) ἐν τούτῳ may be explained, not as referring to ᾧ, but in the general sense of 'here,' or 'at this point of affairs,' ἐν τούτῳ, scil. τῶν πραγμάτων. With ᾧ may be supplied πράγματι from τὰ πράγματα. There appears to be a confusion between ἐδόκει τὸ πρᾶγμα ᾧ μή τις and ἐδόκει τὰ πράγματα οἷς μή τις.

A nearly similar form of words occurs iv. 14 med. in the description of the conflict which took place in the harbour of Sphacteria, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκαστος, ᾧ μή τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν, where ἔργῳ, which is probably not used here because καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ has preceded, is supplied with ᾧ, (unless indeed ἔργῳ is to be taken in the sense of 'in reality.')

The certain and predestined future παρέσται corresponds to the still more absolute perfect κεκωλῦσθαι: 'every one thought that things had come to a stop when he was not going to be present.'

ἄλλαι πόλεις αἱ ὑποτελεῖς οὖσαι ἐν ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε, Καρία ἡ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, Δωριῆς Καρσὶ πρόσοικοι κ.τ.λ. 9. 4.

The words Καρία κ.τ.λ. are, grammatically speaking, in apposition with ἄλλαι πόλεις, but are connected in sense with the cognate idea ἔθνεσι τοσοῖσδε.

νῆσοι ὅσαι ἐντὸς Πελοποννήσου καὶ Κρήτης πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας. 9. 4.

9. 4. 1)* The island of Crete and the Peloponnesus are regarded as enclosing the whole of the Aegean sea, and dividing it from the Mediterranean. *ἐντός*=inside Peloponnesus and Crete. The clause *πᾶσαι αἱ ἄλλαι Κυκλάδες πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας* is partially explanatory or resumptive; 'including all the Cyclades except Melos and Thera;' *αἱ ἄλλαι* refers not to what has gone before, but to *πλὴν Μήλου καὶ Θήρας* which follows.

2) Poppo, who translates *ἐντός* 'on this side of,' suggests that by the first clause only the islands due east of the Peloponnesus are intended, and by the second, those lying to the north-east of it, in the northern part of the Aegean, Andros, Scyros, and Peparethus. But why should Melos and Thera, which lie in the southern part of the Aegean, be excepted in the second clause and not in the first?

10. 2. *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἑκάστοις ἑτοῖμα γίγνοιτο, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τὸν εἰρημένον, ξυνήεσαν τὰ δύο μέρη ἀπὸ πόλεως ἑκάστης ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμόν.*

ἐπειδὴ . . . γίγνοιτο marks the indefinite time, and corresponds to the imperfect *ξυνήεσαν*, 'whenever any of them were ready,' i. e. 'as soon as they were ready.'

11. 1. *ὅμως δὲ τῆσδε οὔπω μείζονα παρασκευὴν ἔχοντες ἐξήλθομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα, καὶ αὐτοὶ πλεῖστοι καὶ ἄριστοι στρατεύοντες.*

Both *καί*'s='also,' the first contrasting *ἐπὶ πόλιν . . . ἐρχόμεθα* with *ὅμως δὲ . . . ἐξήλθομεν*, and the second contrasting *αὐτοὶ . . . στρατεύοντες* with *ἐπὶ πόλιν . . . ἐρχόμεθα*. The connection is:—'We are a great host, but we must remember that, however strong we may be, we are attacking a city which is our equal.' And then, lest the words *καὶ ἐπὶ πόλιν δυνατωτάτην νῦν ἐρχόμεθα* coming last should leave a discouraging impression on the mind, the first clause, *ὅμως δὲ . . . ἐξήλθομεν*, is repeated in a slightly different and more emphatic form, 'as the city is great, so is the host.'

11. 3. *ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλεως ἑκάστης ἡγεμόνα καὶ στρατιώτην (χρὴ) τὸ καθ' αὑτὸν ἀεὶ προσδέχεσθαι ἐς κίνδυνόν τινα ἥξειν.*

Either 1)* 'that his own division of the army will come into some danger.'

Or 2) 'that so far as he is concerned he should be always alive

to the possibility of danger.' The meaning of *τὸ καθ' αὑτόν* is more idiomatic, but the connection with *προσδέχεσθαι* is forced and weak. **II. 3.**

πολλάκις τε τὸ ἔλασσον πλῆθος δεδιὸς ἄμεινον ἠμύνατο τοὺς πλέονας, διὰ τὸ καταφρονοῦντας ἀπαρασκεύους γενέσθαι. **II. 4.**

ἄμεινον. Better than the larger army without caution would repel the smaller.

χρὴ δὲ ἀεὶ ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους στρατεύειν, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ δεδιότας παρασκευάζεσθαι. **II. 5.**

The antithesis is only partial. *γνώμῃ θαρσαλέους* answers to *ἔργῳ δεδιότας*, but not *στρατεύειν* to *παρασκευάζεσθαι*, except in so far as *στρατεύειν*, which refers to the whole enterprise, is opposed to *παρασκευάζεσθαι*, implying the details of preparation.

πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες ὀργὴ προσπίπτει. **II. 7.**

1) This sentence would have been quite clear if more simply expressed;—*πᾶσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι καὶ ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα πάσχουσί τι ἀηθὲς ὀργὴ προσπίπτει.*

To avoid the baldness of the expression *ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι πάσχουσι* the sentence is resumed in a new form, and *ὁρᾶν* is introduced from *ὄμμασι*. This change has altered *πάσχουσι* into *πάσχοντας*, which thus receives a double construction, both with *προσπίπτει* and with *ὁρᾶν*. *ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα πάσχοντας ὁρᾶν*, 'to see ourselves actually suffering,' cp. i. 32 fin. *καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατοι ὁρῶμεν ὄντες τῇ οἰκείᾳ μόνον δυνάμει περιγενέσθαι.*

As the words now stand we have to supply *πάσχουσι* with *ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι*, and to regard the clause which follows, *ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ὁρᾶν πάσχοντάς τι ἄηθες* as an expansion or aggravation of the previous words, *ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι (πάσχουσι)*.

Or 2) *ὁρᾶν* may be taken after *ὀργὴ προσπίπτει*, in which some such idea as *δεινόν ἐστι* is involved or latent (Böhme). 'For anger enters into the soul of all men, when they see with their own eyes and immediately some unwonted suffering inflicted upon them.'

12. 3. *τοσόνδε εἰπὼν ἐπορεύετο, ὅτι ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἄρξει.*

There may be a reference to this saying in Aristoph. Peace, 435,—

σπένδοντες εὐχώμεσθα τὴν νῦν ἡμέραν
Ἕλλησιν ἄρξαι πᾶσι πολλῶν κἀγαθῶν.

13. 1. *ὑποτοπήσας, ὅτι Ἀρχίδαμος αὐτῷ ξένος ὢν ἐτύγχανε, μὴ* **πολλάκις** *ἢ αὐτὸς ἰδίᾳ βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τοὺς ἀγρους αὐτοῦ παραλίπῃ καὶ μὴ δηώσῃ κ.τ.λ.*

μὴ **πολλάκις**, lit. 'as often happens,' and hence 'as is likely to happen.' Compare the use of the word in Plato (e. g. Rep. iv. 424 C), though less common in other writers, in the sense of 'perchance.'

13. 4. *χωρὶς δὲ* **χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου** *ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις, καὶ ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη περί τε τὰς πομπὰς καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας, καὶ σκῦλα Μηδικά, καὶ εἴ τι τοιουτότροπον,* **οὐκ ἐλάσσονος** *ἦν ἢ πεντακοσίων ταλάντων.*

Either 1) *ὅσον ἦν* was intended to follow *χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου*, but the construction was changed in the next clause, *ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη*. Or 2) the words *χρυσίου ἀσήμου καὶ ἀργυρίου* were intended to be governed by *οὐκ ἔλασσον*. But the transition from the genitive to the nominative in the following clauses has led to the substitution of *οὐκ ἐλάσσονος* (genitive of price). In either case there is a transposition of *τε, ἔν τε ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις καὶ δημοσίοις* being equivalent to *ἐν ἀναθήμασιν ἰδίοις τε καὶ δημοσίοις*.

Or better 3)* *ὅσα ἱερὰ σκεύη . . . σκῦλα Μηδικά = ἐν ἱεροῖς σκεύεσι καὶ ἐν σκύλοις Μηδικοῖς*, answering to *ἐν ἀναθήμασιν*. We must then suppose the genitives *χρυσίου καὶ ἀργυρίου*, which should have been followed by *οὐκ ἐλάσσον*, to be forgotten in the length of the sentence. *ἐλάσσονος* agrees better with the following genitive than *ἔλασσον* (which is found only in two inferior MSS).

This difficult passage may be converted into an easy one by the omission of *ἦν*, which is a probable correction, though without authority. *ὑπάρχοντος* must then be supplied with *ἐλάσσονος* from *ὑπαρχόντων* above.

13. 5. *ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν προσετίθει χρήματα οὐκ ὀλίγα, οἷς*

χρήσεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ ἢν πάνυ ἐξείργωνται πάντων, καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς θεοῦ τοῖς 13. 5.
περικειμένοις χρυσίοις.

τῶν ἄλλων refers to the words ὑπαρχόντων ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει just above.

We know that the public treasury of Athens was in the Parthenon. Pericles, whose previous words refer to the treasures kept there, and probably to the special treasures of other temples on the Acropolis, now passes to the treasures of the temples not on the Acropolis.

καὶ ἢν . . . πάντων, 'and if they were cut off from the use of everything,' i. e. from the use, not merely of their accumulated treasures, but of the tribute paid by the allies. Cp. note on iii. 70. 6.

For a discussion of this passage, in connection with the inscriptions which throw light upon the history of Athenian finance, see Kirchhoff (Zur Geschichte des Athen. Staatsschatzes, p. 24, Abhandl. der Berl. Acad., 1876); Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Newton and Hicks, Part I. p. 46.

These inscriptions 'fall into two classes, 1) accounts of expenditure, 2) inventories of ἱερὰ χρήματα, handed on from one board to another' (Newton and Hicks). Up to the Peace of Nicias no diminution but rather an increase of the ἱερὰ χρήματα seems to have taken place (Kirchhoff, p. 26). But before the end of the war many articles of value have disappeared from the inventories and have been replaced by others (Newton and Hicks, p. 48), and in Ol. 93. 3 (406, the year of Arginusae) nearly all the treasures of the Pronaos of the Parthenon seem to have been applied to the expenses of the war (Kirchhoff, p. 38.) An ἀκινάκης ἐπί[χρυσος] (Newton and Hicks, p. 77) may have been one of the σκῦλα Μηδικά mentioned by Thucydides. Large sums, over 4700 talents, are recorded as expended from the treasury in the years 433–427 (Kirchhoff, p. 30, cp. Thuc. ii. 17. 19).

ἀπέφαινε δ' ἔχον τὸ ἄγαλμα τεσσαράκοντα τάλαντα σταθμὸν χρύσου 13. 5.
ἀπέφθου.

According to Boeckh (Staatshaush. i. p. 592) 40 talents of gold = at least 400 talents of silver, i. e. £96,000; according to Kirchhoff, Athen. Staatssch. p. 26, who estimates the value of gold

13. 5. in the time of Pericles as fourteen times that of silver, they would amount to 560 talents of silver, i. e. £134,400.

13. 6. *ὁπλίτας δὲ τρισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους εἶναι ἄνευ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φρουρίοις καὶ* 7. *τῶν παρ' ἔπαλξιν ἑξακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων. τοσοῦτοι γὰρ ἐφύλασσον τὸ πρῶτον, ὁπότε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐσβάλοιεν, ἀπό τε τῶν πρεσβυτάτων καὶ τῶν νεωτάτων, καὶ μετοίκων ὅσοι ὁπλῖται ἦσαν.*

Cp. the complaint of Dicaeopolis, Ar. Ach. 71,—

σφόδρα γὰρ ἐσωζόμην ἐγὼ
παρὰ τὴν ἔπαλξιν ἐν φορυτῷ κατακείμενος.

A difficulty has been raised respecting the proportion which the number of the 'oldest and youngest men' bore to the rest of the army. The garrison troops are estimated at 16,000. From these we have to deduct for the metic hoplites 3000 (ii. 31 init.). The rest of the garrison troops, consisting of the older and younger men, and probably including the *περίπολοι*, young men between eighteen and twenty, though they are not specially mentioned here, amount to the same number as the other hoplites, namely, 13,000. But could the older and younger men, if they were those below and above the ordinary age for service with the hoplites, i.e. twenty and sixty, be anything like equal in number to the heavy-armed soldiers between these ages? Clearly this is impossible. We may therefore conjecture that the oldest and youngest men here mentioned, who constitute half the Athenian army, exclusive of the metics, must have been reckoned in some other way. Nor is it likely that a force consisting only of young men under twenty and of old men over sixty could have been used for any important service (such as the defence of Oenoë, ii. 18.). In any military state it is probable that an age was fixed much earlier than sixty, at which active service out of the country was no longer required, though the whole force might be employed at home or called out on extraordinary occasions.

The division of the Athenian army, according to the year of the archons in which the men were enlisted, would facilitate such a distribution. (Harpocration, s.v. *ἐπώνυμοι* and *στρατεῖαι ἐν τοῖς ἐπωνύμοις*, Schömann, Griechische Alterthümer, i. p. 449.) And that sixty was not always the limit of age is proved by Lycurg. c. Leocr. 39,

δ' ελπίδες τῆς σωτηρίας τῷ δήμῳ ἐν τοῖς ὑπὲρ πεντήκοντα ἔτι γεγονόσι καθειστήκεσαν. 13. 6.

τοῦ δὲ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν. 13. 7.

'Were' before their destruction, or, 'were' to be guarded.

ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. 15. 4.

The mention of the fact that the festival of Dionysus in the Marshes was common to the Ionians is intended to prove its antiquity, and so to strengthen the argument from the site of the temples to the site of the older town. Cp. i. 6 med. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχεν, where there is a similar mention of an old Athenian custom retained by the Ionians.

καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μέν, τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων, Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι, φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν, Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. 15. 5.

ἐκείνῃ is a resumption of τῇ κρήνῃ, 'this fountain, I say, which was in the neighbourhood of the original city.' The resumption emphasizes the words ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ, which contain the point of the argument. 'The city grew up on the south side of the Acropolis: as is proved by the fact that the sacred fountain was near this quarter, as well as the ancient temples.'

Of the demonstratives οὗτος and ἐκεῖνος, οὗτος refers to what has immediately preceded, and is therefore commonly used in resumptions. But ἐκεῖνος is here more appropriate, because the writer reverts to the more remote antecedent, not indeed in expression, but in idea, that is, to the old form of the fountain as opposed to the new. Cp. Xen. Cyr. vi. 1. 17, ὃ δ' ἴσως ἄν τινες ὑμῶν φοβηθεῖεν, εἰ δεήσει πόῤῥω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φρουρεῖν, μηδὲ τοῦτο ὀκνήσητε. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ, ἐπείπερ καὶ ὡς οἴκοθεν ἀποδημοῦμεν, φρουρήσειν ὑμῖν ἀναδεχόμεθα τὰ ἐγγύτατα χωρία τῶν πολεμίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ τὰ πρόσορα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς Ἀσσυρίας, ἐκεῖνα κτᾶσθε καὶ ἐργάζεσθε, where, in the same way, in the order of fact though not of word, τὰ πρόσορα are more remote from the speaker than τὰ ἐγγύτατα τῶν πολεμίων.

15. 5. Objections have been raised to the position of *τέ*. But *a*) *ἐκείνῃ τε* and *καὶ νῦν* may be intended to distinguish the ancient and the modern forms of the fountain. 'Not only did they use the ancient fountain for great occasions, but it is still the custom to take water from the modern fountain at marriages and other ceremonies.' And *b*) in any case *τέ* is not really out of place. For *ἐκείνῃ* is not taken with the second clause; but the words *νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι τούτῳ χρῆσθαι* correspond to *ἐκείνῃ ἐχρῶντο*, that is to say, the particles *τέ—καί* connect two clauses and not two words. *ἐκείνῃ* is placed at the beginning of the sentence because it is the resumption of *τῇ κρήνῃ*.

It is therefore unnecessary to adopt the correction *ἐκεῖνοί τε*.

16. 1. *τῇ τε οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνῳκίσθησαν διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὁμῶς οἱ πλείους τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησίᾳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὰς μεταναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο.*

The use of the dative after *μετεῖχον* is very singular, and seems to arise from a confusion between the manner of partaking (dative) and the thing partaken of (genitive). A genitive after *μετεῖχον* may be supplied from the words *ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς . . . γενόμενοί κ.τ.λ.*, to which *τέ—καί* point forward. 'Thus the Athenians, both by their independent residence in the country which long prevailed, and from habit after their union, shared in a rural life.'

The construction of *κοινωνεῖν* with the dative is too rare, and that of *νομίζειν, χρῆσθαι*, with the dative too remote, to justify the explanation of *οἰκήσει μετεῖχον* on these analogies.

17. 1. *ἐπειδή τε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή· οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἔρημα τῆς πόλεως ᾠκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα κ.τ.λ.*

Cp. Ar. Knights, 792, where the Sausage-seller reproaches Cleon with his treatment of the Athenian people,—

> *καὶ πῶς σὺ φιλεῖς, ὃς τοῦτον ὁρῶν οἰκοῦντ' ἐν ταῖς φιδάκναισι*
> *καὶ γυπαρίοις καὶ πυργιδίοις ἔτος ὄγδοον οὐκ ἐλεαίρεις,*
> *ἀλλὰ καθείρξας αὐτὸν βλίττεις·*

where it may be observed that the beginning of the Peloponnesian war is reckoned from the year 432.

τάς τε οὖν προσβολὰς εὐτρεπίζοντο καὶ ἄλλως ἐνδιέτριψαν χρόνον περὶ αὐτήν. 18. 2.

ἄλλως has been translated 'to no purpose.' But the two clauses, τάς τε οὖν κ.τ.λ., καὶ ἄλλως κ.τ.λ., are then too disparate. The sense 'in other ways' is more suitable to τέ—καί, which connect ἄλλως closely with τὰς προσβολάς.

καὶ τροπήν τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἱππέων περὶ τοὺς Ῥείτους καλουμένους ἐποιήσαντο. 19. 2.

Cp. Pausanias, i. 38. 1, οἱ δὲ Ῥεῖτοι καλούμενοι ῥεῦμα μόνον παρέχονται ποταμῶν· ἐπεὶ τό γε ὕδωρ θάλασσά ἐστί σφισι· πείθοιτο δὲ ἄν τις καὶ ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ Χαλκιδέων Εὐρίπου ῥέουσιν ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐς θάλασσαν κοιλοτέραν ἐμπίπτοντες.

ἅμα δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἀχαρνῆς μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως (τρισχίλιοι γὰρ ὁπλῖται ἐγένοντο) οὐ περιόψεσθαι ἐδόκουν τὰ σφέτερα διαφθαρέντα, ἀλλ' ὁρμήσειν καὶ τοὺς πάντας ἐς μάχην. 20. 4.

Müller-Strübing (Aristophanes und die Hist. Kritik, Excurs. to p. 432) would read 300 (Τ') for 3000 (Γ), denying that so large a proportion of the Athenian army could have been furnished by one of the 174 Attic demes. But *a*) the demes may not have been at all uniform in size and population; *b*) the Acharnians are expressly described by Thucydides as μέγα μέρος ὄντες τῆς πόλεως, words which could not possibly be applied to a town furnishing only 300 heavy armed soldiers out of 29,000 (who are all heavy armed, as is clear from the words of Thucydides ii. 13. 6, see note, notwithstanding the difficulties raised by Müller-Strübing), not much more than a hundredth part of the whole. And *c*) the proposed emendation is equally inconsistent with the importance ascribed to the Acharnians in the Acharnae of Aristophanes. Cp. also Pind. Nem. ii. 16,—

Ἀχάρναι δὲ παλαίφατοι
εὐάνορες.

Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, μέχρι μὲν οὗ περὶ Ἐλευσῖνα καὶ τὸ Θριάσιον πεδίον ὁ στρατὸς ἦν, καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον ἐς τὸ ἐγγυτέρω αὐτοὺς μὴ προϊέναι, μεμνημένοι καὶ Πλειστοάνακτα τὸν Παυσανίου Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλέα κ.τ.λ. 21. 1.

καί τινα ἐλπίδα εἶχον, either 1)* καὶ . . . εἶχον is the apodosis of

21. 1. the sentence: 'while the Peloponnesians remained at a distance, so long the Athenians had some hope.' Or 2) the apodosis is lost in the long sentence which follows.

In the latter part of the chapter the style changes, and instead of long periods we have a number of short hurried sentences, expressive of the various impulses by which the city was agitated.

22. 2. *ἱππέας μέντοι ἐξέπεμπεν ἀεὶ τοῦ μὴ προδρόμους ἀπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐσπίπτοντας ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως κακουργεῖν. καὶ ἱππομαχία τις ἐνεγένετο βραχεῖα ἐν Φρυγίοις κ.τ.λ.*

ἐν- in *ἐνεγένετο*='meanwhile:' 'in the course of sending out these detachments there occurred a skirmish.'

22. 3. *ἡ δὲ βοήθεια αὕτη τῶν Θεσσαλῶν κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν ξυμμαχικὸν ἐγένετο τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις.*

The word *παλαιόν* shows that the reference is not only to the comparatively recent alliance with Thessaly, i. 102 fin., 107 fin., but to the old friendship mentioned in iv. 78 med. *τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις ἀεί ποτε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν εὔνουν ὑπῆρχεν.*

23. 3. *παριόντες δὲ Ὠρωπόν, τὴν γῆν τὴν* Πειραϊκὴν *καλουμένην, ἣν νέμονται Ὠρώπιοι Ἀθηναίων ὑπήκοοι, ἐδῄωσαν.*

All the MSS. read *τὴν* Πειραϊκήν (see note on the translation). But as the expression occurs nowhere else, and the form Πειραϊκήν is strange, some editors read *τὴν* Γραϊκήν. Steph. Byz. s.v. Τάναγρα informs us that there was a place called Graea upon the coast, belonging to Oropus. He further says that different accounts were given of the name; Aristotle in particular identifying Graea with Oropus. Graea also occurs in an inscription as the name of an Attic deme, belonging to the tribe Pandionis (see Grote, Part II. ch. xlviii).

24. 2. *τριήρεις τε μετ' αὐτῶν ἑκατὸν ἐξαιρέτους ἐποιήσαντο* κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἕκαστον τὰς βελτίστας.

Not of course the same hundred, which would soon have decayed; but a hundred every year, which was changed.

25. 3. *καὶ προσβοηθήσαντας τῶν ἐκ τῆς* κοίλης Ἤλιδος *τριακοσίους λογάδας καὶ τῶν αὐτόθεν ἐκ τῆς περιοικίδος Ἠλείων μάχῃ ἐκράτησαν.*

The words *τριακοσίους λογάδας* apply only to *τῶν ἐκ τῆς κοίλης* **25. 3.** *Ἤλιδος*. With *τῶν αὐτόθεν* supply *προσβοηθήσαντάς (τινας)*. The Elean perioeci in the neighbourhood would come indiscriminately at once, while the chosen troops would naturally be the first to arrive from a distance.

ἐπικαλέσαντες οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ πολέμου σφίσιν αἰτίους εἶναι. **27. 1.**

οὐχ ἥκιστα is to be taken with *αἰτίους εἶναι*, not with *ἐπικαλέσαντες*. Cp. i. 67 med. *Αἰγινῆταί τε φανερῶς μὲν οὐ πρεσβευόμενοι δεδιότες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, κρύφα δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα μετ' αὐτῶν ἐνῆγον τὸν πόλεμον.*

νουμηνίᾳ κατὰ σελήνην. **28.**

I. e. the first day of the lunar month, distinguished from the first day of the civil month, which did not always coincide with it. For the Attic months, though lunar, had to be adapted to a solar year.

ὁ δὲ Τήρης οὗτος ὁ τοῦ Σιτάλκου πατὴρ πρῶτος Ὀδρύσαις τὴν μεγάλην **29. 2.** *βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης ἐποίησε· πολὺ γὰρ μέρος καὶ αὐτόνομόν ἐστι Θρᾳκῶν.*

ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῆς ἄλλης Θρᾴκης. Not 1) 'was the first to establish the great kingdom of the Odrysae on a larger scale than the rest of Thrace,' for this would imply that there were several other kingdoms in Thrace, not indeed as great as the kingdom of the Odrysae, but comparable to it. The meaning is 2)* 'he extended the kingdom of the Odrysae over a great part of Thrace (*ἐπὶ πλεῖον*, not *ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον*), but not over the whole, for there are numerous tribes which remain independent.'

Τηρεῖ δὲ τῷ Πρόκνην τὴν Πανδίονος ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν σχόντι γυναῖκα προσήκει **29. 3.** *ὁ Τήρης οὗτος οὐδέν κ.τ.λ.*

Cp. Aristoph. Birds, 366,—

ΕΠΟΨ. *εἰπέ μοι τί μέλλετ', ὦ πάντων κάκιστα θηρίων,*
ἀπολέσαι, παθόντες οὐδέν, ἄνδρε, καὶ διασπάσαι
τῆς ἐμῆς γυναικὸς ὄντε ξυγγενῆ καὶ φυλέτα;

Τήρης δὲ οὔτε τὸ αὐτὸ ὄνομα ἔχων, βασιλεύς τε πρῶτος ἐν κράτει Ὀδρυσῶν **29. 3.** *ἐγένετο.*

For similar transitions from the participle to the finite verb cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 5.

29. 5. *ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Νυμφόδωρος τήν τε τοῦ Σιτάλκου ξυμμαχίαν ἐποίησε καὶ Σάδοκον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀθηναῖον, τόν τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης πόλεμον ὑπεδέχετο καταλύσειν· πείσειν γὰρ Σιτάλκην πέμψειν στρατιὰν Θρᾳκίαν Ἀθηναίοις ἱππέων τε καὶ πελταστῶν.*

A comic version of the same events is given by Aristophanes, Ach. 141 foll.,—

ΘΕΩ. *τοῦτον μετὰ Σιτάλκους ἔπινον τὸν χρόνον·*
καὶ δῆτα φιλαθήναιος ἦν ὑπερφυῶς,
ὑμῶν τ' ἐραστὴς ἦν ἀληθής, ὥστε καὶ
ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραφ', Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί.
ὁ δ' υἱός, ὃν Ἀθηναῖον ἐπεποιήμεθα,
ἦρα φαγεῖν ἀλλᾶντας ἐξ Ἀπατουρίων,
καὶ τὸν πατέρ' ἠντιβόλει βοηθεῖν τῇ πάτρᾳ·
ὁ δ' ὤμοσε σπένδων βοηθήσειν, ἔχων
στρατιὰν τοσαύτην ὥστ' Ἀθηναίους ἐρεῖν,
ὅσον τὸ χρῆμα παρνόπων προσέρχεται.
ΔΙ. *κάκιστ' ἀπολοίμην, εἴ τι τούτων πείθομαι*
ὧν εἶπας ἐνταυθὶ σύ, πλὴν τῶν παρνόπων.

30. 1. *οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιόν τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἱροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι.*

Contrast iv. 49 fin. When an Acarnanian and Athenian force had taken Anactorium, *ἐκπέμψαντες Κορινθίους αὐτοὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἰκήτορες ἀπὸ πάντων ἔσχον τὸ χωρίον.*

35. 1. *ἐμοὶ δ' ἄρκοῦν ἂν ἐδόκει εἶναι ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργῳ γενομένων ἔργῳ καὶ δηλοῦσθαι τὰς τιμάς, οἷα καὶ νῦν περὶ τὸν τάφον τόνδε δημοσίᾳ παρασκευασθέντα ὁρᾶτε, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρὶ πολλῶν ἀρετὰς κινδυνεύεσθαι εὖ τε καὶ χεῖρον εἰπόντι πιστευθῆναι.*

The construction of these words is uncertain. 1) *πιστευθῆναι* may be dependent on *κινδυνεύεσθαι*, 'that the virtues of many should run the risk of being believed (or not), as one man speaks well or ill.'

But it is simpler 2) to regard the clause *εὖ τε... πιστευθῆναι* as an epexegesis of *κινδυνεύεσθαι*, indicating the matter in which the risk consists, 'that the virtues of many should be imperilled on a single man touching their being believed in proportion as he speaks well or ill.'

It is possible also, 3) instead of supplying *τὰς ἀρετάς* as the subject of *πιστευθῆναι*, to take the verb as impersonal, 'that credence should be given.' 35. 1.

εἰπόντι 1) may be dat. after *πιστευθῆναι*, cp. i. 20 init. *τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ τοιαῦτα εὗρον, χαλεπὰ ὄντα παντὶ ἐξῆς τεκμηρίῳ πιστεῦσαι*, or 2) may agree with *ἐν ἑνὶ ἀνδρί*.

It may be remarked *a*) that, although such orations were frequently repeated in the course of the war (ii. 34 fin.), this is the only one which Thucydides has thought it worth while to preserve; and *b*) that, although the occasion may appear trivial, for the number of persons killed was probably very small, it is likely that in this single speech more speeches of Pericles than one may be summed up. *c*) The funeral oration is the panegyric over all who fell in the war, and is intended for the reader rather than for the hearer.

For other funeral speeches see a fragment of Gorgias, the Menexenus, attributed by Plato or his imitator to Aspasia, and the *ἐπιτάφιοι λόγοι* ascribed to Lysias and Demosthenes. The three last of these differ from the great oration of Pericles *a*) in their lengthy treatment of legendary and other history; *b*) in their rhetorical and exaggerated common-places; *c*) in their want of philosophical and political insight. There survives far more of the spirit of Thucydides in the remarkable though incomplete funeral oration of Hyperides. For the funeral oration of Gorgias see Dr. Thomson, Gorgias, App., and for those of Lysias and Hyperides see Mr. Jebb, Attic Orators. There is a fine fragment of another funeral speech of Pericles preserved by Plutarch, Pericles 8, *ὁ δὲ Στησίμβροτός φησιν, ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Σάμῳ τεθνηκότας ἐγκωμιάζων ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἀθανάτους ἔλεγε γεγονέναι καθάπερ τοὺς θεούς. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνους αὐτοὺς ὁρῶμεν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς τιμαῖς, ἃς ἔχουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ἃ παρέχουσιν, ἀθανάτους εἶναι τεκμαιρόμεθα. ταῦτ' οὖν ὑπάρχειν καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀποθανοῦσιν.*

χαλεπὸν γὰρ τὸ μετρίως εἰπεῖν, ἐν ᾧ μόλις καὶ ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας 35. 1.
βεβαιοῦται. ὅ τε γὰρ ξυνειδὼς καὶ εὔνους ἀκροατὴς τάχ' ἄν τι ἐνδεέστερος πρὸς ἃ βούλεταί τε καὶ ἐπίσταται νομίσειε δηλοῦσθαι, ὅ τε ἄπειρος ἔστιν ἃ καὶ πλεονάζεσθαι διὰ φθόνον, εἴ τι ὑπὲρ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φύσιν ἀκούοι.

1)* 'It is difficult to avoid saying too little or too much, and if

35. 1. you do avoid it (ἐν ᾧ), you will hardly be thought to be speaking the truth. For the friend will think that you are saying too little, and the enemy that you are saying too much.' μόλις answers to χαλεπόν. καί after ἐν ᾧ emphasizes the whole clause, and represents the further step in the argument—'it is difficult to observe moderation, and there is a further difficulty, that you are not believed if you do.'

Or 2) 'It is difficult to say neither too little nor too much: and herein lies also the difficulty of creating the impression of truthfulness.' καί, which is to be taken with ἡ δόκησις τῆς ἀληθείας βεβαιοῦται, imperfectly contrasts the objective with the subjective—the difficulty felt by the hearer with that felt by the speaker, or the effect on the mind of the hearer with the words spoken.

Or 3) ἐν ᾧ may mean 'in a case where.' 'It is difficult to speak with exact propriety in a case where it is so difficult to produce the impression of truth.' καί expresses emphatically the logical connection between the two clauses, and is better given in English by inverting them. 'For where it is hard to produce the impression of truth, there too it is difficult to speak with exact propriety.' (Cp. note on iv. 62. 4.)

According to 1) the words='it is difficult, and there is a further difficulty.' ἐν ᾧ=ἐν τῷ μετρίως εἰπεῖν.

According to 2) 'it is difficult, and the difficulty lies in this.' ἐν ᾧ =ἐν τῷ χαλεπὸν εἶναι μετρίως εἰπεῖν.

According to 3) 'it is difficult too, in a case in which it is hard.' ἐν ᾧ=ἐν τούτῳ ἐν ᾧ.

According to any of these explanations, καί may also be joined with ἡ δόκησις, in the sense of 'even.' Either 1) 'it is hard to give even the impression of truth,' in other words, 'even the simplest condition of oratory is not fulfilled;' or 2) 'you do not produce even the appearance, to say nothing of the conviction, of truth.'

35. 2. μέχρι γὰρ τοῦδε ἀνεκτοὶ οἱ ἔπαινοί εἰσι περὶ ἑτέρων λεγόμενοι, ἐς ὅσον ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος οἴηται ἱκανὸς εἶναι δρᾶσαί τι ὧν ἤκουσε. τῷ δ' ὑπερβάλλοντι αὐτῶν φθονοῦντες ἤδη καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν.

Such a remark, however slight may be the foundation for it, is not unnatural, when an orator is dwelling on the difficulties of the

task before him. Nor would it be ungrateful to the audience (see Col. Mure, vol. v. p. 170), who would be willing enough to believe at such a time that they could not do justice to the dead, and might even reproach themselves with a want of generosity towards them. **35. 2.**

δίκαιον γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ πρέπον δὲ ἅμα ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην τῆς μνήμης δίδοσθαι. **36. 1.**

For such expressions, which are frequent in Thucydides, see note on i. 9. 3.

τὴν γὰρ χώραν ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν. **36. 1.**

διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων may be taken either with *ἀεὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οἰκοῦντες* or with *παρέδοσαν*, or with both.

It is doubtful whether *διαδοχῇ* is in sense neuter, 'by a succession of posterity,' i. e. 'by successive generations;' or active, equivalent to *τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων διαδεχομένων (τὴν χώραν)*.

τὰ δὲ πλείω αὐτῆς αὐτοὶ ἡμεῖς οἵδε, οἱ νῦν ἔτι ὄντες μάλιστα ἐν τῇ καθεστηκυίᾳ ἡλικίᾳ, ἐπηυξήσαμεν. **36. 3.**

τὰ δὲ πλείω, either 1)* the greater part of our power; or 2) that which goes beyond what we have received.

ἐπηυξήσαμεν refers to the improvement and consolidation, not to the extension, of the Athenian empire, of which the limits, as Thucydides implies in the previous sentence (*κτησάμενοι γὰρ πρὸς οἷς ἐδέξαντο ὅσην ἔχομεν ἀρχὴν οὐκ ἀπόνως ἡμῖν τοῖς νῦν προσκατέλιπον*), had been fixed in the preceding generation. Cp. i. 118 init. *ταῦτα δὲ ξύμπαντα... ἐγένετο ἐν ἔτεσι πεντήκοντα μάλιστα μεταξὺ τῆς Ξέρξου ἀναχωρήσεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου· ἐν οἷς Ἀθηναῖοι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐγκρατεστέραν κατεστήσαντο, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐχώρησαν δυνάμεως.*

ἀπὸ δὲ οἵας τε ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἤλθομεν ἐπ' αὐτά, καὶ μεθ' οἵας πολιτείας καὶ τρόπων ἐξ οἵων μεγάλα ἐγένετο κ.τ.λ. **36. 4.**

If *ἦλθον*, the reading of many good MSS. (not *ἤλθομεν*), be adopted, it must be referred to *οἱ πατέρες*, and the distinction implied between the work of the preceding and that of the present generation is the same as that drawn in i. 89 init. *οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι τρόπῳ τοιῷδε ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὰ πράγματα, ἐν οἷς ηὐξήθησαν.*

37. 1. καὶ ὄνομα μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους ἀλλ' ἐς πλείονας οἰκεῖν δημοκρατία κέκληται, μέτεστι δὲ κατὰ μὲν τοὺς νόμους πρὸς τὰ ἴδια διάφορα πᾶσι τὸ ἴσον, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀξίωσιν, ὡς ἕκαστος ἔν τῳ εὐδοκιμεῖ, οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους τὸ πλεῖον ἐς τὰ κοινὰ ἢ ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς προτιμᾶται.

ἐς ὀλίγους . . . οἰκεῖν = διοικεῖσθαι ὥστε ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς διοικοῦντας αὐτήν: cp. viii. 53 fin. ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν, where the context clearly shows that ἐς ὀλίγους cannot mean, as might be supposed, 'for the advantage of a minority.'

μέτεστι δέ κ.τ.λ. 'though we bear the name of democracy, this name is an inadequate description of the Athenian commonwealth. For before the law all men (including the ὀλίγοι) are equal, while at the same time there is an aristocracy of merit at the service of the state.'

ἀπὸ μέρους, 1)* 'because of the part of the state to which he belongs,' i.e. because he belongs to a privileged class. Cp. vi. 39 init. ἐγὼ δέ φημι πρῶτα μὲν δῆμον ξύμπαν ὠνομάσθαι, ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ μέρος, where, as in this passage, the word μέρος is used invidiously. Or, more simply, 2) οὐκ ἀπὸ μέρους, 'not partially,' or 'in a spirit of partiality.' But thus the opposition between ἀπὸ μέρους and ἀπὸ ἀρετῆς becomes merely a grammatical form.

37. 2. οὐδὲ ἀζημίους μὲν λυπηρὰς δὲ τῇ ὄψει ἀχθηδόνας προστιθέμενοι.

τῇ ὄψει is best taken as dative after προστιθέμενοι. ἀχθηδών commonly means a burden or offence; here 'looks expressive of discontent or annoyance.'

προστιθέμενοι, lit. 'adding to our own looks,' i.e. wearing on our faces.

39. 2. οὔτε γὰρ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καθ' ἑκάστους, μετὰ πάντων δὲ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἡμῶν στρατεύουσιν.

1)* 'For the Lacedaemonians do not come singly, but with their whole confederacy into our country;' or 2) taking the Lacedaemonians to represent the whole Peloponnesian confederacy of which καθ' ἑκάστους describes the parts: (cp. ii. 12. med. Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξεστρατευμένων.) 'For the Peloponnesians do not come with the force of one of their states only, etc.' The former agrees better with the words μετὰ πάντων; the latter with καθ' ἑκάστους. Poppo

would change the text without MS. authority into *καθ' ἑαυτούς*. But the opposition of *καθ' ἑαυτούς* to *μετὰ πάντων* is far less idiomatic and familiar than the reading of the MSS. 39. 2.

καίτοι εἰ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ μᾶλλον ἢ πόνων μελέτῃ, καὶ μὴ μετὰ νόμων τὸ πλεῖον ἢ τρόπων ἀνδρίας ἐθέλοιμεν κινδυνεύειν, περιγίγνεται ἡμῖν τοῖς τε μέλλουσιν ἀλγεινοῖς μὴ προκάμνειν, καὶ ἐς αὐτὰ ἐλθοῦσι μὴ ἀτολμοτέρους τῶν ἀεὶ μοχθούντων φαίνεσθαι, καὶ ἔν τε τούτοις τὴν πόλιν ἀξίαν εἶναι θαυμάζεσθαι 39. 4. 40. 1. *καὶ ἔτι ἐν ἄλλοις.*

καίτοι conveys no opposition to the preceding words, but only repeats the argument and introduces the conclusion. Cp. iii. 39. 2 and note. It refers back to the sentence *καὶ ἐν ταῖς παιδείαις οἱ μέν κ.τ.λ.* with a slighter reference to the section beginning *τεκμήριον δέ· οὔτε γάρ κ.τ.λ.* 'But surely if, enjoying this entire freedom of life, we divided are a match for our enemies united, it is a clear gain to us that we do not become like Sparta a merely military city, and have time to attain greatness of another sort' (*ἐν ἄλλοις*, beginning of ch. 40). Such is the general drift of the passage.

ἐθέλοιμεν is the reading of all but a few MSS., not *ἐθέλομεν*. The hypothesis, which is also the actual fact, is presented with a sort of Greek irony, in a more subjective and remote form, 'if it be a thing conceivable that we prefer.' Cp. note on i. 120. 3.

φιλοκαλοῦμεν γὰρ μετ' εὐτελείας καὶ φιλοσοφοῦμεν ἄνευ μαλακίας. 40. 1.

μετ' εὐτελείας, 'with economy,' which is a mark of simplicity and good taste. The meaning 'simplicity' is inferred rather than expressed in the word *εὐτέλεια*.

πλούτῳ τε ἔργου μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἢ λόγου κόμπῳ χρώμεθα, καὶ τὸ πένεσθαι 40. 1. *οὐχ ὁμολογεῖν τινὶ αἰσχρόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ διαφεύγειν ἔργῳ αἴσχιον.*

1)* *ἔργου καιρῷ* and *λόγου κόμπῳ*, if grammatically analysed, are in different constructions (cp. note on i. 71. 1), 'in the season of action,' and 'as a boast of words,' *κόμπῳ* being simply in apposition with *πλούτῳ*.

Or 2) *ἔργου καίρῳ* may mean 'as an opportunity for action.'

αἴσχιον, i. e. *αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον*, not 'more disgraceful than poverty,' which the speaker denies to be a disgrace, but 'disgraceful rather

40. 1. than poverty.' For a similar resolution of the comparative cp. iii. 63 init. *ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλόν τε ἠδικήκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ζημίας, πειρασόμεθα ἀποφαίνειν.* iv. 61 med. *καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις μέμφομαι ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπακούειν ἑτοιμοτέροις οὖσιν.* viii. 27 med. *οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους ναυτικῷ μετὰ καιροῦ ὑποχωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ὀτουοῦν τρόπου αἴσχιον ξυμβήσεσθαι ἢν ἡσσηθῶσιν.*

40. 2. *μόνοι γὰρ τόν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγμονα ἀλλ' ἀχρεῖον νομίζομεν.*

Compare Burke, Reflections on the Revolution in France: 'I am sure that the principles predominant in France extend to many persons and descriptions of persons in all countries, who think their innoxious indolence their security. This kind of innocence in proprietors may be argued into inutility, and inutility into an unfitness for their estates.'

40. 2. *καὶ αὐτοὶ ἤτοι κρίνομέν γε ἢ ἐνθυμούμεθα ὀρθῶς τὰ πράγματα.*

As elsewhere, *γέ* emphasizes the former of the two alternatives.

Compare vi. 38 init. *οὓς ἐγὼ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀλλ' ἀεὶ ἐπίσταμαι ἤτοι λόγοις γε τοιοῖσδε καὶ ἔτι τούτων κακουργοτέροις ἢ ἔργοις βουλομένους, καταπλήξαντας τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος, αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἄρχειν.* Xen. Cyr. iv. 5. 22, *ἡμεῖς τε, ὦ Πέρσαι, ἐπεὶ προσδεχόμεθα πολεμίους ἤτοι μαχομένους γε ἢ πεισομένους παρέσεσθαι, ταχθῶμεν ὡς κάλλιστα.*

40. 3. *διαφερόντως γὰρ δὴ καὶ τόδε ἔχομεν, ὥστε τολμᾶν τε οἱ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα, καὶ περὶ ὧν ἐπιχειρήσομεν ἐκλογίζεσθαι, ὃ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀμαθία μὲν θράσος, λογισμὸς δὲ ὄκνον φέρει.*

ὅ, scilicet *τὸ ἐκλογίζεσθαι*, was originally intended for the nom. to *φέρει*, but the clause has been expanded into an antithesis which breaks up the grammatical construction.

40. 4. *βεβαιότερος δὲ ὁ δράσας τὴν χάριν, ὥστε ὀφειλομένην δι' εὐνοίας ᾧ δέδωκε σώζειν.*

ὥστε here expresses purpose as well as result; 'his object being to keep alive the memory of the kindness which he has done.' *δι' εὐνοίας* is best taken with *σώζειν*, the antecedent to *ᾧ δέδωκε* being *ἐκείνῳ*, or *εἰς ἐκεῖνον*, or the objective genitive *ἐκείνου* following *εὐνοίας*.

Contrast Aristot. N. E. ix. 7. 2, *οἱ εὖ πεποιηκότες φιλοῦσι καὶ*

ἀγαπῶσι τοὺς εὖ πεπονθότας κἂν μηδὲν ὦσι χρήσιμοι, μηδ' εἰ ὕστερον γένοιντ' ἄν. 40. 4.

πανταχοῦ δὲ μνημεῖα κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν αἴδια ξυγκατοικίσαντες. 41. 4.

κακῶν τε κἀγαθῶν, lit. 'of the harm and of the good which we have done.' For κακῶν cp. supra § 3, ὑφ' οἵων κακοπαθεῖ.

ξυγκατοικίσαντες, either 1) 'planting together,' i. e. as the act of a whole people, or 2) 'planting compactly or firmly;' compare the use of σύν in the verbs συγκαθίημι, συγκατασκευάζω, συλλαμβάνω, συγγράφω, συγκλείω, etc. where it adds strength to the meaning of a word already denoting a complex action; or 3), 'establishing together with this,' i. e. 'together with our empire,' which has been described in the preceding sentence.

καὶ εἴρηται αὐτῆς τὰ μέγιστα· ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα, αἱ τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρεταὶ ἐκόσμησαν. 42. 2.

ἃ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ὕμνησα κ.τ.λ. 1) Supply τούτοις with ἐκόσμησαν, scil. τὴν πόλιν. Or 2)* ἃ γάρ, = ταῦτα γὰρ ἅ, is an accusativus pendens. The words that follow, αἱ τῶνδε κ.τ.λ., really convey the sense τούτους ὕμνησα, being a condensed expression for ὕμνησα τὰς τῶνδε καὶ τῶν τοιῶνδε ἀρετάς, αἳ ἐκόσμησαν αὐτήν, 'When I praised the city I was really praising these men, for their virtues were her virtues.' Compare Hyper. Epitaph. col. 7. 15, συμβαίνει τὸν Λεωσθένους ἔπαινον ἐπὶ ταῖς μάχαις ἐγκώμιον καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν εἶναι.

δοκεῖ δέ μοι δηλοῦν ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν πρώτη τε μηνύουσα καὶ τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή. 42. 2.

ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν has been translated 'manly worth;' under the idea that the rendering 'a man's worth' required the article before one or both substantives. But the words are here used in an abstract sense, not 'the virtue of a man,' but 'virtue in a man.' Although the transition from the general ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν to the particular ἡ νῦν τῶνδε καταστροφή is somewhat awkward, the meaning thus given to ἀνδρὸς ἀρετήν is better Greek, and the whole reflection is of a finer cast.

1) τέ and καί in this sentence are not perfectly accurate, because the two clauses are not coextensive, the first referring only to some,

42. 2. the second to all, who had fallen. The words 'both first indicating and finally confirming it,' are equivalent to 'it may be in some cases the first indication, but is in all the final seal.' *πρώτη τε μηνύουσα* is further explained by *τοῖς τἆλλα χείροσι*.

The words have been translated, not so well, 2) 'both when it first indicates and when it finally confirms,' i. e. 'in some cases it is the first indication, and in others the final seal.'

But it may be objected *a*) that the sense is interrupted, for then *τοῖς τἆλλα χείροσι* is connected only with *πρώτη μηνύουσα*, not also with *τελευταία βεβαιοῦσα*. And *b*) that *τέ, καί* more naturally connect two aspects of the same action than two actions distributed among different classes of persons.

42. 3. *καὶ γὰρ τοῖς τἆλλα χείροσι δίκαιον τὴν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος ἀνδραγαθίαν προτίθεσθαι· ἀγαθῷ γὰρ κακὸν ἀφανίσαντες κοινῶς μᾶλλον ὠφέλησαν ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἔβλαψαν.*

προτίθεσθαι may be middle or passive. In either case the sense is the same, 'they may justly put it forward as a plea,' or 'the plea may justly be put forward for them.' The other explanation, 'it is just that they should show bravery,' gives a false sentiment. For then the dead would be spoken of as having done no more than they were bound to do, whereas the argument is that by a work of supererogation they have cancelled their faults.

42. 4. *τὴν δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων τιμωρίαν ποθεινοτέραν αὐτῶν λαβόντες καὶ κινδύνων ἅμα τόνδε κάλλιστον νομίσαντες ἐβουλήθησαν μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι.*

μετ' αὐτοῦ, scil. *τοῦ κινδύνου· τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι* is subordinate to *τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι*. 'They wished to desire these things when they had already avenged themselves on their enemies, and not till then.'

42. 4. *ἐλπίδι μὲν τὸ ἀφανὲς τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐπιτρέψαντες, ἔργῳ δὲ περὶ τοῦ ἤδη ὁρωμένου σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἀξιοῦντες πεποιθέναι· καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγησάμενοι ἢ τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι, τὸ μὲν αἰσχρὸν τοῦ λόγου ἔφυγον, τὸ δ' ἔργον τῷ σώματι ὑπέμειναν, καὶ δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ τύχης ἅμα ἀκμῇ τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους ἀπηλλάγησαν.*

ἐν αὐτῷ, either *ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ*, or better *ἐν τῷ ἤδη ὁρωμένῳ*, which more

distinctly expresses the idea of 'battle;' their conduct in the hour of conflict answers to the resolution (*ἀξιοῦντες*) which they formed in the moment preceding it. 42. 4.

ἡγησάμενοι μᾶλλον, 1) is commonly taken in a pregnant sense, as if *δεῖν* were understood: 'thinking it right rather.' Cp. Xen. Hell. v. 1. 15, *ἢν δὲ ἀνεχόμενόν με ὁρᾶτε καὶ ψύχῃ καὶ θάλπῃ καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν, οἴεσθε καὶ ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πάντα καρτερεῖν.* Plato, Prot. 346 B, *πολλάκις δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ Σιμωνίδης ἠγήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς ἢ τύραννον ἢ ἄλλον τινα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπαινέσαι καὶ ἐγκωμιάσαι.* But the presence of the article before *ἀμύνεσθαι* creates a difficulty, for although we might say *οἴεσθε ἀμύνεσθαι* for *οἴεσθε δεῖν ἀμύνεσθαι*, we could hardly say *οἴεσθε τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι* or *οἴεσθε δεῖν τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι*.

2) The article *a*) may be partly explained as emphasizing the opposition between the two clauses *τὸ ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ παθεῖν* and *τὸ ἐνδόντες σώζεσθαι*. Or *b*) it may have arisen from dittography *αὐτῷτο*. Cases in which the article is used with the infinitive after *λέγειν, πείθειν*, etc., or expressions like *τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν*, ii. 53 med. (Jelf, § 670. 1) are not sufficiently parallel.

δι' ἐλαχίστου καιροῦ, not *ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ καιρῷ*, (*διά*, 'after,' or 'after the interval of,') because the moment of their death is thought of as a definite though swiftly passing interval, not as a mere point of time. *τύχης* may be taken either 1) with *καιροῦ*, or 2)* with *ἀκμῇ*, *τῆς δόξης μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ δέους* going in the former case with *ἅμα ἀκμῇ*, in the latter with *ἀπηλλάγησαν*.

καὶ ὁπότε καὶ πεῖρά του σφαλείησαν, οὔκουν καὶ τὴν πόλιν γε τῆς σφετέρας 43. 1.
ἀρετῆς ἀξιοῦντες στερίσκειν, κάλλιστον δὲ ἔρανον αὐτῇ προϊέμενοι. κοινῇ 2.
γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγήρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον καὶ τὸν τάφον ἐπισημότατον κ.τ.λ.

ἔρανος, lit. a contribution to a friendly society. *γάρ* justifies the metaphor implied in *ἔρανος*. The antithesis, which is poor enough, seems to be as follows. They die all together and so make a contribution to the state in common; but they receive back individually the meed of honour which repays them; just as in an *ἔρανος* the contribution is made by all, and paid into a common stock, but the benefit is returned to each individual.

43. 2. Compare the words at the end of the chapter, *ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης καὶ κοινῆς ἐλπίδος ἅμα γιγνόμενος ἀναίσθητος θάνατος.* The pain of their death is diminished by being shared with others, but their glory suffers no such diminution.

43. 6. *ἀλγεινοτέρα γὰρ ἀνδρί γε φρόνημα ἔχοντι ἡ [ἐν τῷ] μετὰ τοῦ μαλακισθῆναι κάκωσις ἢ ὁ μετὰ ῥώμης κ.τ.λ.*

ἐν τῷ is probably a gloss explaining *μετὰ τοῦ*, which has been inserted in the text; as in i. 6 fin. *μετὰ τοῦ γυμνάζεσθαι* is explained by the Scholiast *ἐν τῷ γυμνάζεσθαι*. This supposition is favoured by the varying position of the words, which in some MSS. are placed after, and not before, *μετὰ τοῦ*. They may therefore be omitted.

κάκωσις, as the context shows, is not the disgrace of cowardice, but the disaster which may fall upon the prosperous, and which is aggravated by the disgrace of cowardice.

44. 1. *τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἳ ἂν τῆς εὐπρεπεστάτης λάχωσιν, ὥσπερ οἵδε μὲν νῦν τελευτῆς, ὑμεῖς δὲ λύπης, καὶ οἷς ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε ὁ βίος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι ξυνεμετρήθη.*

τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἳ = 1) *τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς ἐκείνων εἶναι οἵ*, or 2) *εὐτυχεῖς δὲ οἵ*, as in vi. 14 fin. *τὸ καλῶς δ' ἄρξαι τοῦτ' εἶναι, ὃς ἂν τὴν πατρίδα ὠφελήσῃ τὰ πλεῖστα.*

ξυν-, like *ὁμοίως*, expresses the coincidence of the end of their happiness with the end of their lives. But there is a flaw in the language which is partly concealed by the parallelism of the infinitives *ἐνευδαιμονῆσαί τε καὶ ἐντελευτῆσαι*. For these words imply, not that the end of their happiness and the end of their lives, but that their happiness itself, and the end of their lives, coincide. 'To whom their life has been meted out to be happy in and to die in alike,' i. e. 'Whose happiness was commensurate with their life, and was only ended by their death.' Compare

'Like Charicles
Who living to a hundred years of age
Free from the least disease, fearing a sickness,
To kill it, killed himself, and made his death
The period of his health.'

The Twins, a Comedy, W. Rider, 1665 (Lamb's English Dra- 44. 1.
matic Poems, p. 519).

Poppo would read *εὖ τελευτῆσαι*, or with one, not first-rate, MS. *τελευτῆσαι*.

χαλεπὸν μὲν οὖν οἶδα πείθειν ὄν, ὧν καὶ πολλάκις ἔξετε ὑπομνήματα ἐν 44. 2.
ἄλλων εὐτυχίαις.

ὧν, scil. *περὶ τούτων ὧν*. The words may be either masculine or neuter.

οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἴσον τι ἢ δίκαιον βουλεύεσθαι οἱ ἂν μὴ καὶ παῖδας ἐκ τοῦ 44. 3.
ὁμοίου παραβαλλόμενοι κινδυνεύωσιν.

Compare for the idea i. 91 fin. *οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τ' εἶναι μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς ὁμοῖόν τι ἢ ἴσον ἐς τὸ κοινὸν βουλεύεσθαι.*

φθόνος γὰρ τοῖς ζῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐμποδὼν ἀναντα- 45. 1.
γωνίστῳ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται.

'The living are exposed to jealousy because they have rivals;' lit. 'in respect of the rivalry which exists.' The meaning is, not that the living envy, but that they are envied. This is proved by the corresponding clause, 'the dead are not envied.' Yet at the beginning of the speech Pericles, perhaps for the sake of a rhetorical effect, implies that envy extends to the dead.

τῆς τε γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι ὑμῖν μεγάλη 45. 2.
ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ.

μὴ χείροσι γενέσθαι is an expression of pity, not of contempt. 'Women are naturally prone to tears, but they must not fall below their ordinary nature,' i. e. they must not give way more than they an help.

Others suppose *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως* to include all feminine virtue, implying the true womanly nature in the higher sense. As Arnold says, 'By *τῆς ὑπαρχούσης φύσεως* it seems to be implied that women were not called upon to be for ever striving to surpass one another and themselves by some extraordinary display of heroism; it was their praise rather to live up to the natural

45. 2. excellence of their sex, its modesty and affectionateness, than to aspire to go beyond it.' But this, which is a modern rather than an ancient strain of reflection, is unsuited to the occasion; and it is doubtful whether *ὑπάρχουσα φύσις* will bear this higher sense. Cp. iii. 74 init. *αἱ γυναῖκες παρὰ φύσιν ὑπομένουσαι τὸν θόρυβον.* In the words *μὴ χείροσι* no censure is necessarily implied. Cp. ii. 62 med. *τῶν πατέρων μὴ χείρους φανῆναι.*

46. 2. *νῦν δὲ ἀπολοφυράμενοι ὃν προσήκει ἕκαστος, ἀποχωρεῖτε.*

ἀπολοφυράμενοι, either 'when you have duly lamented,' or 'now that you have duly lamented.'

47. 4. *οὔτε γὰρ ἰατροὶ ἤρκουν τὸ πρῶτον θεραπεύοντες ἀγνοίᾳ, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ μάλιστα ἔθνησκον, ὅσῳ καὶ μάλιστα προσήεσαν, οὔτε ἄλλη ἀνθρωπεία τέχνη οὐδεμία.*

Either 1)* the physicians were of no avail, 'although at first in their ignorance they attempted to treat the disease,' when no treatment could be of any use; or 2) they were of no avail, 'for at first they treated the disorder in ignorance,' implying that they afterwards treated it with more knowledge, and with some, but not with any great success. Either explanation may find a degree of support from ii. 51, where we read 1) *πάντα ξυνήρει καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ ἰαμα ὡς θεραπευόμενα*: and on the other hand 2) *ἔν τε οὐδὲ ἓν κατέστη* support *εἰπεῖν ὅ τι χρὴ προσφέροντας ὠφελεῖν· τὸ γάρ τῳ ξυνενεγκὸν ἄλλον τοῦτο ἔβλαπτε*, as though remedies might do good as well as harm.

For the Plague see Appendix to Notes on Book ii.

48. 3. *λεγέτω μὲν οὖν περὶ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἕκαστος γιγνώσκει καὶ ἰατρὸς καὶ ἰδιώτης, ἀφ' ὅτου εἰκὸς ἦν γενέσθαι αὐτό, καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἅστινας νομίζει τοσαύτης μεταβολῆς ἱκανὰς εἶναι δύναμιν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι σχεῖν.*

μεταβολῆς, gen. after *τὰς αἰτίας*, or rather after the relative *ἅστινας*, scil. *αἰτίας*. This sentence is pleonastic. First there is a resumption of *μεταβολῆς* in *ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι*. Then the words *ἱκανὰς εἶναι* are supplemented by *δύναμιν σχεῖν*, which have nearly the same meaning. Instead of saying *ἱκανὰς εἶναι ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι* or *δύναμιν σχεῖν ἐς τὸ μεταστῆσαι*, either of which would have been sufficient. Thucydides combines the two expressions in a cumbrous though

not ungrammatical phrase, thus emphasizing his opinion of the 48. 3.
insufficiency of the causes commonly assigned to the plague. 'They were inadequate; they could never have produced such a convulsion of nature.'

Poppo distinguishes between *μεταβολή* and *μεταστῆσαι* on the strength of a passage in vi. 20 med. *οὔτε δεομένας* **μεταβολῆς** *ἧς ἂν ἐκ βιαίου τις δουλείας ἄσμενος ἐς ῥᾴω μετάστασιν χωροίη*, where *μεταβολή*=process of change, *μετάστασις*=the state which follows it. But the sense of permanent condition in the passage quoted belongs to the substantive *μετάστασις*, and is not necessarily contained in *μεταστῆσαι*, the aorist infinitive of the verb, which we have here.

καὶ ὁπότε ἐς τὴν καρδίαν στηρίξαι, ἀνέστρεφέ τε αὐτήν, καὶ ἀποκαθάρσεις 49. 3.
χολῆς *πᾶσαι, ὅσαι ὑπὸ ἰατρῶν ὠνομασμέναι εἰσίν, ἐπῆσαν, καὶ αὗται μετὰ ταλαιπωρίας μεγάλης. λύγξ τε τοῖς πλείοσιν ἐνέπεσε κενή, σπασμὸν* 4.
ἐνδιδοῦσα ἰσχυρόν, τοῖς μὲν μετὰ ταῦτα **λωφήσαντα**, *τοῖς δὲ καὶ πολλῷ ὕστερον.*

1)* *μετὰ ταῦτα* λωφήσαντα may be taken together. 'There followed an ineffectual retching, causing violent convulsions; in some cases setting in as soon as the evacuations of bile had abated, while in other cases there might be a considerable interval,' during which the other characteristics of the disease must be supposed to have taken their course. *μετὰ ταῦτα* refers to the *ἀποκαθάρσεις χολῆς* described in the previous sentence.

Or 2) λωφήσαντα may be joined with *σπασμόν*, and *μετὰ ταῦτα* referred to *ἀποκαθάρσεις* or *λύγξ κενή*, or both. The meaning will then be, not that the convulsions occurred, but that they ceased, in some cases immediately, in others a considerable time, after the cessation of the evacuations or of the spasmodic retching. But *a*) we should then require some word like *εὐθύς* or *αὐτίκα* with *μετὰ ταῦτα* in order to point the opposition to *πολλῷ ὕστερον*, and *b*) *καί* in the second clause agrees better with the positive notion contained in *ἐνέπεσε* and *ἐνδιδοῦσα* than with the negative notion of mere cessation in λωφήσαντα.

For the use of the aorist λωφήσαντα involved in 2) cp. note on iv. 112. 1.

49. 5. *τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς οὕτως ἐκαίετο ὥστε μήτε τῶν πάνυ λεπτῶν ἱματίων καὶ σινδόνων τὰς ἐπιβολὰς μήτ' ἄλλο τι ἢ γυμνὸν ἀνέχεσθαι.*

γυμνόν, scil. *τινά* or *ὄντα τινά*. *γυμνοί*, the reading of the Laurentian and a few other MSS., may be explained as though *οὕτως ἐκαίοντο οἱ νοσοῦντες* had preceded.

49. 6. *καὶ τὸ σῶμα, ὅσονπερ χρόνον καὶ ἡ νόσος ἀκμάζοι, οὐκ ἐμαραίνετο, ἀλλ' ἀντεῖχε παρὰ δόξαν τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ· ὥστε ἢ διεφθείροντο οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐναταῖοι καὶ ἑβδομαῖοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐντὸς καύματος, ἔτι ἔχοντές τι δυνάμεως, ἢ εἰ διαφύγοιεν, ἐπικατιόντος τοῦ νοσήματος ἐς τὴν κοιλίαν, καὶ ἑλκώσεώς τε αὐτῇ ἰσχυρᾶς ἐγγιγνομένης, καὶ διαῤῥοίας ἅμα ἀκράτου ἐπιπιπτούσης, οἱ πολλοὶ ὕστερον δι' αὐτὴν ἀσθενείᾳ ἀπεφθείροντο.*

The word *ὥστε* is connected more closely with the first of the two alternatives which follow, *ἢ διεφθείροντο . . . τι δυνάμεως*, than with the second. 'The strength of the patients held out, so that most of them died not of weakness, but of internal fever. But if they died of weakness, they died at a later stage, and in consequence of new disorders.' *οἱ πλεῖστοι* contrasts those who died in the first stage with those who survived it: *οἱ πολλοὶ* contrasts those who died in the second stage with those who survived altogether.

ἀκράτου, either 1)* 'violent,' or 2) a medical term, explained by Galen, *ἀκρήτους ὑποχωρήσεις εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν ὁ Ἱπποκράτης τὰς ἀμίκτους ὑγρότητος ὑδατώδους, αὐτὸν μόνον ἔχουσας εἰλικρινῆ ὑπερχόμενον κάτω χυμόν, εἴτε τὸν τῆς ξανθῆς χολῆς, εἴτε τὸν τῆς μελαίνης* (In Hippocr. Aph. vii. Kühn, vol. xviii. 1. p. 122.)

51. 1. *τὸ μὲν οὖν νόσημα πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα παραλιπόντι ἀτοπίας . . . τοιοῦτον ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶν τὴν ἰδέαν.*

παραλιπόντι is dative of reference after *τοιοῦτον ἦν*, similar to the dative after *δοκεῖν, φαίνεσθαι*, etc. Cp. ii. 96 init. (*ἀνίστησι*) *τοὺς ὑπερβάντι Αἶμον Γέτας.*

51. 1. *καὶ ἄλλο παρελύπει κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον οὐδὲν τῶν εἰωθότων· ὃ δὲ καὶ γένοιτο ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα.*

These words have been quoted as a repetition of the passage in ii. 49 init. *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔτος, ὡς ὡμολογεῖτο, ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα δὴ ἐκεῖνο ἄνοσον ἐς τὰς ἄλλας ἀσθενείας ἐτύγχανεν ὄν· εἰ δέ τις καὶ προέκαμνέ τι, ἐς*

τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεκρίθη. But there Thucydides is speaking of disorders which preceded the plague, here of disorders which accompanied it. Obs. κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον in the one case; προέκαμέ τι in the other. 51. 1.

Yet there is a slight contradiction, for in the first passage he seems to imply that all diseases were merged in the plague; here he speaks of some which sprang up during the continuance of the plague.

σῶμά τε αὔταρκες ὂν οὐδὲν διεφάνη πρὸς αὐτὸ ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, ἀλλὰ πάντα ξυνήρει, καὶ τὰ πάσῃ διαίτῃ θεραπευόμενα. 51. 3.

διεφάνη, 'proved to be,' δια-=' as distinguished from others.' πρὸς αὐτό, scil. τὸ νόσημα, is to be taken with αὔταρκες. After speaking of the inutility *a*) of care, *b*) of medical aid, Thucydides goes on to speak *c*) of the failure of the natural constitution, whether strong or weak, to resist the disease. ἰσχύος πέρι ἢ ἀσθενείας, 'in respect of strength or weakness.' Cp. Southey's Life of Nelson, quoted by Arnold, 'All the prevailing disorders have attacked me,' said Nelson, writing from Corsica in 1794, 'but I have not strength enough for them to fasten on.'

δεινότατον δὲ παντὸς ἦν τοῦ κακοῦ ἥ τε ἀθυμία, ὁπότε τις αἴσθοιτο κάμνων (πρὸς γὰρ τὸ ἀνέλπιστον εὐθὺς τραπόμενοι τῇ γνώμῃ πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον), καὶ ὅτι ἕτερος ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπιμπλάμενοι ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα ἔθνησκον. 51. 4.

πολλῷ μᾶλλον 1) may refer to διεφθείροντο implied in προΐεντο σφᾶς αὐτούς. 'They hastened their own death by giving themselves up to despair.' Or 2)* the words may imply that their death was due more to the weakness of their own minds than to the plague. 'They let themselves down and sank more rapidly' than they would have done through the mere force of the disease. Or 3) 'they gave themselves up far more' when they felt the disease coming, though they had been disposed to do so before. Or again 4) πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο καὶ οὐκ ἀντεῖχον may be equivalent to πολλῷ μᾶλλον προΐεντο ἢ ἀντεῖχον: 'when they should have resolved to live, they were much more inclined to throw away their lives in despair.'

ὥσπερ τὰ πρόβατα, sc. ἀναπίμπλαται, though not ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας.

51. 4. 5. καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον φθόρον τοῦτο ἐνεποίει. εἴτε γὰρ μὴ θέλοιεν δεδιότες ἀλλήλοις προσιέναι, ἀπώλλυντο ἐρῆμοι, καὶ οἰκίαι πολλαὶ ἐκενώθησαν ἀπορίᾳ τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος· εἴτε προσίοιεν, διεφθείροντο, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι· αἰσχύνῃ γὰρ ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, ἐσιόντες παρὰ φίλους· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων τελευτῶντες καὶ οἱ οἰκεῖοι ἐξέκαμνον, ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ κακοῦ νικώμενοι.

τοῦτο, scil. τὸ ἕτερον ἀφ' ἑτέρου θεραπείας ἀναπίμπλασθαι. εἴτε γάρ—εἴτε—. Either through the terror of the infection the sick were left to die uncared for, or those who attended them caught the disease: thus, indirectly by the neglect of the sick which it caused, or directly by contagion, the rapidity with which the infection spread was the chief cause of the mortality.

οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι, not 'claiming' as in i. 140 init. ἢ μηδὲ κατορθοῦντες τῆς ξυνέσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι, but in the better sense of 'aspiring to virtue,' without any connotation of 'pretending.' Cp. Plat. Politic. 289 D. E, οὓς ἀναμφισβητήτως δούλους ἔχομεν εἰπεῖν, ἥκιστα βασιλικῆς μεταποιουμένους τέχνης, where the word may have either meaning.

ἐπεί 1)* may be joined with the idea contained in ἠφείδουν σφῶν αὐτῶν, the missing link being *a*) that 'such devotion was remarkable.' ἐπεί here nearly='whereas,' and introduces an argument ἐξ ἐναντίων, contrasting this heroic conduct on the part of friends with the selfishness of the sufferers' own families. 'Some took no thought of themselves in their care of the dying; which was the more remarkable, for their very relations neglected them.' Or *b*)* more simply, 'It was indeed an act of devotion at a time when even relatives deserted the sick.'

Or 2) ἐπεί may be connected with ἐσιόντες παρὰ φίλους: 'whom it was necessary to tend, for their own relations deserted them.'

Or once more 3) the clause ἐπεὶ καί κ.τ.λ. may be regarded as a resumption and confirmation of the statements in the previous sentence about the extent of the calamity, εἴτε γὰρ . . . διεφθείροντο: καὶ μάλιστα . . . παρὰ φίλους being parenthetical.

τὰς ὀλοφύρσεις τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων. It has been doubted whether these words mean 1) 'lamentations of the dying' (cf. Plato, Rep. 387 E, ὀρθῶς ἄρ' ἂν ἐξαιροῖμεν τοὺς θρήνους τῶν ὀνομαστῶν ἀνδρῶν.)

Or 2)* 'lamentations over the dying.'

Against 2) it may be urged that lamentations would be made, not over the dying, but over the dead. On the other hand, the word *ἐξέκαμνον* seems to imply a cessation from some act of our own, not a weariness of another's act (Arn.) **51.** 5.

May not the difficulty be solved by adopting 2)*, but taking *τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων* not for 'those who were dying at the time when the lamentations were uttered,' but, in a more general sense of the present-imperfect participle, for 'those who were dying in the plague?' They gave up from weariness (*ἐξέκαμνον*), lamenting over those who died (from time to time),' much more attending on the sick, which was less required by religion. Cp. *ἔθνησκον, ἀπώλλυντο, διεφθείροντο*, supra; *ἀποθνήσκοντες*, c. 52. 2.

καὶ αὐτοὶ τῷ παραχρῆμα περιχαρεῖ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον ἐλπίδος τι εἶχον κούφης μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἄλλου νοσήματός ποτε ἔτι διαφθαρῆναι. **51.** 6.

'Though it was but a fancy, they imagined that having escaped this, the worst of diseases, they could now only die of old age.'

οἰκιῶν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπαρχουσῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων, ὁ φθόρος ἐγίγνετο οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ νεκροὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἀποθνήσκοντες ἔκειντο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐκαλινδοῦντο καὶ περὶ τὰς κρήνας ἁπάσας ἡμιθνῆτες τοῦ ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. **52.** 2.

ὥρᾳ ἔτους is to be taken with *πνιγηραῖς*, 'stifling from the time of year.'

νεκροί is to be taken with *ἐκεῖντο ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις*: together they form the predicate. 'As fast as they died they lay dead one upon another.' The present or imperfect participle *ἀποθνήσκοντες*, which agrees with the unexpressed subject of *ἐκεῖντο*, relates not to the particular time of dying, but to the fact of death at some indefinite time, like *τῶν ἀπογιγνομένων* supr., see preceding note.

Similarly, we might say in English, 'Dying continually, they lay dead one upon another,' meaning by 'dying,' not 'in the act of death,' but 'as fast as they died.'

ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν ἐτράποντο καὶ ἱερῶν καὶ ὁσίων ὁμοίως. **52.** 3.

Lit. 'things sacred and things righteous,' i.e. lawful or innocent, and so 'secular' or 'profane.'

52. 4. *καὶ πολλοὶ ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας ἐτράποντο σπάνει τῶν ἐπιτηδείων διὰ τὸ συχνοὺς ἤδη προτεθνάναι σφίσιν· ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες τὸν ἑαυτῶν νεκρὸν ὑφῆπτον, οἱ δέ, καιομένου ἄλλου, ἄνωθεν ἐπιβαλόντες ὃν φέροιεν ἀπῆσαν.*

ἐς ἀναισχύντους θήκας. Either 1) 'had recourse to shameless modes of burial,' or 2)* 'had recourse shamelessly to the burial-places of others.'

According to 1) there is a difficulty in the word *θήκας, θήκη* signifying 'a place of burial,' not 'a mode of burial.' Nor can the latter meaning of the word be justified on the analogy of *τάφος*, for the original idea of *τάφος* is not 'place of burial,' but 'burial;' the signification 'place of burial' being derivative, and not found in Homer.

According to 2)* there is a difficulty *a*) in the word *ἀναισχύντους*, which we should expect, at any rate in a prose writer, to be applied to actions rather than to things; *b*) in the seeming confusion between *θήκη*, 'sepulchre,' and *πυρά*, 'funeral pile,' implied in the explanatory clause *ἐπὶ πυρὰς γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας*. But the burning of the bodies on another's pyre may imply that they were laid in another's sepulchre.

φθάσαντες τοὺς νήσαντας applies strictly only to the clause *οἱ μὲν ἐπιθέντες*. With the second clause, *οἱ δὲ καιομένου ἄλλου*, some more general idea of anticipation, 'before they could be stopped,' has to be supplied.

53. 1. *πρῶτόν τε ἦρξε καὶ ἐς τἆλλα τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ πλέον ἀνομίας τὸ νόσημα.*

ἀνομίας follows *ἦρξε*, not *ἐπὶ πλέον*. *πρῶτον ἦρξε* either 1)* a single pleonastic expression, 'the plague was also the beginning of a general and widespread lawlessness,' or 2) 'the plague was the first beginning of a general and widespread lawlessness,' i. e. the first, but not the only cause of it, implying that other causes came into operation later.

For the 1) pleonastic use of *πρῶτον* with *ἦρξε* compare a similar use of the word with *ἄρχεσθαι*; ii. 36 init. *ἄρξομαι δ' ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων πρῶτον*: ii. 47 med. *ἡ νόσος πρῶτον ἤρξατο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*: also iv. 87 fin. (*ἄρξαι πρῶτοι*). For the 2) stricter and more defined sense cp. ii. 48 init. *ἤρξατο δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς λέγεται ἐξ Αἰθιοπίας*

τῆς ὑπὲρ Αἰγύπτου, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς Αἴγυπτον καὶ Λιβύην κατέβη, where separate stages of the progress of the plague are described; also i. 103 fin. 53. 1.

καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν, ἄδηλον νομίζων εἰ πρὶν ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἐλθεῖν διαφθαρήσεται. 53. 3.

τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ, not visionary as opposed to real honour, but 1)* in the stronger sense of δοκεῖν, 'the recognised idea of honour.' Cp. note on iii. 10. 1.

Or 2) taking δόξαντι of the individual, 'an honourable resolution.'

θεῶν δὲ φόβος ἢ ἀνθρώπων νόμος οὐδεὶς ἀπεῖργε, τὸ μὲν κρίνοντες ἐν ὁμοίῳ σέβειν καὶ μή κ.τ.λ. 53. 4.

κρίνοντες and οὐδείς which follows are so-called nominatives absolute, really depending on some idea, such as 'they feared neither God nor man,' gathered from the previous context.

ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ... ἀλλὰ λιμόν. 54. 3.

As Classen well remarks, the dispute shows not the similarity, but the distinctness, of the two sounds ι and οι in ancient times.

περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ χρηστηρίου τὰ γιγνόμενα ξύμπαντα ὁμοῖα εἶναι· ἐσβεβληκότων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ἡ νόσος ἤρξατο εὐθύς· καὶ ἐς μὲν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ ἐσῆλθεν, ὅ τι ἄξιον καὶ εἰπεῖν, ἐπενείματο δὲ Ἀθήνας μὲν μάλιστα, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων τὰ πολυανθρωπότατα. 54. 5.

Strictly speaking there is no opposition between the two clauses, περὶ μὲν οὖν ... ἐσβεβληκότων δέ: the second is a confirmation of the first. But Thucydides, not wishing to commit himself to the fulfilment of the oracle, is content to lay the two statements side by side, leaving the reader to draw his own inference. 'Concerning the oracle, they certainly fancied that the course of events corresponded with it; and it is true that no sooner had the Peloponnesians entered Attica than the plague began,' etc.

The plague would naturally appear to the Greek imagination as a fulfilment of the oracle of Apollo, he being the God who sent and averted pestilence, as in Iliad i. and in the first chorus of the Oedipus Tyrannus.

54. 5. In *μὲν οὖν* each particle retains its own meaning, *μέν* answering to *δέ* below; as in many other places, e.g. ii. 75 init., iv. 8 med., iv. 112 fin.

56. 6. *ἅραντες δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο ἐς Πρασιάς, τῆς Λακωνικῆς πόλισμα ἐπιθαλάσσιον, καὶ τῆς τε γῆς ἔτεμον, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ πόλισμα εἷλον καὶ ἐπόρθησαν.*

Cp. Aristoph. Peace, 242, (acted in 423 or 421? B.C.) where War grinds the cities of Hellas in his mortar,—

ΠΟ. *ἰὼ Πρασιαὶ τρισάθλιαι καὶ πεντάκις*
καὶ πολλοδεκάκις, ὡς ἀπολεῖσθε τήμερον.
ΤΡ. *τουτὶ μέν, ἄνδρες, οὐδὲν ἡμῖν πρᾶγμά πω.*
τὸ γὰρ κακὸν τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς.

The territory of Prasiae was again ravaged in 414, vi. 105 fin.

60. 3. *καλῶς μὲν γὰρ φερόμενος ἀνὴρ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτόν, διαφθειρομένης τῆς πατρίδος, οὐδὲν ἧσσον ξυναπόλλυται.*

καλῶς φερόμενος, 'going on well,' i. e. prosperous. Cp. v. 15 med. *ἀλλ' οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὔπω ἤθελον, εὖ φερόμενοι, ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καταλύεσθαι*; and v. 16 init. *Νικίας ... πλεῖστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις.*

60. 4. *πῶς οὐ χρὴ πάντας ἀμύνειν αὐτῇ καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε.*

The asyndeton is epexegetical, *ἀφίεσθε* being the explanation of *δρᾶτε*, cp. notes on iii. 37. 2, 59. 2. The sentence would have been more regular if *ἀφίεσθαι* following *χρή* had been used instead of *ἀφίεσθε*.

60. 7. 61. 1. *ὥστ' εἴ μοι καὶ μέσως ἡγούμενοι μᾶλλον ἑτέρων προσεῖναι αὐτὰ πολεμεῖν ἐπείσθητε, οὐκ ἂν εἰκότως νῦν τοῦ γε ἀδικεῖν αἰτίαν φεροίμην. καὶ γὰρ οἷς μὲν αἵρεσις γεγένηται τἆλλα εὐτυχοῦσι, πολλὴ ἄνοια πολεμῆσαι· εἰ δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ἢ εἴξαντας εὐθὺς τοῖς πέλας ὑπακοῦσαι ἢ κινδυνεύσαντας περιγενέσθαι, ὁ φυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον τοῦ ὑποστάντος μεμπτότερος.*

The connection indicated by *καὶ γάρ* is as follows: 'I might have been accused of dishonesty (*τοῦ ἀδικεῖν*) if I had led you into the egregious folly (*ἄνοια*) of going to war without necessity. But there was no alternative.'

ἦν—either 1) the general may pass into the particular; 'if it was

necessary for us at the time,' or 2)* the statement retains its generality, but is emphasized by the use of the past tense, 'if it has once been found necessary.' **61. 1.**

εὐθύς is to be taken, not with *εἴξαντας* but with *ὑπακοῦσαι*, the point being, not that he who at once yields becomes a subject, but that he who yields becomes at once a subject.

διότι τὸ μὲν λυποῦν ἔχει ἤδη τὴν αἴσθησιν ἑκάστῳ, τῆς δὲ ὠφελείας **61. 2.** *ἅπεστιν ἔτι ἡ δήλωσις ἅπασι.*

Thucydides makes an opposition between 'each' and 'all,' either 1)* merely verbal, or 2) based upon the difference between the private feelings of individuals, such as sorrow for the loss of their property and the like, and the public feelings with which men inspire one another, and which they have in common, such as love of their country and delight in her preservation. The same thought is presented objectively just above, ii. 60 init. *ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι πόλιν πλείω ξύμπασαν ὀρθουμένην ὠφελεῖν τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἢ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν πολιτῶν εὐπραγοῦσαν, ἀθρόαν δὲ σφαλλομένην.*

ἐν ἴσῳ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι **δικαιοῦσι** *τῆς τε ὑπαρχούσης δόξης αἰτιᾶσθαι ὅστις* **61. 4.** *μαλακίᾳ ἐλλείπει κ.τ.λ.*

δικαιοῦσι, 'claim the right' to blame, etc.

τὸν δὲ πόνον τὸν κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον, μὴ γένηταί τε πολύς, καὶ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον **62. 1.** *περιγενώμεθα, ἀρκείτω μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνα, ἐν οἷς ἄλλοτε πολλάκις γε δὴ* **ἀπέδειξα** *οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ὑποπτευόμενον.*

ὑποπτευόμενον, coming at the end of the sentence, gives the key to its whole structure; *τὸν δὲ πόνον* is resumed in *αὐτόν* and governed by *ἀπέδειξα*; *ὑποπτευόμενον*, which agrees with *πόνον*, supplies the missing construction required for *μὴ γένηται*.

δηλώσω δὲ καὶ τόδε, ὅ μοι δοκεῖτε οὔτ' αὐτοὶ πώποτε ἐνθυμηθῆναι **ὑπάρχον** **62. 1.** **ὑμῖν μεγέθους πέρι ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν**, *οὔτ' ἐγὼ ἐν τοῖς πρὶν λόγοις.*

ὑπάρχον may be taken 1)* with *ὅ*, 'your possession of which you never seem to have considered,' or 2) absolutely, 'which you never seem to have considered, though it was in your power to do so.'

μεγέθους πέρι may be taken 1)* with *ὑπάρχον*, 'your possession of which, as bearing on the extent of your power,' or 2) with *ἐνθυμη-*

62. 1. *θῆναι*, 'which you never seem to have considered, I mean, never to have considered its importance;' *μεγέθους πέρι* being epexegetic of *ὅ*.

ἐς τὴν ἀρχήν may be taken 1)* with *μεγέθους πέρι*, 'as touching the greatness which is yours in respect of your empire,' or 2) with *ὑπάρχον*, 'your possession of which as touching your empire.'

62. 3. *οὐδ' εἰκὸς χαλεπῶς φέρειν αὐτῶν μᾶλλον ἢ οὗ κήπιον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου πρὸς ταύτην νομίσαντας ὀλιγωρῆσαι.*

Cp. note on iii. 36. 4, *πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους*, and for *αὐτῶν* cp. note on i. 77. 3.

62. 5. *αὔχημα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς καὶ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δέ, ὃς ἂν καὶ γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν· ὃ ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει. καὶ τὴν τόλμαν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμοίας τύχης ἡ ξύνεσις ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται, ἐλπίδι τε ἧσσον πιστεύει, ἧς ἐν τῷ ἀπόρῳ ἡ ἰσχύς, γνώμῃ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ἧς βεβαιοτέρα ἡ πρόνοια.*

καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχοῦς κ.τ.λ. Either 1)* 'boasting may arise from fortunate ignorance, and may be found in any coward, *καὶ—καί*='both,' 'and,' or rather 2) compressing the two clauses into one, 'boasting arising from *mere* lucky ignorance, may be found *even* in a coward.' *γνώμῃ* is taken with *πιστεύῃ*, not with *προέχειν*.

ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος may be taken 1) with *ἐχυρωτέραν παρέχεται*, intelligence gives confidence through the disdain which it inspires; or 2)* with *ἡ ξύνεσις*. But if the second, it is necessary that we should translate 'an intelligence' not 'proceeding from,' but 'possessing, a natural consciousness of superiority;' the words being a resumption of the preceding clause, *καταφρόνησις δέ, ὃς ἂν γνώμῃ πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν*. The point of the passage is in either case, not that intelligence is founded on disdain, but that disdain is to be commended in so far as it is founded on intelligence.

63. 2. *ἧς οὐδ' ἐκστῆναι ἔτι ὑμῖν ἔστιν, εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἐν τῷ παρόντι δεδιὼς ἀπραγμοσύνῃ ἀνδραγαθίζεται*

εἴ τις καὶ τόδε ἀνδραγαθίζεται, 'if any one is for practising this piece of virtue,' scil. *τὸ ἐκστῆναι τῆς ἀρχῆς*. *τόδε* is a cognate accusative after *ἀνδραγαθίζεται* indicating the particular act of *ἀνδραγαθία* which is intended.

τὸ γὰρ ἄπραγμον οὐ σώζεται μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δραστηρίου τεταγμένον, οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν. 63. 3.

1)* There is a complication of οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει δουλεύειν, and ἐν ὑπηκόῳ πόλει ἀσφαλές ἐστι δουλεύειν. Thucydides means to say that it is not expedient for a sovereign state like Athens to submit to others, whereas for a subject state it is expedient, because this is the only chance of safety. The attempt to express the double thought in a single clause has led to the introduction of the word ἀσφαλῶς, which grammatically, though not in the mind of the writer, refers to both clauses.

2) According to another explanation a comma is placed after ὑπηκόῳ, τὸ ἄπραγμον is made the nominative to ξυμφέρει, and *a*) ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν is regarded as a further result of inactivity in the subject state. 'Inactivity is not expedient in a sovereign though it may be in a subject state, for men to be slaves with safety,' i. e. 'securing, as it does, safety in slavery.' Or *b*) possibly δουλεύειν may depend on a repetition of an impersonal ξυμφέρει derived from the personal verb. 'Inactivity is not expedient in a sovereign state, though it may be expedient in a subject state to enjoy a secure slavery.'

But the construction of the infinitive in either case is feeble, and as confusion is a much more common characteristic of Thucydides than feebleness of construction, we shall do well to prefer 1).

καὶ δύναμιν μεγίστην δὴ μέχρι τοῦδε κεκτημένην, ἧς ἐς ἀίδιον τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις, ἢν καὶ νῦν ὑπενδῶμέν ποτε (πάντα γὰρ πέφυκε καὶ ἐλασσοῦσθαι) μνήμη καταλελείψεται. 64. 3.

The word νῦν is difficult. For we cannot suppose that Pericles would refer to any immediate decline or fall of the Athenian empire. νῦν must therefore be taken as modified by πότε. 'Even if' (ἢν καί) 'the time is at hand when we shall have to abate somewhat of our claims.' The words may be put into the mouth of Pericles by Thucydides, with a recollection of the conclusion of the war, and may be intended rather for the reader than the hearer.

καίτοι ταῦτα ὁ μὲν ἀπράγμων μέμψαιτ' ἄν, ὁ δὲ δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ζηλώσει· εἰ δέ τις μὴ κέκτηται, φθονήσει. 64. 4.

64. 4. *καίτοι*, cp. note on ii. 39. 4, iii. 39. 2. 'But surely, if this be true, although the indolent may blame us, we shall become the admiration of the enterprising,' etc.

1)* *καὶ αὐτός*, 'he as well as we,' goes with *ζηλώσει*, which governs *ταῦτα*. There is a slight inaccuracy in *καὶ αὐτός*; the word *ζηλώσει* not being applicable to the Athenians as it is to their rivals. A more general word is required. 'He will emulate,' not what we emulate, but 'what we aspire to accomplish.'

Or 2) *καὶ αὐτός* may be taken with *δρᾶν τι βουλόμενος*, 'he who himself shares in our ambitious spirit.'

64. 5. *μῖσος μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντέχει, ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπρότης καὶ* 6. *ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα δόξα ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἔς τε τὸ μέλλον καλὸν προγνόντες ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρὸν τῷ ἤδη προθύμῳ ἀμφότερα κτήσασθε κ.τ.λ.*

ἡ δὲ παραυτίκα τε λαμπροτής κ.τ.λ. This sentence again is slightly inaccurate, for 'the splendour of the hour' cannot remain in the future. The inaccuracy however is softened by the word *ἀείμνηστος*. The splendour of the hour 'is ever remembered and survives,' or 'survives in the memory of men.' Or we may say that the absence of the article with the second substantive fuses the two ideas together, and renders it easier to attribute to both of them the predicate (*ἀείμνηστος καταλείπεται*), which, strictly speaking, belongs to the latter only, 'the splendour in the present becoming glory in the future, remains and is remembered for ever.'

The two ideas are repeated in the words *ἐς τὸ μέλλον καλόν, ἐς τὸ αὐτίκα μὴ αἰσχρόν*.

65. 2. *ὁ μὲν δῆμος ὅτι ἀπ' ἐλασσόνων ὁρμώμενος ἐστέρητο καὶ τούτων, οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες.*

οἰκοδομίαις may be taken 1) with *καλά*, though the order of the words is against this explanation; or 2)* as the dative of accompaniment, more commonly used with *σύν*, or with *αὐτός*, but sometimes, though very rarely, without, as in Eur. Bacch. 129, (Jelf, 604. 1,)—

ἀνὰ δὲ βάκχια συντόνῳ
κέρασαν ἁδυβόᾳ Φρυγίων

αὐλῶν πνεύματι, ματρός τε Ῥέας 65. 2.
ἐς χέρα θῆκαν, κτύπον
εὐάσμασι βακχᾶν.

Although no satisfactory instance of this use of the dative seems to occur in prose, yet it may be remarked generally that in earlier Greek writers, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Thucydides, Plato, there is a less frequent use of prepositions (especially *περί* and *ἐν*), as in later writers, where the relations of thought become more complex, a multiplication of them.

ὧν μὲν περὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἕκαστος ἥλγει, ἀμβλύτεροι ἤδη ὄντες κ.τ.λ. 65. 4.

ὧν = τούτων ἅ, and is to be explained as a genitive of relation with *ἀμβλύτεροι ὄντες*, cp. note on i. 77. 3.

οἱ δὲ ταῦτά τε πάντα ἐς τοὐναντίον ἔπραξαν, καὶ ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου 65. 7.
δοκοῦντα εἶναι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας φιλοτιμίας καὶ ἴδια κέρδη κακῶς ἕς τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν.

1)* 'Which appeared to have nothing to do with the war, but really had.' Or 2) in a stronger sense, 'which cannot,' or 'could not, be supposed to have anything to do with the war.' Cp. iv. 23 init. *οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγκλήματα ἔχοντες ἐπιδρομήν τε τῷ τειχίσματι παράσπονδον καὶ ἄλλα οὐκ ἀξιόλογα δοκοῦντα εἶναι οὐκ ἀπεδίδοσαν.* viii. 86 med. *καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀλκιβιάδης πρῶτον τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔλασσον τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι. ὡρμημένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς . . . κωλυτὴς γενέσθαι.*

ταῦτα πάντα. Such as the great expedition to Syracuse, the earlier operations in Sicily, and the attempt upon Cydonia in Crete, ii. 85 fin. This last instance is cited by Arnold; but it should be remembered that it took place within the lifetime of Pericles, perhaps after he had withdrawn from public affairs.

ἄλλα ἔξω τοῦ πολέμου κ.τ.λ. The intrigues of Alcibiades at Argos, cited by Classen, though they led to the defeat of Mantinea, can hardly be regarded as disastrous to Athens, for they secured the permanent alliance of Athens with Argos. Much more in point is the revolution of Pisander, and the constant misgovernment of the city, as shown by the condemnation of the generals, by the refusal to make peace in 410, and by the second disgrace of Alcibiades.

65. 7. *κακῶς ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἐπολίτευσαν.* Not 'with bad effects for the allies,' but 'with bad effects on the interests of Athens in respect of the allies.' (Classen.) Cp. viii. 64.

65. 8. *καὶ οὐκ ἤγετο μᾶλλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἢ αὐτὸς ἦγε διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος ἐξ οὗ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει καὶ πρὸς ὀργήν τι ἀντειπεῖν.*

1) Classen, with some of the older editors, instead of taking *ἔχων* as equivalent to *δυνάμενος*, supplies *δύναμιν* with it, and opposes *ἔχων ἐπ' ἀξιώσει* to *κτώμενος ἐξ οὗ προσηκόντων*, so that the construction of the two clauses corresponds precisely, 'not striving to gain power by corrupt means, but already possessing power on the strength of his reputation.' Cf. ii. 62 fin. *αἴσχιον δὲ ἔχοντας ἀφαιρεθῆναι ἢ κτωμένους ἀτυχῆσαι.*

2)* But the repetition of *δύναμιν* with *ἔχων* is far less forcible and idiomatic than the construction of *ἔχων* (=*δυνάμενος*) with *ἀντειπεῖν*, the whole clause *διὰ τὸ μὴ κτώμενος λέγειν* answering to *ἔχων ἀντειπεῖν*, not *κτώμενος* to *ἔχων*. The position of *μή* after *διὰ τό* creates an irregularity in *ἀλλά*. The sentence would be correct, though not elegant, if we had *ἔχειν* for *ἔχων*, or if *οὐ* (*κτώμενος ἐξ οὗ προσηκόντων τὴν δύναμιν*) *πρὸς ἡδονήν τι λέγων* had preceded.

65. 11. *ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἁμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν ὅσον οἱ ἐκπέμψαντες οὐ τὰ πρόσφορα τοῖς οἰχομένοις ἐπιγιγνώσκοντες, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαβολὰς περὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου προστασίας τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἀμβλύτερα ἐποίουν καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πρῶτον ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐταράχθησαν.*

These words seem to imply a neglect of the expedition which is scarcely indicated in Thucydides' own narrative. The leaving Nicias in the sole command after the death of Lamachus (vi. 103 med.; cp. vii. 16), the want of cavalry during the first year of the war (vi. 71 med.), and the remissness which allowed Gylippus and the reinforcements to leave the shores of Peloponnesus (vii. 15 fin., 19 fin.), are the three chief instances of neglect which he mentions. Yet the tone of Nicias' letter (vii. 11–15) is reproachful, and implies carelessness and the want of active and continuous aid on the part of the Athenians. And we can very well believe, what is not expressly stated by Thucydides, that while the enemies of

Alcibiades were in power they were more intent on destroying him than on furthering the interests of the expedition. The recall of Alcibiades himself is regarded by Thucydides as fatal to the state (vi. 15). 65. 11.

τά τε ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κ.τ.λ. Either 1)* conducted military operations with less vigour, or better 2) made the proceedings of the army less energetic.

σφαλέντες δ' ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἄλλῃ τε παρασκευῇ καὶ τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τῷ πλείονι μορίῳ, καὶ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἤδη ἐν στάσει ὄντες, ὅμως τρία μὲν ἔτη ἀντεῖχον τοῖς τε πρότερον ὑπάρχουσι πολεμίοις καὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ Σικελίας μετ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀφεστηκόσι, Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ, ὃς παρεῖχε χρήματα Πελοποννησίοις ἐς τὸ ναυτικόν· καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν. 65. 12.

1)* The three years may be reckoned from the outbreak of the revolution of Athens (411) to the coming down of Cyrus to the coast of Asia, which must then be put with Krüger, not in 407, but in 408.

The supposition 2), which at first sight might seem more natural, that the three years are to be dated from the descent of Cyrus to the coast (407) to the end of the war (404), would not agree with the words *ἐν στάσει ἤδη ὄντες*. And the mention of the revolt of the allies (*τῶν ξυμμάχων ἔτι τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀφεστηκόσιν*) also points to the earlier period, when the chief defection took place.

The text as it stands is not without difficulty; and we might be tempted to substitute a different number of years, if we knew exactly how the period of time intended by Thucydides was to be defined. The conjecture *δέκα* gives too long a time, for eight and a half years only intervened between the destruction of the Sicilian expedition (autumn of 413) and the taking of the city (spring of 404). Cp. note on i. 57. 6. § 4.

The words corresponding to *τρία μὲν ἔτη* are *Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον*, if *τρία* be retained; but if *δέκα*, or some other number, is substituted, *μέν* must be answered by *καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν*.

τοσοῦτον τῷ Περικλεῖ ἐπερίσσευσε τότε, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς προέγνω καὶ πάνυ ἂν ῥᾳδίως περιγενέσθαι τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὐτῶν τῷ πολέμῳ. 65. 13.

65. 13. The meaning is either 1)* 'so much more than sufficient were the grounds which Pericles had' (*ἐπερίσσευσε*, scil. *ἐκεῖνα*), or 'so great an abundance of grounds had Pericles' (*ἐπερίσσευσε*, impers., scil. *ἐκείνων*). Or 2) 'so much more than sufficient were the means at Pericles' command.' *ἀφ' ὧν* according to 1)* goes with *προέγνω*, 'from which he foresaw,' or 'which enabled him to foresee.' According to 2) with *περιγενέσθαι*, 'he foresaw that by their aid.'

αὐτός = 'of himself,' by his unaided foresight.

67. 1. *καὶ Ἀργεῖος ἰδίᾳ Πόλλις.*

ἰδίᾳ, Argos being now neutral.

67. 2. *μὴ διαβάντες ὡς βασιλέα τὴν ἐκείνου πόλιν τὸ μέρος βλάψωσιν.*

Cp. Ar. Ach. 147,—

καὶ τὸν πατέρ' ἠντιβόλει βοηθεῖν τῇ πάτρᾳ,

and note on ii. 29. 5.

68. 5. *καὶ ἠλληνίσθησαν τὴν νῦν γλῶσσαν τότε πρῶτον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀμπρακιωτῶν ξυνοικησάντων.*

Cp. note on i. 3. 4.

68. 7. *οἱ δ' Ἀμφίλοχοι, γενομένου τούτου, διδόασιν ἑαυτοὺς Ἀκαρνᾶσι, καὶ προσπαρακαλέσαντες ἀμφότεροι Ἀθηναίους, οἳ αὐτοῖς Φορμίωνά τε στρατηγὸν ἔπεμψαν καὶ ναῦς τριάκοντα, ἀφικομένου δὲ τοῦ Φορμίωνος, αἱροῦσι κατὰ κράτος Ἄργος, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας ἠνδραπόδισαν.*

δέ after *ἀφικομένου* connects *προσπαρακαλέσαντες* with *ἀφικομένου τοῦ Φορμίωνος*, and indicates a slight opposition between the request for assistance and its actual arrival.

αἱροῦσι, scil. the combined forces of the Amphilochians, Acarnanians, and Athenians.

72. 1. *εἰ δὲ μή, ἅπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον ἤδη προὐκαλεσάμεθα, ἡσυχίαν ἄγετε κ.τ.λ.*

The occasion here mentioned, probably occurring at the beginning of the war, and perhaps referred to again iii. 68. 1 (but see note), is unknown. The words can hardly relate to the proclamation made by the Thebans in the course of their treacherous attempt (ii. 2 fin.)

74. 3. *ξυγγνώμονες δέ ἐστε τῆς μὲν ἀδικίας κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τυγχάνειν τοῖς ἐπιφέρουσι νομίμως.*

The datives *ὑπάρχουσι, ἐπιφέρουσι*, are governed by *ξυγγνώμονες*. 74. 3.
But whether *ξυγγνώμονες* be taken in the strict meaning of 'pardon' or in the general meaning of 'consent,' the construction with the dative gives a false sense in the first clause. 'Consent to the first aggressors that they may be punished for their iniquity, and to those who are lawfully seeking vengeance that they may obtain it.' We expect rather, 'Consent (to us) that the first aggressors may be punished for their iniquity;' a meaning which would require the accusative, *τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας προτέρους*. But the love of parallelism prevails, and the sense of *ξυγγνώμονες*, requiring the dative when applied to the second and principal clause, prescribes the same case also to the first clause. The irregularity is partly due to the tendency to transfer to the subject what belongs to the verb: *ξυγγνώμονές ἐστε κολάζεσθαι τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι προτέροις=ξυγγνώμονές ἐστε τῷ κολάζεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας προτέρους.*

καὶ οἱ Πλαταιῆς τοιόνδε τι ἐπινοοῦσι· διελόντες τοῦ τείχους ᾗ προσέπιπτε 75. 6.
τὸ χῶμα ἐσεφόρουν τὴν γῆν.

The question arises how the earth could have been drawn in through the wall if the combustibles were thrown into the space between the mound and the wall, ii. 77 med. The answer is that the mound was built, not close to the wall, but as near to it as the besiegers could advance without extreme danger; fresh material was then thrown from the top so as to roll down towards the city. *τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως*, ii. 77 med. is the space between the wall and the highest part of the mound.

καὶ δοκοὺς μεγάλας ἀρτήσαντες ἁλύσεσι μακραῖς σιδηραῖς ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς 76. 4.
ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ κεραιῶν δύο ἐπικεκλιμένων καὶ ὑπερτεινουσῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τείχους, ἀνελκύσαντες ἐγκαρσίας, ὁπότε προσπεσεῖσθαί πη μέλλοι ἡ μηχανή, ἀφίεσαν τὴν δοκὸν χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἁλύσεσι καὶ οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες. ἡ δὲ ῥύμη ἐμπίπτουσα ἀπεκαύλιζε τὸ προέχον τῆς ἐμβολῆς.

ἀπὸ κεραιῶν (as well as *ἀπὸ τῆς τομῆς*, sc. *τῶν δοκῶν*) is to be taken with *ἀρτήσαντες*. *οὐ διὰ χειρὸς ἔχοντες* seems to imply that the chains by which the beam was suspended, instead of being merely fastened to the ends of the projecting poles, passed down them, and after being held there were suddenly let go, and dropped the beam.

77. 3. *φοροῦντες δὲ ὕλης φακέλλους παρέβαλλον ἀπὸ τοῦ χώματος ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ πρῶτον τοῦ τείχους καὶ τῆς προσχώσεως· ταχὺ δὲ πλήρους γενομένου διὰ πολυχειρίαν, ἐπιπαρένησαν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἀπὸ τοῦ μετεώρου πλεῖστον ἐπισχεῖν.*

τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐπισχεῖν, 1)* the space, probably, between the new and old wall, at any rate on the other side of the old wall.

The other explanation 2) that the wood was heaped up outside the wall to the right and left of the mound as far as it could be thrown (the besiegers being unable to approach close to the wall for fear of projectiles,) is inconsistent *a*) with *τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐπισχεῖν*, *b*) with the great effects attributed to the conflagration just below.

77. 4. *ἤδη γὰρ ἐν ὄρεσιν ὕλη τριφθεῖσα ὑπ' ἀνέμων πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου πῦρ καὶ φλόγα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνῆκεν.*

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, scil. 1)* *ἀπὸ τοῦ τριφθῆναι*, or 2) *ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός*, 'kindled and then blazed.'

79. 2. *ἐλθόντες δὲ ὑπὸ Σπάρτωλον τὴν Βοττικὴν τὸν σῖτον διέφθειραν.*

Spartolus was in Botticè, not in Bottia or Bottiaea; but it is called *ἡ Βοττική*, because its founders came from Bottia, cp. ii. 99, *ἀναστήσαντες μάχῃ . . . ἐκ τῆς Βοττίας καλουμένης Βοττιαίους, οἳ νῦν ὅμοροι Χαλκιδέων οἰκοῦσι.*

83. 3. *ἐπειδὴ μέντοι ἀντιπαραπλέοντάς τε ἑώρων αὐτούς, παρὰ γῆν σφῶν κομιζομένων, καί, ἐκ Πατρῶν τῆς Ἀχαΐας πρὸς τὴν ἀντιπέρας ἤπειρον διαβαλλόντων ἐπὶ Ἀκαρνανίας, κατεῖδον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῆς Χαλκίδος καὶ τοῦ Εὐήνου ποταμοῦ προσπλέοντας σφίσι, καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ὑφορμισάμενοι, οὕτω δὴ ἀναγκάζονται ναυμαχεῖν κατὰ μέσον τὸν πορθμόν.*

Instead of *αὐτοὶ κομιζόμενοι* we have *σφῶν κομιζομένων*, the action expressed by the participle being really subordinate, not to *ἑώρων*, but to *ἀντιπαραπλέοντας*. In the same manner *διαβαλλόντων* in the next clause is subordinate, not to *κατεῖδον*, but to *προσπλέοντας*. The construction brings out the fact that the movements of the Athenians depended on those of the Peloponnesians. 'As the Peloponnesians coasted along, the Athenians did the same; when the Peloponnesians tried to cross, the Athenians went to meet them.'

καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον κ.τ.λ. 1)* The Athenians, who were determined that **83. 3.** the Peloponnesians should not cross the open sea outside the gulf without a battle, coasted along the northern shore opposite to them. The Peloponnesians, hoping to evade them, 'secretly lay to at nightfall;' that the Athenians not perceiving them to have stopped might go on and pass them; and when they thought that the Athenians were far in advance, they attempted to cross over to the opposite shore. They would still have had to fight, but not in the open sea, where they could be attacked on all sides, and where the superior skill of the Athenians would tell (ii. 89 fin.) But the manœuvre had been detected, the Athenians bore down upon them from the opposite coast, and they had to fight in mid-channel.

ἔλαθον is pluperfect in sense, as in vi. 97. 1 (see note), *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξητάζοντο, καὶ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς παντὶ ἤδη τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης σχόντες κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα καλούμενον κ.τ.λ.*

2) The words *οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ὑφορμισάμενοι* will not bear the sense given to them by Grote, 'it did not escape the notice of the Athenians, that the Peloponnesians had taken up a simulated or feigned (*ὑφ-*) night station;' i. e. that they intended to slip anchor, and get across to the opposite shore past the enemy in the course of the night.

καὶ τροπαῖον στήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ Ῥίῳ καὶ ναῦν ἀναθέντες τῷ Ποσειδῶνι **84. 4.** *ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς Ναύπακτον.*

Cp. Aristoph. Knights, 551, 561 foll. (represented in 424, five years afterwards),—

ἵππι' ἄναξ Πόσειδον . . .
ὦ Γεραίστιε παῖ Κρόνου,
Φορμίωνί τε φίλτατ' ἐκ
τῶν ἄλλων τε θεῶν Ἀθηναίοις πρὸς τὸ παρεστώς.

Cp. also the fragments of the *Ταξίαρχοι* of Eupolis, in which Phormio, in the character of a general of the old school, seems to be represented as censuring Bacchus for his effeminacy, and Aristoph. Peace, 347,—

πολλὰ γὰρ ἠνεσχόμην
πραγμάτα τε καὶ στιβάδας, ἃς ἔλαχε Φορμίων.

87. 1. **Ἡ μὲν γενομένη ναυμαχία, ὦ ἄνδρες Πελοποννήσιοι, εἴ τις ἄρα δι' αὐτὴν ὑμῶν φοβεῖται τὴν μέλλουσαν, οὐχὶ δικαίαν ἔχει τέκμαρσιν τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι.**

οὐχὶ δικαίαν κ.τ.λ. Lit. either 1) 'does not allow in the alarm which it creates of any just inference,' i. e. you cannot argue from your fears: *τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι* being the more immediate, and *τέκμαρσιν* the remoter object of *ἔχει*.

Or 2)* 'does not allow of any just inference touching its alarming you,' or 'that it should alarm you.' *τὸ ἐκφοβῆσαι* is an accusative of the remoter object, like *τὸ λέγεσθαι* in viii. 87. 3 (see note), **ἄλλοι δ' ὡς καταβοῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τὸ λέγεσθαι, ὡς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς οἴχεται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀληθῶς πεπληρωμένας.** Cp. Sophocles, O. T. 1416,—

ἀλλ' ὧν ἐπαιτεῖς ἐς δέον πάρεσθ' ὅδε
Κρέων τὸ πράσσειν καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν.

For similar accusatives, sometimes called 'accusatives of reference,' cp. ii. 53 med. *καὶ τὸ μὲν προσταλαιπωρεῖν τῷ δόξαντι καλῷ οὐδεὶς πρόθυμος ἦν*: iii. 82 med. *ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὔλογος*: vii. 36 med. *τῇ τε πρότερον ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν κυβερνητῶν δοκούσῃ εἶναι, τὸ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκροῦσαι* (if such be the true reading in this and the preceding passage): vii. 67 init. *τῆς δοκήσεως προσγεγενημένης αὐτῷ, τὸ κρατίστους εἶναι, εἰ τοὺς κρατίστους ἐνικήσαμεν, διπλασία ἑκάστου ἡ ἐλπίς.*

Poppo (ed. maj. on vii. 36. 5) well explains the so-called 'accusative of reference' as an accusative of 'more precise definition,' or of 'the remoter object.' vii. 36 med., 67 init. are instances of the former, ii. 53 med. of the latter; but it is hard to see how *τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι* in iii. 82 med. if the reading be correct, can be explained save as an accusative of simple reference. For instances from other authors see Jelf, 670. 1. 2.

87. 3. **ὥστε οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν κακίαν τὸ ἡσσῆσθαι προσεγένετο, οὐδὲ δίκαιον τῆς γνώμης τὸ μὴ κατὰ κράτος νικηθέν, ἔχον δέ τινα ἐν αὑτῷ ἀντιλογίαν, τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι ἀμβλύνεσθαι, νομίσαι δὲ ταῖς μὲν τύχαις ἐνδέχεσθαι σφάλλεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀεὶ ἀνδρείους ὀρθῶς εἶναι, καὶ μὴ ἀπειρίαν, τοῦ ἀνδρείου παρόντος, προβαλλομένους εἰκότως ἂν ἔν τινι κακοὺς γενέσθαι.**

The context shows that *τῆς γνώμης* is not to be taken as a

partitive genitive. Not, 'that part of our mind which was not conquered,' but 'the unconquered quality of our mind,' 'our mind unconquered (aor.) by that reverse.' For Thucydides is not opposing one part of the mind to another, but the mind in its own invincible nature to the accidental defeat which the Peloponnesians have sustained. The use of *μή* is explained by the subjective character of the phrase, 'what we know to be the unconquered quality,' etc. 87. 3.

κατὰ κράτος, 'by way of force,' i. e. by superiority of mere force.

τῆς ξυμφορᾶς τῷ ἀποβάντι, 'by the result of what has been an accident,' or 'by the accidental result,' opposed to *τῆς γνώμης . . . νικηθέν*.

ταῖς δὲ γνώμαις κ.τ.λ. 'but that in their minds, while men remain the same' (as opposed to their circumstances, which change) 'they should always be brave.' *ὀρθῶς εἶναι* is equivalent to *δεῖν εἶναι*, the idea of *δεῖν* answering to *ἐνδέχεσθαι* in the previous clause. (Classen.)

τῶνδε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστήμη, ἣν μάλιστα φοβεῖσθε, ἀνδρείαν μὲν ἔχουσα, καὶ μνήμην ἕξει ἐν τῷ δεινῷ ἐπιτελεῖν ἃ ἔμαθεν, ἄνευ δὲ εὐψυχίας οὐδεμία τέχνη πρὸς τοὺς κινδύνους ἰσχύει· φόβος γὰρ μνήμην ἐκπλήσσει, τέχνη δὲ ἄνευ ἀλκῆς οὐδὲν ὠφελεῖ. 87. 4.

ἄνευ ἀλκῆς is not a repetition of *ἄνευ εὐψυχίας*: *ἀλκή* means the actual display of bravery which is the result of *εὐψυχία*. 'Skill is of no use without bravery. For without bravery men forget, and, if they forget, their skill is unaccompanied by prowess in action, and is therefore useless.' Cp. Plato, Rep. iv. 429 C, *σωτηρίαν ἔγωγ', εἶπον, λέγω τινὰ εἶναι τὴν ἀνδρείαν. ποίαν δὴ σωτηρίαν; τὴν τῆς δόξης τῆς ὑπὸ νόμου διὰ τῆς παιδείας γεγονυίας περὶ τῶν δεινῶν, ἃ τέ ἐστι καὶ οἷα.*

καὶ ὅσα ἡμάρτομεν πρότερον, νῦν αὐτὰ ταῦτα προσγενόμενα διδασκαλίαν παρέξει. 87. 7.

προσγενόμενα, 'being added,' i. e. to the advantages enumerated before. 'Our very mistakes will be additional advantages.' The idea of 'advantage' is not contained in *προσγενόμενα*, but is gathered from the context. Cp. ii. 65 fin. *Κύρῳ τε ὕστερον βασιλέως παιδὶ προσγενομένῳ*, where *προσγενομένῳ*, in the same way, means 'added to their previous enemies.'

89. 2. *οὗτοι γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τὸ προνενικῆσθαι, καὶ μηδὲ αὐτοὶ οἴεσθαι ὁμοίοι ἡμῖν εἶναι, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν νεῶν καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου παρεσκευάσαντο.*

καί joins the substantive *τὸ πλῆθος* with the adverbial expression. *οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*, 'they have equipped this great fleet, and (made preparation) on so unequal a scale.'

89. 2. *ἔπειτα ᾧ μάλιστα πιστεύοντες προσέρχονται, ὡς προσῆκον σφίσιν ἀνδρείοις εἶναι, οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, καὶ οἴονται σφίσι καὶ ἐν τῷ ναυτικῷ ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό.*

The grammatical antecedent to *ᾧ* is an 'accusativus pendens,' 'as to that on which they trust,' which is resumed in *οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσι*, taking up *πιστεύοντες*. The antecedent in thought may be gathered either 1)* from *ὡς προσῆκον . . . εἶναι*, or 2) from *διὰ τὴν . . . κατορθοῦντες*. The ground of their confidence is either 1)* the courage which they believe to be natural to them, or 2) their experience and consequent success by land. The second explanation is somewhat more grammatical than the first, for according to 1) the antecedent has to be gathered from a clause which is itself dependent on *ᾧ . . . προσέρχονται*.

καὶ οἴονται simply carries on the main sentence from *οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσι*, and need not be made equivalent grammatically to *καὶ οἰόμενοι*, as by Arnold, although logically, like the preceding participle *κατορθοῦντες*, it supplies part of the reason why the Athenians are confident.

89. 3. *τὸ δ' ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου ἡμῖν μᾶλλον νῦν περιέσται, εἴπερ καὶ τούτοις ἐν ἐκείνῳ.*

τὸ δέ, scil. 'success,' gathered from *κατορθοῦντες* and *ποιήσειν τὸ αὐτό*. *περιέσται*, 'will be found to remain with us.'

89. 4. *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπεχείρησαν ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολὺ αὖθις ναυμαχεῖν.*
5. *μὴ δὴ αὐτῶν τὴν τόλμαν δείσητε. πολὺ δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐκείνοις πλείω φόβον παρέχετε καὶ πιστότερον κατά τε τὸ προνενικηκέναι. καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦνται μὴ μέλλοντάς τι ἄξιον τοῦ παρὰ πολὺ πράξειν ἀνθίστασθαι ἡμᾶς.*

τοῦ παρὰ πολύ, scil. *νενικηκέναι*, referring to *προνενικηκέναι*, and also to *ἡσσηθέντες παρὰ πολύ* above.

89. 6. *ἀντίπαλοι μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλείους, ὥσπερ οὗτοι, τῇ δυνάμει τὸ πλέον πίσυνοι*

ἢ τῇ γνώμῃ ἐπέρχονται· οἱ δ' ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων καὶ ἅμα οὐκ ἀναγ- 89. 6.
καζόμενοι μέγα τι τῆς διανοίας τὸ βέβαιον ἔχοντες ἀντιτολμῶσιν.

1) We may take *οἱ πλείους* for 'the superior force' and *ἀντίπαλοι* for 'facing the enemy,' a meaning which is somewhat doubtful.

Or better 2)*, 'For most men when they are a match for the enemy,' etc. Thus *ἀντίπαλοι*, as we should expect from its position, will correspond in meaning to *οἱ δ' ἐκ πολλῷ ὑποδεεστέρων* in the clause which follows. Although the Peloponnesians were in fact far superior in number, there is no objection to their being described as only 'a match for' their enemies, no more being required by the argument.

διέκπλοι τε οὐκ εἰσὶν οὐδὲ ἀναστροφαί, ἅπερ νεῶν ἄμεινον πλευσῶν 89. 8.
ἔργα ἐστίν.

ἀναστροφή, probably 'a turning to charge,' which might be made after either rowing round a ship (*περίπλους*), or backing water (*ἀνάκρουσις*).

οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι οὐκ ἐπέπλεον ἐς τὸν 90. 1.
κόλπον καὶ τὰ στενά, βουλόμενοι ἄκοντας ἔσω προαγαγεῖν αὐτούς, ἀναγόμενοι ἅμα ἕῳ ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων ταξάμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ἔσω ἐπὶ τοῦ κόλπου, δεξιῷ κέρᾳ ἡγουμένῳ ὥσπερ καὶ ὥρμουν· ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῷ εἴκοσιν ἔταξαν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας, ὅπως, εἰ ἄρα νομίσας ἐπὶ τὴν Ναύπακτον αὐτοὺς πλεῖν ὁ Φορμίων κ.τ.λ.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν κ.τ.λ. The meaning which we expect to find in this passage is that which is given to it by Grote, who supposes that the Peloponnesians began to sail (*ἔπλεον*) from the southern coast to the northern. They wanted to draw the Athenians within the gulf, that they might surround or cut them off, and this could be accomplished by threatening Naupactus. Accordingly he accepts the conjecture *τὴν ἐκείνων γῆν*, which he explains to mean 'the shore of the enemy,' i.e. the shore to be protected by the Athenian fleet. But such an explanation is of course inconsistent with *ἑαυτῶν*; and the substitution of *ἑαυτῶν* for *ἐκείνων* in all the MSS. is not easily explainable.

Three other views of the passage may be taken. 1) *ἐπί* has been supposed to mean 'along.' But this is impossible. In the passage

90. 1. viii. 101. 1, *διὰ ταχέων ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου οὐ πελάγιαι . . . ἀλλ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λέσβον ἔχοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον*, which has been quoted in confirmation of the supposed use, the ordinary meaning of *ἐπί*, as the map will show, is appropriate. (See note.)

2) Classen connects the words *ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν* with *ταξάμενοι*, 'drawing up their ships four deep, with the coast behind them.' But *ταξάμενοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν* is a harsh and obscure expression; and *ἐπί* in such a connection should mean that the ships had their prows turned towards the coast, not from it.

3)* The best solution of the difficulty is to read *παρά* with the Laurentian, and m (Bekker's G), and with two inferior MSS. *ἐπί*, which here occurs five times within as many lines, may have caught the eye of the transcriber, and in one place have been substituted for *παρά*.

Grote objects that the Peloponnesians could not have sailed 'along their own coast,' for in that case *a*) they would not have threatened Naupactus; *b*) a second movement, across the gulf, would have been necessary before they could intercept the Athenian squadron in the manner described by Thucydides. But *a*) the Peloponnesian fleet, by coasting along the north shore of Peloponnesus in a north-east direction from the promontory of Rhium (see the map) would be moving nearly in the direction of Naupactus, to which, after following the coast to its most northern point, it would be easy to strike across. Such a movement along the southern coast inside the gulf was quite enough to alarm the Athenians. (See Sheppard and Evans, App. i. 3.) *b*) The alteration of their direction in crossing the gulf, if any, may have been so slight that there was no need for Thucydides to say anything further of their movements until he describes the manœuvre by which they tried to cut off the Athenians. Or *c*) if the Peloponnesians, after following their own coast for a time, suddenly struck northwards across the gulf, this movement would be sufficiently described by the words *ἄφνω ἐπιστρέψαντες τὰς ναῦς μετωπηδὸν ἔπλεον* just below. The whole distance from coast to coast is not much more than four miles, and if a trireme in still water, and in action, could row at the rate of ten knots (about 11½ miles) an hour (see Warre, Ancient Naval Tactics, p. 11; 150 knots are a long days'

—eighteen hours'—journey; Xen. Anab. vi. 4. 2) the cross move- **90. 1.**
ment might have been effected in about twenty minutes.

ἐπιδιώκοντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τάς τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἕξ, **92. 2.**
καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν ἀφείλοντο, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ διαφθείραντες τὸ πρῶτον ἀνεδήσαντο.

Thucydides does not tell us what became of the main body of the Peloponnesian fleet numbering fifty-seven, which had originally driven ashore the nine Athenian vessels. Yet it is clear that these ships must have taken part in the second as well as in the first engagement; else how could the Athenians have recovered the vessels which they had towed off? And the whole Peloponnesian fleet is afterwards said to have retired to Corinth. The Peloponnesians must have quitted the Athenian ships which they had taken in order to assist their defeated comrades.

οὔτε γὰρ ναυτικὸν ἦν προφυλάσσον ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδέν, οὔτε προσδοκία **93. 3.**
οὐδεμία, μὴ ἄν ποτε οἱ πολέμιοι ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν· ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἂν καθ' ἡσυχίαν, οὐδέ, εἰ διενοοῦντο, μὴ οὐκ ἂν προαισθέσθαι.

The MSS. read *οὐδέ—οὐδέ*. It is best to substitute *οὔτε* in the first place (since *οὐδέ—οὐδέ* is never found unless there is some special emphasis on the negative in the first as well as in the second clause, cp. Jelf, 776. 2.) and to retain *οὐδέ* in the second.

ἐπεὶ οὔτ' ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς κ.τ.λ., 1)* 'since the enemy would not, in their opinion, deliberately (*καθ' ἡσυχίαν*) venture upon an open attack,' opposed to an attempt at surprise (*μὴ ἂν ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν.*) The words will in this case refer to the improbable event of a formal and regular attack upon the Piraeus by sea; which no one expected at the time, although provision had been made for it by a reserve of ships and money, ii. 24.

Or 2) *ἀπὸ τοῦ προφανοῦς τολμῆσαι ἄν* being the resumption of *μὴ ἂν ἐξαπιναίως οὕτως ἐπιπλεύσειαν*, and *καθ' ἡσυχίαν*, 'without the interference of the Athenians' being taken as the predicate, 'the enemy would not make such an open attack, if he ventured, without being opposed.'

οὐδὲ εἰ διενοοῦντο κ.τ.λ., 'nor indeed if they were entertaining such

93. 3. a design would the Athenians have failed to detect it in time;' οὐδέ emphasizes the last clause, 'no, nor would they,' etc.

94. 1. *φρυκτοί τε ἤροντο* πολέμιοι *κ.τ.λ.*

'Fire signals indicating danger from an enemy.' Cp. iii. 22 fin.

96. 3. *ἀνίστη δὲ καὶ Ἀγριᾶνας καὶ* Λαιαίους *καὶ ἄλλα ὅσα ἔθνη* Παιονικά, *ὧν ἦρχε· καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι ἦσαν* μέχρι Γρααίων Παιόνων *καὶ τοῦ* Στρυμόνος ποταμοῦ, *ὃς ἐκ τοῦ* Σκόμβρου ὄρους διὰ Γρααίων καὶ Λαιαίων *ῥεῖ,* οὗ *ὡρίζετο ἡ ἀρχὴ τὰ πρὸς* Παίονας αὐτονόμους *ἤδη.*

According to the text of Poppo and Bekker, which has been adopted in the translation, we must suppose that the Graaeans and Laeaeans dwelt on both sides of the Strymon, and that the dominions of Sitalces extended to the Laeaeans dwelling on the left bank of the Strymon, but not to any of the Graaeans, the word *μέχρι* excluding them, and *οὗ* denoting the line of the Strymon and the eastern boundary of the Graaean territory.

The best attested reading is *μέχρι* Γρααίων *καὶ* Λαιαίων Παιόνων. But we cannot suppose Thucydides to have written *καὶ ἔσχατοι τῆς ἀρχῆς οὗτοι* (including *οἱ* Λαίαιοι) *ἦσαν μέχρι . . .* Λαιαίων Παιόνων. Some emendation of the text, such as the omission of *καὶ* Λαιαίων, which was probably introduced from the succeeding line, therefore becomes necessary. Besides minor variations, a few MSS., including the Laurentian, insert *γάρ* after *μέχρι*. *γάρ*, however, makes no sense, unless with Arnold we omit *οὗ* before *ὡρίζετο*. But it is very unlikely that *οὗ* should have been inserted in all the MSS., though not improbable that *γάρ* may have arisen out of a repetition of the *γρ* following.

97. 3. *φόρος τε ἐκ πάσης τῆς βαρβάρου καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων, ὅσον προσῆξαν ἐπὶ Σεύθου, ὃς ὕστερον Σιτάλκου βασιλεύσας πλεῖστον δὴ ἐποίησε, τετρακοσίων ταλάντων ἀργυρίου μάλιστα δύναμις,* ἃ χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος *εἴη.*

ἃ εἴη, 1)* 'whatever was gold and silver,' i. e. reckoning only gold and silver, exclusive of other kinds of tribute. Or 2) the optative is 'iterative,' 'what year by year was gold and silver.' Cp. i. 99 fin. *καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν.*

οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐς τὴν ἄλλην εὐβουλίαν καὶ ξύνεσιν περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον ἄλλοις ὁμοιοῦνται. 97. 6.

τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸν βίον, 'the things which exist for the purposes of life.' Compare τῶν ἐς χρῆσιν φανερῶν, ii. 62 init. The meaning is, not that the Scythians are without acuteness in the ordinary business of life, but that they are not acute enough to turn to the best advantage, like more civilized nations, what nature supplies.

ὅπως κατὰ κορυφὴν ἐσβαλοῦσιν ἐς τὴν κάτω Μακεδονίαν, ἧς ὁ Περδίκκας ἦρχε, τῶν γὰρ Μακεδόνων εἰσὶ καὶ Λυγκησταὶ καὶ Ἐλιμιῶται καὶ ἄλλα ἔθνη ἐπάνωθεν κ.τ.λ. 99. 1.

τῶν γάρ, 'for, besides the lower Macedonians, there are also Macedonians in the upper country, amongst whom are included the Lyncestians and Elimiots.

ἐκράτησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι, ἃ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἔχουσι, τόν τε Ἀνθεμοῦντα καὶ Γρηστωνίαν καὶ Βισαλτίαν καὶ Μακεδόνων αὐτῶν πολλήν. 99. 6.

οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι are the tribes which first acknowledged the leadership of the Temenidae, and who under their rule afterwards conquered the whole of Lower Macedonia. The Μακεδόνες αὐτοί are the Macedonians originally so called before the conquests of the Temenidae. οἱ Μακεδόνες οὗτοι of ch. 100 init. are all the Macedonians ruled by Perdiccas, including, with the exception of the partially independent Macedonians of the upper country (ii. 99 init.), the 'original Macedonians.'

καὶ τἆλλα διεκόσμησε (scil. Ἀρχέλαος) τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ κρείσσονι ἢ ξύμπαντες οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλῆς ὀκτὼ οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι. 100. 2.

The position of ὀκτώ is peculiar; it is a kind of afterthought, and is equivalent to οἱ ὀκτὼ ἦσαν. Cp. with Poppo, ii. 92 init. τάς τε ἐγγὺς οὔσας μάλιστα ναῦς ἔλαβον ἕξ: viii. 41 fin. ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναῦς εἴκοσιν. The Archelaus here mentioned is the same at whose court Euripides resided, and whose crimes are described by Plato, Gorg. 471.

100. 2. *τά τε κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον κ.τ.λ.* Lit. 'he improved the state of the country generally, and (strengthened) its military force with cavalry and arms and other munitions of war.'

100. 4. *ἔσω δὲ τούτων ἐς τὴν* **Βοττιαίαν** *καὶ* **Πιερίαν** *οὐκ ἀφίκοντο.*

Bottiaea, the same country as that called Bottia in ch. 99 above. Cp. note on ii. 79. 2.

100. 6. *καὶ ᾗ μὲν προσπέσοιεν, οὐδεὶς ὑπέμενεν ἄνδρας ἱππέας τε ἀγαθοὺς καὶ τεθωρακισμένους·* **ὑπὸ δὲ πλήθους** *περικληόμενοι αὐτοὺς* **πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ** *ὁμίλῳ ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν.*

πολλαπλασίῳ τῷ ὁμίλῳ is a repetition and expansion of *ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους*. The dative 1)* expresses the cause, 'by reason of the enemy's number, being many times their own.' Or 2) *ὁμίλῳ* is in the dative, as if after *ἐμάχοντο* implied in *αὐτοὺς ἐς κίνδυνον καθίστασαν*, 'against a multitude,' etc.

102. 4. *τό τε γὰρ ῥεῦμά ἐστι μέγα καὶ πολὺ καὶ θολερόν, αἵ τε νῆσοι πυκναί, καὶ* **ἀλλήλαις** *τῆς προσχώσεως* **τῷ** *μὴ* **σκεδάννυσθαι** *σύνδεσμοι γίγνονται, παραλλὰξ καὶ οὐ κατὰ στοῖχον κείμεναι, οὐδ' ἔχουσαι εὐθείας διόδους τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς τὸ πέλαγος.*

τῷ μὴ σκεδάννυσθαι, sc. *τὴν πρόσχωσιν*, 'by the accumulation of earth not scattering,' instrumental dative. There is no reason to read *τὸ μή* or to adopt the conjecture *τοῦ μή*. *ἀλλήλαις* in *ἀλλήλαις ξύνδεσμοι γίγνονται* is a 'dativus commodi;' 'they help one another to bind the earth together.'

APPENDIX.

THE PLAGUE.

GENERAL and also particular symptoms of the plague at Athens recorded by Thucydides.

It was epidemic, 48. 1; and also contagious, 51. 4. It was said in former times to have ravaged Lemnos and other places, 47. 3. It was brought from Ethiopia and Egypt to Persia and Greece, 48. 1; and first appeared in the Piraeus in the second spring of the war, 48. 2; at its commencement it was attributed to the poisoning of the cisterns by the Peloponnesians, 48. 2, as the Black Death to the poisoning of the wells by the Jews. It was most fatal in crowded places, especially in Athens, 54. 5, but scarcely found its way into the Peloponnesus. It destroyed more than one-seventh of the citizen hoplites, and a fourth of the knights, iii. 87. 3; and in forty days there had fallen victims to it more than a fourth of Hagnon's division of the army serving before Potidaea, ii. 58. 3. It lasted in all three years, at first for two years from the spring of 430 to the spring of 428; then reappearing after a partial cessation of a year and a half in the winter of 427–426, and continuing a third year, iii. 87. 1. It was incurable, or at any rate was never understood by the physicians; and the remedies which did good to one did harm to another, 51. 2. It passed through the body from head to foot. The patient when recovered was rarely, if ever, affected a second time, and never fatally, 51. 6. The summer in which it appeared was generally healthy; any other diseases were converted into it or absorbed in it, 49. 1; 51. 1. The plague was attended by the usual accompaniments of great epidemics, despondency and moral depravity, 51. 4; 53.

More precise symptoms were:—

Intense heat about the head.

Redness and inflammation of the eyes.

Bleeding of the throat and tongue.

Foul breath.

Sneezing and hoarseness.

In the next stage the disorder attacked the lungs, and was accompanied by a violent cough.

It then descended into the stomach, causing painful vomitings; then followed ineffectual retching and convulsions. The skin was reddish and livid, breaking out in small pustules and ulcers. Externally the heat was not very great, but internally excessive. The thirst and restlessness were intolerable and unceasing: the patient desired nothing so much as to tear off his clothes and throw himself into cold water. Meanwhile the strength was increased rather than weakened by the disease. At last, about the seventh or ninth day, came the end, produced by internal fever, or somewhat later, in those who survived this stage, by ulceration of the bowels, and by weakness supervening on diarrhœa. Loss of eyesight and gangrene of the extremities were of frequent occurrence in the case of those who recovered. Many of the survivors, when they rose from their beds, seemed to have forgotten all things.

Hippocrates, who at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war was probably about thirty years of age, is said by his biographers to have been an eyewitness of the plague: and his services on the occasion are duly chronicled in a spurious decree of the Athenians. His critics have generally supposed that a description of the plague at Athens is to be found in the Epidemics (Book iii.) which pass under his name. But the same ingenuity which invented the spurious decree, and also the panegyrical oration in which Hippocrates is celebrated, would have no difficulty in imagining that the father of medicine must have been present at a time when his services were so greatly needed. And the disorders described in the third book of the Epidemics bear but a slight resemblance to the plague of Athens, and only in a few superficial features. The writer of that book seems to be describing not one but many forms of malignant disease which prevailed chiefly at Perinthus: and he nowhere speaks of any great or general epidemic.

That Hippocrates witnessed the plague of Athens is very probable, though not established by historical evidence. But that he, or any

contemporary physician should have written upon epidemics and have omitted to mention the great epidemic of all, which was so widely spread, and of so definite a character, is nearly impossible. Hence we are driven to the conclusion that the treatise on Epidemics was not really written by Hippocrates, unless we may suppose that an account of the plague at Athens was to be found in some portion of the work now lost. Not much importance is to be attached to the non-occurrence of his name in Thucydides, who has omitted the names of many other distinguished contemporaries, e.g. Herodotus, Socrates, Phidias.

No description of the plague in any medical or other writer is to be compared with that of Thucydides. His narration is conceived in the same spirit as the rest of his history. He discards theories and describes the actual facts; he gives 'the symptoms by which any one who knows them beforehand may recognise the disorder should it ever reappear. For I was myself attacked, and witnessed the sufferings of others.' And it is not a mere fancy to suppose that he was one of those who, 'having recovered, tended the sick and dying with pitying care,' though in his impersonal manner he says nothing of himself individually.

His description has had many imitators; Lucretius, vi. 1138–1286 is nearly a translation, and should be compared throughout; the poetical version is generally accurate, though not free from misunderstandings of the original. See Munro's Notes on Lucretius, vi. 1138–1286. One or two traits of Thucydides, or more probably of Lucretius, appear in Virgil's account of the cattle plague, Georg. iii. 478 ff. Many more are found in the description of the mythical plague which afflicted the inhabitants of Aegina (Ovid, Metam. vii. 520 ff., who imitates Lucretius and Virgil as well as Thucydides). A still nearer parallel is found in the description by Diodorus (xiv. 71) of the plague which raged in the Carthaginian army when besieging Syracuse in 395 B.C. Some of the symptoms as well as the turns of rhetoric seem to be borrowed from Thucydides. Slighter traces of Thucydides are found in the description given by Livy (xxv. 26) of another plague which similarly afflicted the Roman and Carthaginian army in the siege of Syracuse under Marcellus, 212 B.C. The great plague in the

time of M. Aurelius, of which Galen was a contemporary witness, nearly resembles the plague of Athens in several of its symptoms, such as the cough, the eruptions, the internal ulcerations, the redness of the mouth, and foulness of breath (Method. Med. v. 12. Praesag. e Puls. iii. 4); and the similarity is recognised by him (De Simp. Medicam. Temperam. ix. 1. § 4.) It lasted during fifty years, and ravaged the greater part of the Roman world. See Littré's Introduction to the second book of the so-called Epidemics of Hippocrates, Œuvres d'Hippocrate, vol. v. p. 62 ff.; cp. vol. i. p. 122.

The plague at Athens is described by Mr. Grote as an eruptive typhoid fever. Without giving a name to a disorder which no longer exists, and cannot be certainly identified with any later epidemic, we may remark that it has many symptoms in common with typhus fever, and with the more malignant forms of measles and small pox, and seems to combine the features of several modern diseases in one.

Whether our modern small pox was known to the ancients or not is uncertain. That eruptive diseases which are described as covering the whole body existed among them is admitted. But no modern form of small pox is attended by gangrene of the extremities or by ulcers (ἕλκη) such as are mentioned in Thucydides. Nor does Thucydides say anything of the appearance of the pustules (φλύκταιναι) forming a crisis in the disease, as is the case in small pox, and as Galen records to have been the fact with the ulcers which attended the 'pestis Antoniniana.' Nor does any ancient writer mention one of the most characteristic features of the disorder,—the marks left by small pox after the recovery of the patient.

The word φλύκταινα, which commonly means a blister, either on the skin or on bread, is not sufficiently precise to enable us to identify it with the pustule in small pox; it might with equal propriety signify bladder-like formations of another kind.

There are several difficulties which prevent our arriving at certain conclusions in these and similar inquiries. (1) The generality of the description, often passing over or but slightly mentioning the symptoms which to a modern pathologist would appear to be most characteristic of the disorder; (2) some uncertainty in the precise

meaning of words; (3) the fluctuating character of the diseases themselves which do not always retain a clearly defined type, but vary with climate and circumstances and the variety of human constitutions. There is a struggle for existence in diseases as well as in animals, and they increase or diminish in strength and complexity according to their environments.

The above remarks are partly taken from Littré's excellent edition and translation of Hippocrates. He maintains the genuineness of the Epidemics on the ground that they are attributed to Hippocrates by the consentient voice of later Greek antiquity. But similar testimony might be adduced for writings of Plato, Aristotle, and Xenophon, which are confessedly spurious. That the Epidemics belong to the school of Hippocrates, that ancient school of inductive philosophy which sought to rest medicine on ascertained facts, may be safely asserted. But where nothing certainly belonging to an author or decidedly characteristic of him has been preserved to us and the writing attributed to him also contains little that is characteristic, it is impossible safely to connect them. We cannot, out of two unknown quantities, elicit a known one.

But although it is impossible to identify the plague of Athens with any known disease of other ages, both its moral and physical features may receive considerable illustration from the striking descriptions of two of the greatest pestilences by which the human race has been devastated.

The first is the remarkable account in Gibbon, c. xliii. § 3, of the great plague of Constantinople, which began in the year 542 and continued during half a century to desolate the Graeco-Roman world. It is chiefly based on Procopius, whose narrative is adorned by several terms borrowed from Thucydides, e.g. *λεγέτω μὲν οὖν ὡς πη ἕκαστος περὶ αὐτῶν γινώσκει καὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ μετεωρολόγος, ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθεν τε ἤρξατο ἡ νόσος ἥδε καὶ τρόπῳ δὴ ὅτῳ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους διέφθειρεν ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι*: De Bell. Persico, ii. 22. p. 142. The ex-emperor Cantacuzenus in the fourteenth century (Hist. iv. 8), who describes the death by the plague of his own son, Andronicus, about 1340, is a much more flagrant plagiarist of Thucydides. Agathias too, who

gives a short account of the earlier plague (Hist. v. 10), has not forgotten his model; although how far his recollections are accommodated to the phrases or reflections of Thucydides, it is impossible to determine. A circumstance mentioned by Procopius but omitted by Gibbon, and not improbable, though at variance with the statement of Thucydides respecting the plague at Athens, is that the physicians or attendants of the sick and dying generally escaped.

'Aethiopia and Egypt have been stigmatised in every age as the original source and seminary of the plague. In a damp, hot, stagnating air, this African fever is generated from the putrefaction of animal substances, and especially from the swarms of locusts, not less destructive to mankind in their death than in their lives. The fatal disease which depopulated the earth in the time of Justinian and his successors first appeared in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, between the Serbonian bog and the eastern channel of the Nile. From thence, tracing as it were a double path, it spread to the East, over Syria, Persia, and the Indies, and penetrated to the West, along the coast of Africa and over the continent of Europe. In the spring of the second year Constantinople, during three or four months, was visited by the pestilence; and Procopius, who observed its progress and symptoms with the eyes of a physician, has emulated the skill and diligence of Thucydides in the description of the plague of Athens. The infection was sometimes announced by the visions of a distempered fancy, and the victim despaired as soon as he had heard the menace and felt the stroke of an invisible spectre. But the greater number, in their beds, in the streets, in their usual occupation, were surprised by a slight fever; so slight, indeed, that neither the pulse nor the colour of the patient gave any signs of the approaching danger. The same, the next, or the succeeding day, it was declared by the swelling of the glands, particularly those of the groin, of the armpits, and under the ear; and when these buboes or tumours were opened, they were found to contain a *coal*, or black substance, of the size of a lentil. If they came to a just swelling and suppuration, the patient was saved by this kind and natural discharge of the morbid humour; but if they continued hard and dry, a mortifi-

cation quickly ensued, and the fifth day was commonly the term of his life. The fever was often accompanied with lethargy or delirium; the bodies of the sick were covered with black pustules or carbuncles, the symptoms of immediate death; and in the constitutions too feeble to produce an eruption, the vomiting of blood was followed by a mortification of the bowels. To pregnant women the plague was generally mortal; yet one infant was drawn alive from his dead mother, and three mothers survived the loss of their infected foetus. Youth was the most perilous season, and the female sex was less susceptible than the male; but every rank and profession was attacked with indiscriminate rage, and many of those who escaped were deprived of the use of their speech, without being secure from a return of the disorder. The physicians of Constantinople were zealous and skilful; but their art was baffled by the various symptoms and pertinacious vehemence of the disease: the same remedies were productive of contrary effects, and the event capriciously disappointed their prognostics of death or recovery. The order of funerals and the right of sepulchres were confounded; those who were left without friends or servants lay unburied in the streets, or in their desolate houses; and a magistrate was authorised to collect the promiscuous heaps of dead bodies, to transport them by land or water, and to inter them in deep pits beyond the precincts of the city. Their own danger and the prospect of public distress awakened some remorse in the minds of the most vicious of mankind: the confidence of health again revived their passions and habits; but philosophy must disdain the observation of Procopius, that the lives of such men were guarded by the peculiar favour of fortune or Providence. He forgot, or perhaps he secretly recollected, that the plague had touched the person of Justinian himself; but the abstemious diet of the emperor may suggest, as in the case of Socrates, a more rational and honourable cause for his recovery. During his sickness the public consternation was expressed in the habits of the citizens; and their idleness and despondence occasioned a general scarcity in the capital of the East.

'Contagion is the inseparable symptom of the plague; which, by mutual respiration, is transfused from the infected persons to

the lungs and stomach of those who approach them. While philosophers believe and tremble, it is singular that the existence of a real danger should have been denied by a people most prone to vain and imaginary terrors. Yet the fellow-citizens of Procopius were satisfied, by some short and partial experience, that the infection could not be gained by the closest conversation; and this persuasion might support the assiduity of friends or physicians in the care of the sick, whom inhuman prudence would have condemned to solitude and despair. But the fatal security, like the predestination of the Turks, must have aided the progress of the contagion; and those salutary precautions to which Europe is indebted for her safety were unknown to the government of Justinian. No restraints were imposed on the free and frequent intercourse of the Roman provinces: from Persia to France the nations were mingled and infected by wars and emigrations; and the pestilential odour which lurks for years in a bale of cotton was imported, by the abuse of trade, into the most distant regions. The mode of its propagation is explained by the remark of Procopius himself, that it always spread from the sea-coast to the inland country: the most sequestered islands and mountains were successiveiy visited; the places which had escaped the fury of its first passage were alone exposed to the contagion of the ensuing year. The winds might diffuse that subtle venom; but unless the atmosphere be previously disposed for its reception, the plague would soon expire in the cold or temperate climates of the earth. Such was the universal corruption of the air, that the pestilence which burst forth in the fifteenth year of Justinian was not checked or alleviated by any difference of the seasons. In time its first malignity was abated and dispersed; the disease alternately languished and revived; but it was not till the end of a calamitous period of fifty-two years that mankind recovered their health, or the air resumed its pure and salubrious quality. No facts have been preserved to sustain an account, or even a conjecture, of the numbers that perished in this extraordinary mortality. I only find that, during three months, five and at length ten thousand persons died each day at Constantinople; that many cities of the East were left vacant; and that in several districts of Italy the harvest

and the vintage withered on the ground. The triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine, afflicted the subjects of Justinian; and his reign is disgraced by a visible decrease of the human species, which has never been repaired in some of the fairest countries of the globe.'

The other narrative is the well-known account of the plague at Florence, depicted by the genius of Boccaccio in the Decameron.

'In the year then of our Lord 1348, there happened at Florence, the finest city in all Italy, a most terrible plague; which, whether owing to the influence of the planets, or that it was sent from God as a just punishment for our sins, had broken out some years before in the Levant; and after passing from place to place, and making incredible havoc all the way, had now reached the west; where, spite of all the means that art and human foresight could suggest, as keeping the city clear from filth, and excluding all suspected persons; notwithstanding frequent consultations what else was to be done; not omitting prayers to God in frequent processions: in the spring of the foregoing year, it began to show itself in a sad and wonderful manner; and, different from what it had been in the east, where bleeding from the nose is the fatal prognostic, here there appeared certain tumours in the groin, or under the arm-pits, some as big as a small apple, others as an egg; and afterwards purple spots in most parts of the body: in some cases large and but few in number, in others less and more numerous, both sorts the usual messengers of death. To the cure of this malady, neither medical knowledge nor the power of drugs was of any effect; whether because the disease was in its own nature mortal, or that the physicians (the number of whom, taking quacks and women pretenders into the account, was grown very great) could form no just idea of the cause, nor consequently ground a true method of cure; whichever was the reason, few or none escaped; but they generally died the third day from the first appearance of the symptoms, without a fever or other bad circumstance attending. And the disease, by being communicated from the sick to the well, seemed daily to get a-head and to rage the more, as fire will do by laying on fresh combustibles. Nor was it given by conversing with only, or coming near the sick, but even

by touching their clothes, or anything that they had before touched. It is wonderful what I am going to mention; which, had I not seen it with my own eyes, and were there not many witnesses to attest it besides myself, I should never venture to relate, however credibly I might have been informed about it: such, I say, was the quality of the pestilential matter, as to pass not only from man to man, but, what is more strange and has been often known, that anything belonging to the infected, if touched by any other creature, would certainly infect, and even kill that creature in a short space of time: and one instance of this kind I took particular notice of, namely, that the rags of a poor man just dead, being thrown into the street, and two hogs coming by at the same time and rooting amongst them, and shaking them about in their mouths, in less than an hour turned round and died on the spot. These accidents, and others of the like sort, occasioned various fears and devices amongst those people that survived, all tending to the same uncharitable and cruel end; which was to avoid the sick, and everything that had been near them; expecting by that means to save themselves. And some holding it best to live temperately, and to avoid excesses of all kinds, made parties, and shut themselves up from the rest of the world; eating and drinking moderately of the best, and diverting themselves with music, and such other entertainments as they might have within doors; never listening to anything from without, to make them uneasy. Others maintained free living to be a better preservative, and would baulk no passion or appetite they wished to gratify, drinking and revelling incessantly from tavern to tavern, or in private houses; which were frequently found deserted by the owners, and therefore common to everyone; yet avoiding, with all this irregularity, to come near the infected. And such at that time was the public distress, that the laws, human and divine, were not regarded; for, the officers to put them in force being either dead, sick, or in want of persons to assist them, everyone did just as he pleased. A third sort of people choose a method between these two; not confining themselves to rules of diet like the former, and yet avoiding the intemperance of the latter; but eating and drinking what their appetites required, they walked everywhere with odours and

nosegays to smell to; as holding it best to corroborate the brain: for they supposed the whole atmosphere to be tainted with the stink of dead bodies, arising partly from the distemper itself, and partly from the fermenting of the medicines within them. Others of a more cruel disposition, as perhaps the more safe to themselves, declared that the only remedy was to avoid it: persuaded, therefore, of this, and taking care for themselves only, men and women in great numbers left the city, their houses, relations, and effects, and fled into the country: as if the wrath of God had been restrained to visit those only within the walls of the city; or else concluding that none ought to stay in a place thus doomed to destruction. Divided as they were, neither did all die nor all escape; but falling sick indifferently, as well those of one as of another opinion, they who first set the example by forsaking others, now languished themselves without mercy. I pass over the little regard that citizens and relations showed to each other; for their terror was such that a brother even fled from his brother, a wife from her husband, and, what is more uncommon, a parent from its own child. On which account numbers that fell sick could have no help but what the charity of friends, who were very few, or the avarice of servants supplied; and even these were scarce, and at extravagant wages, and so little used to the business, that they were fit only to reach what was called for, and observe when they died; and this desire of getting money often cost them their lives. From this desertion of friends, and scarcity of servants, an unheard-of custom prevailed; no lady, however young or handsome, would disdain being attended by a man-servant, whether young or old it mattered not; and to expose herself naked to him, the necessity of the distemper requiring it, as though it was to a woman; which might make those who recovered less modest for the time to come. And many lost their lives who might have escaped had they been looked after at all. So that between the scarcity of servants and violence of the distemper, such numbers were continually dying, as made it terrible to hear as well as to behold. Whence from mere necessity, many customs were introduced, different from what had been before known in the city. It had been usual, as it now is, for the women who were friends and

neighbours to the deceased, to meet together at his house, and to lament with his relations; at the same time the men would get together at the door, with a number of clergy, according to the person's circumstances; and the corpse was carried by people of his own rank, with the solemnity of tapers and singing, to that church where the person had desired to be buried; which custom was now laid aside, and, so far from having a crowd of women to lament over them, that great numbers passed out of the world without a single person: and few had the tears of their friends at their departure; but those friends would laugh, and make themselves merry; for even the women had learned to postpone every other concern to that of their own lives. Nor was a corpse attended by more than ten or a dozen, nor those citizens of credit, but fellows hired for the purpose; who would put themselves under the bier, and carry it with all possible haste to the nearest church; and the corpse was interred, without any great ceremony, where they could find room.

'With regard to the lower sort, and many of a middling rank, the scene was still more affecting; for they staying at home either through poverty, or hopes of succour in distress, fell sick daily by thousands, and, having nobody to attend them, generally died: some breathed their last in the streets, and others shut up in their own houses, when the stench that came from them made the first discovery of their deaths to the neighbourhood. And, indeed, every place was filled with the dead. A method now was taken, as well out of regard to the living, as pity for the dead, for the neighbours, assisted by what porters they could meet with, to clear all the houses, and lay the bodies at the doors; and every morning great numbers might be seen brought out in this manner; from whence they were carried away on biers, or tables, two or three at a time; and sometimes it has happened that a wife and her husband, two or three brothers, and a father and son, have been laid on together: it has been observed also, whilst two or three priests have walked before a corpse with their crucifix, that two or three sets of porters have fallen in with them; and where they knew but of one, they have buried six, eight, or more: nor was there any to follow and shed a few tears over them; for things

were come to that pass, that men's lives were no more regarded than the lives of so many beasts. Hence it plainly appeared, that what the wisest in the ordinary course of things, and by a common train of calamities, could never be taught, namely, to bear them patiently; this, by the excess of those calamities, was now grown a familiar lesson to the most simple and unthinking. The consecrated ground no longer containing the numbers which were continually brought thither, especially as they were desirous of laying every one in the parts allotted to their families; they were forced to dig trenches and to put them in by hundreds, piling them up in rows, as goods are stowed in a ship, and throwing in little earth till they were filled to the top. Not to rake any farther into the particulars of our misery, I shall observe that it fared no better with the adjacent country; for to omit the different castles about us, which presented the same view in miniature with the city, you might see the poor distressed labourers with their families, without either trouble of physicians, or help of servants, languishing on the highways, in the fields, and in their own houses, and dying rather like cattle than human creatures; and growing dissolute in their manners like the citizens, and careless of everything, as supposing every day to be their last, their thoughts were not so much employed how to improve as to make use of their substance for their present support: whence it happened that the flocks, herds, etc., and the dogs themselves, ever faithful to their masters, being driven from their own homes, would wander, no regard being had to them, among the forsaken harvest; and many times, after they had filled themselves in the day, would return of their own accord like rational creatures at night. What can I say more, if I return to the city? unless that such was the cruelty of Heaven, and perhaps of men, that between March and July following, it is supposed, and made pretty certain, that upwards of a hundred thousand souls perished in the city only; whereas, before that calamity, it was not supposed to have contained so many inhabitants.'

BOOK III.

1. 1. *ἅμα τῷ σίτῳ ἀκμάζοντι.*

Cp. note on ii. 2. 1.

2. 1. *μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐσβολὴν τῶν Πελοποννησίων εὐθὺς Λέσβος πλὴν Μηθύμνης ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων.*

Yet in 412 Methymna, first of all the towns of Lesbos, joined the revolt of the allies against Athens, viii. 22 fin. So capricious was the popular feeling in Greek states. Cp. Arist. Pol. v. 4. 5, 6, who gives a somewhat different account of the revolt of Mitylene.

2. 1. *βουληθέντες μὲν καὶ πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου (ἀλλ' οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ προσεδέξαντο), ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ διενοοῦντο ποιήσασθαι.*

καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν. Although they had wanted to revolt long before, 'yet even in this revolt,' which they actually made, as opposed to that which they had only intended to make, 'they were still unprepared.'

2. 2. *τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν καὶ τειχῶν οἰκοδόμησιν καὶ νεῶν ποίησιν ἐπέμενον τελεσθῆναι, καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι, τοξότας τε καὶ σῖτον, καὶ ἃ μεταπεμπόμενοι ἦσαν. Τενέδιοι γάρ κ.τ.λ.*

The first sentence—*τῶν τε γάρ κ.τ.λ.*—explains why they wanted to delay; the second, *Τενέδιοι γάρ*, why they were compelled to hurry; the second *γάρ* reverting to the main idea *ἀναγκασθέντες δὲ καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόστασιν πρότερον ἢ διενοοῦντο ποιεῖσθαι*, and the words which intervene being parenthetical.

ἐπέμενον takes two constructions, *a*) the infinitive *τελεσθῆναι*, *b*) the accusative *ὅσα ἔδει ἀφικέσθαι.*

2. 3. *ὅτι ξυνοικίζουσί τε τὴν Λέσβον ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην βίᾳ καὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων ἐπὶ ἀποστάσει ἐπείγονται.*

1)* 'They were compelling the inhabitants of Lesbos to settle in Mitylene.'

Or 2) 'They were seeking to centralize by force the government of Lesbos in Mitylene.' But the Greek word, without further explanation (such as is given in ii. 13 med.), hardly admits of this meaning. For the other use, cp. i. 10 init. *οὔτε ξυνοικισθείσης πόλεως κ.τ.λ.* And the Mitylenians would naturally wish to bring into the city the inhabitants of the country who were friendly to themselves, that they might not fall into the hands of the Athenians, and perhaps to take hostages from those who were in the interest of the Athenians, that they might be prevented from joining them. Compare the similar measures taken by Perdiccas previous to the Chalcidian revolt, when he transplanted some of the inhabitants of Chalcidicè to Olynthus, i. 58 fin. 2. 3.

For *Βοιωτῶν ξυγγενῶν ὄντων* cp. viii. 100 med.

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦσαν γὰρ τεταλαιπωρημένοι ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος. 3. 1.

'The war which was newly begun and was at its height.' Poppo objects to this explanation 'that a war is less oppressive at first than afterwards.' To which it may be replied, 'that it is more felt,' and therefore its novelty may be deemed an aggravation of the evil. There is no reason for taking the words *ἄρτι καθισταμένου* in any but their usual sense (cp. *ἀρξάμενος εὐθὺς καθισταμένου*, i. 1 init.) Poppo himself translates, 'the war which was just then on foot;' but the precision thus given to the word *ἄρτι* is unmeaning. A year afterwards, iii. 68 fin., the war is still spoken of as *ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενος*.

μεῖζον μέρος νέμοντες τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι ἀληθῆ εἶναι. 3. 1.

Cp. Dem. Olynth. iii. 33, *ὃ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ' ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται. τὰ δὲ πράγματα πολλάκις οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν.* Cp. also Thuc. iv. 108 med. *εἰωθότες οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὗ μὲν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἐλπίδι ἀπερισκέπτῳ διδόναι, ὃ δὲ μὴ προσίενται, λογισμῷ αὐτοκράτορι διωθεῖσθαι.*

καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐξαπίναιος τεσσαράκοντα ναῦς, αἳ ἔτυχον περὶ Πελοπόννησον παρεσκευασμέναι πλεῖν· Κλεϊππίδης δὲ ὁ Δεινίου τρίτος αὐτὸς ἐστρατήγει. ἐσηγγέλθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ὡς εἴη Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλόεντος ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ Μυτιληναῖοι ἑορτάζουσι, καὶ ἐλπίδα εἶναι ἐπει- 3. 3.

3. 3. *χθέντας ἐπιπεσεῖν ἄφνω· καὶ ἢν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα, εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν ναῦς τε παραδοῦναι καὶ τείχη καθελεῖν, μὴ πειθομένων δέ, πολεμεῖν.*

ἤν expresses what the Athenians hoped to be the more probable alternative, *εἰ* the remoter or less probable. Compare iv. 13 fin. *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο, ἢν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι.*

With *εἰπεῖν* some verb such as *κελεύουσιν* is to be supplied from *πέμπουσιν*.

3. 5. *πλῷ χρησάμενος καὶ τριταῖος ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἐς Μυτιλήνην ἀφικόμενος.*

πλῷ χρησάμενος does not necessarily imply 'making a favourable voyage,' but only 'having found it possible to sail.' The ordinary merchant vessel, although furnished with oars, would wait for a favourable wind. *πλοῦς*=opportunity of sailing, the reverse of *ἄπλοια*: cp. Soph. Phil. 464,—

ὡς ὁπηνίκ' ἂν θεὸς
πλοῦν ἡμὶν εἴκῃ, τηνικαῦθ' ὁρμώμεθα.

So the words *μέχρι πλοῦς γένηται*, i. 137 med., referring to the storm which overtook Themistocles off Naxos, are to be explained 'until sailing was possible.'

3. 6. *οἱ δὲ οὔτε ἐς τὸν Μαλόεντα ἐξῆλθον, τά τε ἄλλα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα φραξάμενοι ἐφύλασσον.*

τά τε ἄλλα, 'and for the rest,' referring back to the clause *τῶν τε γὰρ λιμένων τὴν χῶσιν κ.τ.λ.* in c. 2 init., 1)* may be taken in connection with *ἐφύλασσον*, *τὰ τείχη καὶ τὰς λιμένας* having to be supplied with *ἐφύλασσον* from *φραξάμενοι περὶ τὰ ἡμιτέλεστα τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων*. Or 2), throwing back the accent on *πέρι*, the clause *τῶν τειχῶν καὶ λιμένων πέρι* may be regarded as explanatory of *τά τε ἄλλα*, 'and for the rest, namely, in respect of their walls and harbours, they barricaded their unfinished parts and guarded them.'

4. 4. *τῶν τε διαβαλλόντων ἕνα ᾧ μετέμελεν ἤδη.*

Scil. one of the proxeni mentioned in c. 2 med.

4. 5. *ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσι καὶ ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις τριήρει, λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν, οἳ ὥρμουν ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ, πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως.*

4. 5. According to Strabo, Malea was a promontory to the south of Lesbos, xiii. 2. 2, *ἀπὸ Μηθύμνης εἰς Μαλίαν τὸ νοτιώτατον ἄκρον ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχουσι τὴν νῆσον, . . . στάδιοί εἰσι τριακόσιοι τετταράκοντα. . . . Μυτιλήνη δὲ κεῖται μεταξὺ Μηθύμνης καὶ τῆς Μαλίας ἡ μεγίστη πόλις, διέχουσα τῆς Μαλίας ἑβδομήκοντα σταδίων.* How are these words to be reconciled with *ἐν τῇ Μαλέᾳ πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως*? And if Malea was distant about eight miles from Mitylene, how could the Athenians have had their naval station and market there, iii. 6 init.?

Other statements of Thucydides affecting the question are as follows:—*a*) The Mitylenaeans make an attack with their whole force upon the Athenian station (iii. 5 init.), i. e. the station at Malea: *b*) In iii. 6. 1 (see note on the words) the Athenians are said to have anchored round, or to have taken up a new position to, the south of the city: *c*) They now established two camps (iii. 6), one to the north and the other to the south of the city, and blockaded both the harbours: *d*) Their hold of the country did not extend far beyond their own lines, and Malea was rather a naval station and market than a camp.

We may suppose 1) that Thucydides made a mistake (see remarks on the Geography of Thucydides in the Introduction). 2) That the words *πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως* are 'a gloss.' But there is no variation in the MSS. And why should a gloss contain so palpable a mistake? 3) That there are two Maleas. One of the harbours of Mitylene is said by Aristotle (p. 973, *ἀνέμων θέσεις καὶ προσηγορίαι*) to have been called *ὁ Μαλόεις*. (*Κωικίας· οὗτος ἐν μὲν Δέσβῳ καλειται Θηβάνας· πνεῖ γὰρ ἀπὸ Θήβης πεδίου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐλαιατικὸν κόλπον τῆς Μυσίας, ἐνοχλεῖ δὲ τὸν Μυτιληναίων λιμένα, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν Μαλόεντα*). But the Malea where the Athenians lay is clearly distinguished by Thucydides from either of the two harbours of the city which they blockaded later. And the words of Aristotle, although they clearly refer to the northern harbour, do not prove that Cape Malea was near it.

4) It is a better solution of the difficulty, with Stahl, to connect the words *πρὸς βορέαν τῆς πόλεως* at the end of the sentence with *ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἀποστέλλουσιν* at the beginning. To this way of taking them it may be objected, with some force, that 'they are too far off.' But it may be replied, with still greater reason, that they supply

4. 5. the answer to the question which naturally arises, how, in the face of an Athenian fleet, any one could find a way out of Mitylene? They are in fact an explanation of the clause *λαθόντες τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ναυτικόν*, which is closely connected with *ἀποστέλλουσι*. The trireme conveying the embassy goes out of its way round the north of the island by the Andramyttian gulf, in order to deceive the Athenians, who are stationed at Malea, the south-east point.

The remainder of the narrative is quite consistent with this interpretation. The Athenian station was eight miles off, because, not having military possession of the island, the Athenians could occupy no place nearer. The communication afterwards between the blockading force and the naval station was by sea and not by land. They were not in possession of the harbour of Mitylene, and there is no harbour along the coast between Mitylene and Cape Malea in which they could find shelter.

Compare the proposal of Lamachus (vi. 49 fin.), that the Athenians, while besieging Syracuse, should form a *ναύσταθμον* at Megara, about twelve miles off.

There is indeed no harbour at Malea, but not far off there is a land-locked gulf (now Port Iero), which runs up towards the centre of the island within two miles from Mitylene. We can hardly suppose that the Athenian fleet would have failed to make use of this harbour. Thucydides does not mention it: may we not infer that he was imperfectly acquainted with the geography of the country?

4. 6. *καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα ταλαιπώρως διὰ τοῦ πελάγους κομισθέντες αὐτοῖς ἔπρασσον ὅπως τις βοήθεια ἥξει.*

διὰ τοῦ πελάγους, through the open sea, i. e. not touching at the islands on their way.

αὐτοῖς is a 'dativus commodi' referring to the Lesbians, and 1) may be connected with the whole sentence, as its position sufficiently indicates, not simply with *ἔπρασσον*. Or 2)* it may be taken with *ἥξει*. In either case the embassy, *οἱ μέν*, is distinguished from the whole people, *αὐτοῖς*.

5. 3. *ἔπειτα οἱ μὲν ἡσύχαζον, ἐκ Πελοποννήσου καὶ μετ' ἄλλης παρασκευῆς*

βουλόμενοι εἰ προσγένοιτό τι κινδυνεύειν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς Μελέας Λάκων ἀφικνεῖται καὶ Ἑρμαιώνδας Θηβαῖος κ.τ.λ. 5. 3.

βουλόμενοι κ.τ.λ., 'intending when they had more help,' (cp. c. 2. 2,) but not till then.

μετ' ἄλλης, 'with more preparation than they have,' is explanatory of ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, but also includes the aid expected from Thebes. ἐκ Πελοποννήσου is governed by the idea afterwards expressed in εἰ προσγένοιτό τι.

οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι πολὺ ἐπιῤῥωσθέντες διά τὴν τῶν Μυτιληναίων ἡσυχίαν ξυμμάχους τε προσεκάλουν, οἳ πολὺ θᾶσσον παρῆσαν ὁρῶντες οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Λεσβίων, καὶ περιορμισάμενοι τὸ πρὸς νότον τῆς πόλεως ἐτείχισαν στρατόπεδα δύο ἑκατέρωθεν τῆς πόλεως, καὶ τοὺς ἐφόρμους ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρας τοῖς λιμέσιν ἐποιοῦντο. 6. 1.

This passage does not show that Malea was north of the city (iii. 4 fin.), as περιορμισάμενοι need not imply that the Athenians were on the north side of the city before and changed their position to the south, but only that they 1)* came to anchor all round the south part of the city, or 2) took up a new position south of the city. For τὸ πρὸς νότον after περιορμισάμενοι cp. note on vi. 63. 2.

ἦν δὲ Ὀλυμπιὰς ᾗ Δωριεὺς Ῥόδιος τὸ δεύτερον ἐνίκα. 8. 1.

The name of Dorieus was famous among athletes. He became an Athenian citizen, and afterwards, being exiled and outlawed, was taken fighting at sea against Athens, and then out of pity forgiven on his appearance in the assembly. Thuc. viii. 84, Paus. vi. 7. 2, Xen. Hell. i. 1. 2; 5. 19. He is finally said to have been put to death by the Lacedaemonians. But Pausanias intimates that this part of the story is the invention of an obscure writer named Androtion, who, wanting to counteract the odium raised against the Athenians by the condemnation of the ten generals, brought a similar charge against the Lacedaemonians.

εἰδότες οὔτε φιλίαν ἰδιώταις βέβαιον γιγνομένην οὔτε κοινωνίαν πόλεσιν ἐς οὐδέν, εἰ μὴ μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης ἐς ἀλλήλους γίγνοιντο, καὶ τἆλλα ὁμοιότροποι εἶεν. 10. 1.

μετ' ἀρετῆς δοκούσης, not apparent as opposed to real, but 'apparent

10. 1. to each other.' *γίγνοιντο*, scil. *φιλία καὶ κοινωνία*. In the following clause *καὶ . . . εἶεν*, the subject is changed.

10. 4. *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐωρῶμεν αὐτοὺς τὴν μὲν τοῦ Μήδου ἔχθραν ἀνιέντας, τὴν δὲ τῶν ξυμμάχων δούλωσιν ἐπαγομένους, οὐκ ἀδεεῖς ἔτι ἦμεν.*

The middle *ἐπαγομένους* emphasizes either 1) the activity of the agent (for this use cp. Krüger, Sprachlehre, 52. 8), 'Themselves actively bringing subjugation (*δούλωσις* not *δουλεία*) on the allies,' or 2) the self-interested character of the action, 'bringing, in their own interest, subjugation on the allies.' Bekker suggests, though he does not adopt in the text, the conjecture *ἐπείγεσθαι*. But the change is unnecessary.

10. 6. *οὐ γὰρ εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτοὺς οὓς μὲν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐνσπόνδους ἐποιήσαντο καταστρέψασθαι, τοὺς δὲ ὑπολοίπους, εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν, μὴ δρᾶσαι τοῦτο.*

εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν. There is a confusion between the past and the present feelings of the Mitylenaeans. From the point of view of their past feelings, at the time when their fears were aroused, they had thought it improbable 'that the Athenians, who attacked others, would spare them, if ever they had the power to attack them,' *εἴ ποτε δυνηθείησαν*. But this last clause is expressed from their present point of view, 'if ever they had had the power' (which they never had), *εἴ ποτε ἄρα ἐδυνήθησαν*.

11. 1. *καὶ εἰ μὲν αὐτόνομοι ἔτι ἦμεν ἅπαντες, βεβαιότεροι ἂν ἡμῖν ἦσαν μηδὲν νεωτερίειν· ὑποχειρίους δὲ ἔχοντες τοὺς πλείους, ἡμῖν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὁμιλοῦντες, χαλεπώτερον εἰκότως ἐμέλλον οἴσειν, καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἔτι μόνου ἀντισουμένου, ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅσῳ δυνατώτεροι αὐτοὶ αὑτῶν ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρημότεροι.*

καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον . . . ἀντισουμένου is a repetition of the previous clause, *ὑποχειρίους δὲ . . . ὁμιλοῦντες*, in a new form, which points the contrast between the situation of the Mitylenaeans and that of the other allies. Compare for a similar pleonastic expression i. 39 fin. 1) 'They would take offence at the footing of equality on which we stood, especially when (*καί*) they remarked the contrast between that equality and the submission of the majority,' *καί* influencing

the whole clause. Or 2) *καί* may be closely connected with *πρὸς* **11. 1.** *τὸ πλεῖον ἤδη εἶκον*, 'even although the majority had already yielded.' Or 3) *καί* may be taken simply in the sense of 'and,' coupling the clause *καὶ πρὸς . . . ἀντισουμένου* with the clause *ὑποχειρίους . . . ὁμιλοῦντες*. 'While they were holding the majority in subjection, but associating with us on equal terms, and while we alone were retaining our equality, although the majority had yielded,' etc.

ἅμα μὲν γὰρ μαρτυρίῳ ἐχρῶντο μὴ ἂν τούς γε ἰσοψήφους ἄκοντας, εἰ μή τι **11. 3.** *ἠδίκουν οἷς ἐπῆσαν, ξυστρατεύειν.*

There is a confusion in this sentence. *ἄκοντας* seems to be a condensed expression for *ἄκοντας ὥσπερ ξυνεστράτευον ἂν ἄκοντες, εἰ μή* κ.τ.λ. Cp. i. 38. 4, *οὐδ' ἐπιστρατεύομεν ἐκπρεπῶς μὴ καὶ διαφερόντως τι ἀδικούμενοι*, where similarly *ἐκπρεπῶς* (according to one explanation, see note) is equivalent to *ἐκπρεπῶς, ὥσπερ ἐκπρεπῶς ἂν ἐπεστρατεύομεν*. Cp. also i. 40. 2, *καὶ ὅστις μὴ τοῖς δεξαμένοις, εἰ σωφρονοῦσι, πόλεμον ἀντὶ εἰρήνης ποιήσει*, and iv. 86 med. *οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρεὶς τὸ πλέον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τὸ ἔλασσον τοῖς πᾶσι δουλώσαιμι*.

All these passages have three characteristics in common, *a*) there is a negative preceding; *b*) there is a hypothetical clause following; and *c*), with little or no alteration in the expression, the omission of either gives a clear and good sense. E. g. in iv. 86 med. we might either say *οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν*, or *καὶ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζοιμι ἂν ἐπιφέρειν εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρείς* κ.τ.λ. It is impossible to point out the exact course of thought which the writer had in his mind when he became entangled in these perplexities of language; and they may be analysed in various ways. Cp. notes on i. 38. 4, 40. 2.

Arnold on i. 38 compares a somewhat similar form of speech in a line quoted from Shakespeare by Ben Jonson, though the exact words do not occur in our present text (Julius Caesar, Act iii. Sc. i.)—

'Caesar doth never wrong but with just cause;'

i. e. 'but what he does always has a just cause.'

Cp. also Cic. De N. D. ii. 57. 144, 'Flexuosum iter habet (scil. auditus), ne quid intrare possit, si simplex et directum pateret.'

11. 3. The flaw seems to arise from the attempt to express two sentences in one. For other forms of this confusion cp. ii. 63. 3, and note, *οὐδὲ ἐν ἀρχούσῃ πόλει ξυμφέρει ἀλλ' ἐν ὑπηκόῳ ἀσφαλῶς δουλεύειν*: v. 95, *οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον.*

11. 3. *ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰ κράτιστα ἐπί τε τοὺς ὑποδεεστέρους πρώτους ξυνεπῆγον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα λιπόντες τοῦ ἄλλου περιῃρημένου ἀσθενέστερα ἔμελλον ἕξειν.*

The participles *τέ, καί* connect *ξυνεπῆγον* with *λιπόντες* as well as with *ἔμελλον ἕξειν, πρώτους* corresponding to *τὰ τελευταῖα.*

καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα, 'leaving them to be the last.' The article marks as a distinct class the allies who were left.

12. 1. *τίς οὖν αὕτη ἡ φιλία ἐγίγνετο ἢ ἐλευθερία πιστή;*

Either 1)* reading *ἤ* for *ἡ* before *φιλία* and taking *πιστή* closely with *φιλία* and *ἐλευθερία,* 'what sort of reliance could be placed either on a friendship or on a freedom like this?' *αὕτη* is the subject. Or 2) reading *ἡ φιλία* and regarding *πιστή* as a sort of afterthought, 'Of what sort then was this friendship or freedom? could it be trusted?'

12. 1. *ὅ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις μάλιστα εὔνοια πίστιν βεβαιοῖ, ἡμῖν τοῦτο ὁ φόβος ἐχυρὸν παρεῖχε.*

ὅ answers to *τοῦτο* and is in apposition, either with *πίστιν,* or better, with *πίστιν βεβαιοῖ* taken as a single word; *τοῦτο,* scil. *τὸ βεβαιοῦσθαι τὴν πίστιν.* 'And that which good will confirms for others, namely, their good faith,' or 'and that which good will assures for others, namely, the confirming of their good faith, that to us fear assured.'

This passage is verbally, but not really, inconsistent with what has preceded, iii. 11 init. *τὸ δὲ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν.* There mutual fear is said to be the only basis of a sure alliance, but here it is the mark of a treacherous alliance. The two statements are easily reconciled. The fear which is the true basis of mutual alliance is that which is founded on equality of power and on mutual respect. The false fear which takes the place of

good will, and which relies upon artifice and flattery, is that in which there is no equality; one of the parties is overmatched, though both have their reasons for fear and suspicion. The latter is the sort of fear which Athens and Mitylene inspired in each other. In these and similar passages the mind of the writer goes off upon a word which he repeats without considering its effect on the context. Or there is a false resemblance of sound without sense. Compare *μέλλησιν, ἀντιμελλῆσαι*, just below. 12. 1.

ὥστε, εἴ τῳ δοκοῦμεν ἀδικεῖν προαποστάντες διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων μέλλησιν τῶν ἐς ἡμᾶς δεινῶν, αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἀνταναμείναντες σαφῶς εἰδέναι, εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἔσται, οὐκ ὀρθῶς σκοπεῖ. εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εἶναι; ἐπ' ἐκείνοις δὲ ὄντος ἀεὶ τοῦ ἐπιχειρεῖν, καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναι δεῖ τὸ προαμύνασθαι. 12. 2.

ἀντιμελλῆσαι is an echo of *μέλλησιν*, i. e. of the sound but not of the sense, for *μέλλησις* in this passage implies only 'delay,' *ἀντιμελλῆσαι*, 'threatening.' Poppo reads *ἀντιμελλῆσαι*, but *ἀντεπιμελλῆσαι*, which is found in the majority of MSS., is probably the true reading. For although there is no authority for such a word, *ἐπι-* adds strength to the idea contained in *ἀντιμελλῆσαι*, and the parallel with *ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι* is more precise.

ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου is a repetition of *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου*: a different word is used to avoid the appearance of tautology. *ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου* is not however taken immediately with the verb, like *ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου* in the previous clause, but with *ὄντας* understood. Cp. iv. 10 fin. *καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων.*

The argument is that the Lesbians were not on an equality with the Athenians, because they were necessarily at their mercy. The past tense *ἔδει* refers to the time of the revolt.

καὶ ἐνομίζομεν ἀποστήσεσθαι διπλῆν ἀπόστασιν, ἀπό τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων μὴ ξὺν κακῶς ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς μετ' Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ ξυνελευθεροῦν, ἀπό τε Ἀθηναίων, μὴ αὐτοὶ διαφθαρῆναι ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἐν ὑστέρῳ, ἀλλὰ προποιῆσαι. ἡ μέντοι ἀπόστασις ἡμῶν θᾶσσον γεγένηται καὶ ἀπαράσκευος. 13. 1.

1) Poppo takes the word *ἀποστήσεσθαι* in the ordinary sense of 'revolt' in both cases, and explains *Ἑλλήνων* of the Athenian confederacy regarded as distinct from the Athenians themselves. It

13. 1. is better with Arnold to suppose 2)* that the word *ἀποστήσεσθαι* is employed in two senses, *a*) separation or 'standing aloof' from the Hellenes, *b*) 'revolt' from the Athenians. For the former sense cp. iv. 118 med. *οὐδενὸς γὰρ ἀποστήσονται, ὅσα ἂν δίκαια λέγητε, οὔτε οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε οἱ ξύμμαχοι*: vii. 7 init. *εἴ τις . . . παντάπασιν ἔτι ἀφεστήκει τοῦ πολέμου.* The truth is that the word has a wider signification than any single English word, and in this passage denotes a violent separation. 'To tear ourselves away from.' But the ordinary meaning of *ἀποστήσεσθαι* is not excluded, as is proved by the use of the word *ἀπόστασις* in the following sentence.

It is rightly observed by Classen that there is a reference to c. 10 med. *ξύμμαχοι μέντοι ἐγενόμεθα οὐκ ἐπὶ καταδουλώσει τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀθηναίοις ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήδου τοῖς Ἕλλησι.* The wider sense of 'alliance' adopted there prepares the way for the wider sense of 'revolt' here.

13. 5. *οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἔσται ὁ πόλεμος, ὥς τις οἴεται, ἀλλὰ δι' ἣν ἡ Ἀττικὴ ὠφελεῖται.*

δι' ἥν, nearly equivalent to *ἀφ' ἧς*: cp. iii. 39 fin. *τῆς προσόδου δι' ἣν ἰσχύομεν*, and note on i. 83. 2, *δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τα ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ.*

14. 1. *ἐν οὖ τῷ ἱερῷ ἴσα καὶ ἱκέται ἐσμέν κ.τ.λ.*

ἴσα is here used adverbially, *καί* as in *ὡς δ' αὖτως Κάσπειροι καὶ Παρικάνιοι ἐσεσάχατο ὁμοίως καὶ ἐν τῷ πεζῷ* (Herod. vii. 86). The words *ἴσα καὶ ἱκέται* are the predicate, not *ἴσα* simply. Cp. note on i. 25. 4, p. 30.

14. 1. *ἴδιον μὲν τὸν κίνδυνον τῶν σωμάτων παραβαλλομένους κ.τ.λ.*

Compare the old Homeric expression, Il. ix. 322,—

αἰὲν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος πολεμίζειν.

Lit. 'we alone exposing the risk of our lives,' abstract for concrete, ='we alone exposing our lives which we risk.'

16. 1. *αἰσθόμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι διὰ κατάγνωσιν ἀσθενείας σφῶν παρασκευαζομένους κ.τ.λ.*

σφῶν is governed by the verbal sense of *κατάγνωσιν*, 'because they imputed weakness to them,' *ὅτι κατέγνωσαν σφῶν ἀσθένειαν.*

ὕστερον δὲ ναυτικὸν παρεσκεύαζον ὅ τι πέμψουσιν ἐς τὴν Λέσβον. 18. 3.

ὅ τι, referring to a definite object, is used when any indefinite or general notion, such as that of purpose, 'which they might send,' is expressed by the relative clause (Jelf, 816. 5. 7). Cp. iv. 22 init. ξυνέδρους δὲ σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ἑλέσθαι οἵτινες . . . ξυμβήσονται.

καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον, ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται δὴ νῆες 17. 1.
ἅμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει ἐγένοντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον, καὶ περὶ Πελοπόννησον ἕτεραι ἑκατὸν ἦσαν, χωρὶς δὲ αἱ περὶ Ποτίδαιαν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις χωρίοις, ὥστε αἱ πᾶσαι ἅμα ἐγίγνοντο ἐν ἐνὶ θέρει διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα . . . τὰ μὲν οὖν χρήματα οὕτως ὑπαναλώθη τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ νῆες τοσαῦται δὴ πλεῖσται ἐπληρώθησαν.

Thucydides here says that at this time the Athenians had the greatest number of ships 'effective by their fine condition,' ἔνεργοι κάλλει, 'which they ever had.' But to avoid misunderstanding he adds that they had about as many or even more at the beginning of the war, that is to say in mere numbers, not 'effective by their fine condition.' (Cp. vi. 31 init. παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη . . . πολυτελεστάτη δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο, ἀριθμῷ δὲ νεῶν καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον μετὰ Περικλέους . . . οὐκ ἔλασσον ἦν.) He is thus led on to speak generally of the resources and expenditure of Athens at the beginning of the war. πλεῖσται at the end of the chapter refers to the number of ships employed in the first year (τὸ πρῶτον), not in the fourth.

ἐν τοῖς πλεῖσται is equivalent to πλεῖσται. The expression 1) may arise out of a combination of πλεῖσται and ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις: or 2) there may have been originally an ellipse of the participle, ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις πλεῖσται ἐγένοντο. Cp. viii. 68 fin. quoted below. Or 3) ἐν τοῖς may be simply the demonstrative article, as in the well-known use of τὸ δὲ (τὸ δ' ἦν ἄρα, etc.). The confusion of genders must be explained by supposing that, the whole expression being considered as one word, the gender of the article or pronoun is lost sight of. For the neglect of the concord cp. ἔστιν οἵ.

This and similar forms are generally periphrases for the superlative, but they may have either an intensive or a qualifying sense according to the context. Cp. vii. 24 med. μέγιστον δὲ καὶ ἐν

17. 1. τοῖς πρῶτον ἐκάκωσε τὸ στράτευμα τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἡ τοῦ Πλημμυρίου λῆψις: viii. 68 fin. καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ τοῦ Ἄγνωνος ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τὸν δῆμον πρῶτος ἦν: viii. 90 init. Ἀρίσταρχος, ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ ἐκ πλείστου ἐναντίος τῷ δήμῳ. In these three passages the superlative, if modified at all, has a qualified and not an intensive sense. For the capture of Plemmyrium was not the 'very' first thing which weakened the Athenian army, and Theramenes and Aristarchus were not the 'very' foremost among the subverters of the democracy. In some other passages the meaning of the superlative appears to be intensified. iii. 81 fin. οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προὐχώρησε, καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο, cp. iii. 85 init. τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο: Plat. Symp. 178 B, οὕτω πολλαχόθεν ὁμολογεῖται ὁ Ἔρως ἐν τοῖς πρεσβύτατος εἶναι. πρεσβύτατος δὲ ὢν μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν αἴτιός ἐστιν. As different meanings suit different passages it is probable that ἐν τοῖς πρῶτος, πλεῖστοι κ.τ.λ. have all these three meanings: i. e. the 1) simple, 2) qualified, 3) intensive superlative. Compare note i. 13. 3 on the word μάλιστα.

ἔνεργοι κάλλει is a singular expression, but as there is no variety of reading we should hesitate to pronounce it corrupt. It may be supported by other somewhat strange uses of the dative with adjectives in Thucydides. Compare ii. 52 init. ἐν καλύβαις πνιγηραῖς ὥρᾳ ἔτους διαιτωμένων: ii. 65 init. οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν οἰκοδομίαις τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλεκότες (if οἰκοδομίαις is not to be explained as a dative of accompaniment): iii. 22 init. τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ.

διακόσιαι καὶ πεντήκοντα. The number 250 does not agree with the estimate put into the mouth of Pericles, ἀπέφαινε . . . τριήρεις τὰς πλωίμους τριακοσίας, ii. 13 fin. But Pericles may be speaking of the whole number of vessels, including those in the docks, while the words of this passage may refer to those on actual service.

The number of ships mentioned as employed in active service at this time is 170. Cp. iii. 3 med. (40), 7 init. (30), 16 init. (100). For ships sent out later cp. 18 fin., 19 init.

There is little or no correspondence between the statements of the present passage as to the ships on service in the first year of the war, and the accounts given by Thucydides elsewhere. For

the 'hundred ships cruising off the Peloponnesus' cp. ii. 17 fin. But nothing is said in iii. 17 of the thirty ships mentioned in ii. 26 init. as cruising off Euboea and Locris; and nothing is said in the earlier part of the history of the hundred ships which are here described as keeping guard about Attica and Euboea. Seventy ships are also said to have been engaged at Potidaea (i. 57 fin., 61 init.), and no mention is made of their recall (cp. ii. 58), whereas here it is implied that only fifty ships were employed at Potidaea and in other places. **17. 1.**

The discrepancy with the statement of Pericles would be removed if we took *ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις* in the sense 'among the most,' and supplied *ἔνεργοι κάλλει* with the second clause. But the passage, thus explained, is wanting in point. For Thucydides would hardly have appended the subsequent discussion to a statement that Athens had at this time not 'the largest,' but 'one of the largest' fleets in good condition which she ever had.

οἱ δὲ αὐτερέται πλεύσαντες τῶν νεῶν ἀφικνοῦνται καὶ περιτειχίζουσι **18. 5.** *Μυτιλήνην ἐν κύκλῳ ἁπλῷ τείχει· φρούρια δὲ ἔστιν οἷ ἐπὶ τῶν καρτερῶν* **ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται.**

No satisfactory explanation of the perfect *ἐγκατῳκοδόμηται* has been suggested; for Thucydides can hardly be supposed to refer, without further explanation, to fortifications 'existing to this day' at a distant place like Mitylene. *ἐγκατοικοδομεῖται* is the correction which departs least from the form of the MSS. and agrees best with the context. Cp. the historic presents above *ἀφικνοῦνται* and *περιτειχίζουσι*.

ἐξέπεμψαν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀργυρολόγους ναῦς δώδεκα. **19. 1.**

Cp. note on iv. 50. 1.

ξυνεμετρήσαντο δὲ ταῖς ἐπιβολαῖς τῶν πλίνθων. **20. 3.**

Compare Livy's account of the taking of Syracuse, xxv. 23, which, unless Livy was acquainted with the work of Thucydides, exhibits a singular coincidence: 'Unus ex Romanis ex propinquo murum contemplatus, numerando lapides aestimandoque ipse secum, quid in fronte paterent singuli, altitudinem muri, quantum proxime conjectura poterat, permensus.'

22. 1. *τηρήσαντες νύκτα χειμέριον ὕδατι καὶ ἀνέμῳ.*

Explained by *χειμὼν νοτερός* above. Cp. note on *ἔνεργοι κάλλει*, iii. 17. 1.

22. 3. *κατὰ οὖν μεταπύργιον προσέμισγον πρὸς τὰς ἐπάλξεις, εἰδότες ὅτι ἔρημοί εἰσι, πρῶτον μὲν οἱ τὰς κλίμακας φέροντες καὶ προσέθεσαν. ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ δώδεκα ξὺν ξιφιδίῳ καὶ θώρακι ἀνέβαινον, ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀμμέας ὁ Κοροίβου, καὶ πρῶτος ἀνέβη, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ ἑπόμενοι ἓξ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον· ἔπειτα ψιλοὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τούτους ξὺν δορατίοις ἐχώρουν, οἷς ἕτεροι κατόπιν τὰς ἀσπίδας ἔφερον, ὅπως ἐκεῖνοι ῥᾷον προσβαίνοιεν, καὶ ἔμελλον δώσειν, ὁπότε πρὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶησαν.*

ἓξ ἐφ' ἑκάτερον τῶν πύργων ἀνέβαινον must mean, not, as in the English text, 'six ascending each of the two towers on the right and left,' but 'six ascending the wall and proceeding towards each of the two towers,' *ἀνέβαινον* being a repetition of *ἀνέβαινον* above. This explanation, though harsh, is rendered necessary by the context, for the small body of six could not have mounted the towers without first killing the guard, and probably could not have done so without ladders.

The words *ἐχώρουν* and *ἀνέβαινον* have been transposed, but without necessity. Thucydides describes how the first body of twelve, when they reached the top of the wall following their leader, in two parties of six each, proceeded towards the two towers right and left of them. These were 'the forlorn hope,' armed with breastplates and daggers only, because they had to fight at once, and not, like the rest, with short spears and shields which were to be handed to them. As soon as they had mounted they would rush towards the *δίοδος* of either tower, and, first having killed the guards, would protect the flanks of the main body who were 'moving onward' (*ἐχώρουν*), i.e. scaling the wall in the space between the towers, when many ladders together had been placed there. The rest of the guards, who were in the other towers, until a noise was made by the fall of the tile, were unconscious of what was happening.

22. 7. *καὶ οἱ τριακόσιοι αὐτῶν οἷς ἐτέτακτο παραβοηθεῖν, εἴ τι δέοι κ.τ.λ.*

The use of the article is explained by the clause *οἷς ἐτέτακτο* which follows.

23. 1. οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ (ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν ἀναβεβήκεσαν καὶ τοῦ πύργου ἑκατέρου τοὺς φύλακας διαφθείραντες ἐκεκρατήκεσαν), τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους, οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶργον βάλλοντες, οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας ἅμα καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπώσαντες διὰ τοῦ μεταπυργίου ὑπερέβαινον.

The words οἱ δ' ὑπερβαίνοντες τῶν Πλαταιῶν ἐν τούτῳ refer to the whole body. But the words which follow (after the parenthesis ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν . . . ἐκεκρατήκεσαν) refer only to part of them, viz. *a*) to those who occupied the passages of the towers (τάς τε διόδους τῶν πύργων ἐνστάντες αὐτοὶ ἐφύλασσον μηδένα δι' αὐτῶν ἐπιβοηθεῖν), as well the 'forlorn hope,' οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν, as others; and *b*) to those who assisted their comrades in mounting the two towers, καὶ κλίμακας προσθέντες ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους τοῖς πύργοις, καὶ ἐπαναβιβάσαντες ἄνδρας πλείους. πλείους, 'more men,' not than those who were on the top of the towers, for there were none as yet, but than those who occupied the towers, i. e. the passages below.

The words οἱ μέν—οἱ δέ should, in strict grammatical sequence, indicate a further division of this latter class. But they really return to the main subject οἱ ὑπερβαίνοντες, which they now divide exhaustively into those who secured the main body from molestation by the enemy as they crossed the wall, either from the upper or lower part of the towers (οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν πύργων τοὺς ἐπιβοηθοῦντας καὶ κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν εἶργον βάλλοντες, resuming all that has gone before), and the main body, who meanwhile crossed under their protection (οἱ δ' ἐν τούτῳ οἱ πλείους . . . ὑπερέβαινον).

The parenthesis ὡς οἱ πρῶτοι αὐτῶν may end, either at ἐκεκρατήκεσαν as above, or at ἐπιβοηθεῖν. The former alternative is the more probable, because the καί before κλίμακας drags if joined with the καί following, and connects better with the τέ in τάς τε διόδους.

αὐτοί, 'taking the place of the enemy's guard in the towers.' Observe that in the words κλίμακας προσθέντες the ladders are applied to the towers, in the words πολλὰς προσθέντες κλίμακας to the wall.

23. 5. κρύσταλλός τε γὰρ ἐπεπήγει οὐ βεβαίως ἐν αὐτῇ ὥστ' ἐπελθεῖν ἀλλ' οἷος ἀπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου ὑδατώδης μᾶλλον.

23. 5. The omission of μᾶλλον with ἤ is softened by its occurrence after ὑδατώδης. The ice was half water rather than ice, or rather than firm (βέβαιος), as might be expected when the wind blew from the east rather than from the north. The East wind, blowing from the Aegean, was naturally of a gentler character than the North which blew from Pindus.

26. 1. τὰς ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην δύο καὶ τεσσεράκοντα ναῦς ἀπέστειλαν ἔχοντα Ἀλκίδαν, ὃς ἦν αὐτοῖς ναύαρχος, προστάξαντες.

The ships have been spoken of as only forty in iii. 16 fin., 25 med. There may have been some addition to the fleet; or Thucydides is here describing more precisely what he had previously mentioned in round numbers.

In the words which follow either ἔχοντα or προστάξαντες are superfluous. There is no necessity to alter the reading. The pleonasm is no more than 'they sent in charge of forty-two ships Alcidas the Spartan admiral, whom they had appointed commander of them.'

26. 2. ὑπὲρ Παυσανίου τοῦ Πλειστοάνακτος υἱέος.

Pleistoanax was at this time exiled from Lacedaemon. Cp. ii. 21 init., v. 16 fin.

26. 3. ἐδῄωσαν δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς τά τε πρότερον τετμημένα, καὶ εἴ τι ἐβεβλαστήκει, καὶ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς πρὶν ἐσβολαῖς παρελέλειπτο.

καί before εἴ τι is omitted by some editors, but there is no variation in the MSS. 1)* It may describe the same act of destruction under two different aspects, τέ being joined, not with the first but with the second καί, καὶ ὅσα κ.τ.λ. 'They ravaged what they had ravaged before, and whatever had sprung up afresh they destroyed it.' For a similar use of καί compare note on i. 80. 2.

Or 2) three cases may be described. The Peloponnesians destroyed *a*) what they had ravaged before, i. e. anything which they had spared in their previous invasion; *b*) what had grown up again, in the parts then visited by them; and *c*) they devastated regions hitherto untouched.

29. 1. τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηναίους λανθάνουσι, πρὶν δὴ τῇ Δήλῳ ἔσχον,

προσμίξαντες δ' ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῇ Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ πυνθάνονται πρῶτον, ὅτι ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἑάλωκε. 29. 1.

The sending out of a hundred ships is mentioned in iii. 16 init. and of thirty in iii. 7 init. But this was in the preceding year, and the return of the hundred ships is distinctly mentioned (c. 16 fin.). No special fleet seems to be referred to in this passage, but only guardships, ii. 24 init. φυλακὰς κατεστήσαντο κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν, or merchantmen, or the Salaminia and Paralus mentioned in iii. 33 init. πρὶν δή κ.τ.λ. Not implying that they were sighted by the Athenians at Delos, but that they had now got safely over the part of their voyage in which they were most likely to be sighted.

Ἰκάρῳ καὶ Μυκόνῳ, see Introduction on the Geography of Thucydides.

καὶ μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἄλλο τι εἶναι τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἢ τὸ τοιοῦτον, ὃ εἴ τις στρατηγὸς ἔν τε αὐτῷ φυλάσσοιτο καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνορῶν ἐπιχειροίη, πλεῖστ' ἂν ὀρθοῖτο. 30. 4.

τὸ καινόν, the unknown or surprising element in war. One or two MSS. read τὸ κενόν, with little or no meaning. τὸ κοινόν might also be suggested, 'the element in war which equally affects all.' Compare, in the Melian controversy, v. 102, ἀλλ' ἐπιστάμεθα τὰ τῶν πολέμων ἔστιν ὅτε κοινοτέρας τὰς τύχας λαμβάνοντα κ.τ.λ.

There is a similar variation between καινά and κενά in Arist. Eth. Nic. iii. 11 (8). 6, δοκεῖ γὰρ εἶναι πολλὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ἃ μάλιστα συνεωράκασιν οὗτοι (scil. οἱ στρατιῶται), and in many other passages of different authors (Classen).

τὸ τοιοῦτον, i.e. 'such an enterprise as I propose, which is attended with danger:' with a reference to μὴ ἀποκνήσωμεν τὸν κίνδυνον.

It makes little difference whether we suppose τὸ καινόν, which is the more emphatic word, to be the antecedent to ὅ, or τὸ τοιοῦτον, which more immediately precedes. ὅ, so far as it follows φυλάσσοιτο, is the act of surprise; so far as it follows ἐνορῶν it is used with some degree of inexactness for the opportunity of the surprise, or the negligence which gives that opportunity.

ἄλλοι δέ τινες τῶν ἀπ' Ἰωνίας φυγάδων καὶ οἱ Λέσβιοι ξυμπλέοντες παρῄνουν, ἐπειδὴ τοῦτον τὸν κίνδυνον φοβεῖται, τῶν ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ πόλεων κατα- 31. 1.

31. 1. λαβεῖν τινα ἢ Κύμην τὴν Αἰολίδα, ὅπως ἐκ πόλεως ὁρμώμενοι τὴν Ἰωνίαν ἀποστήσωσιν (ἐλπίδα δ' εἶναι· οὐδενὶ γὰρ ἀκουσίως ἀφίχθαι,) καὶ τὴν πρόσοδον ταύτην μεγίστην οὖσαν Ἀθηναίων ἣν ὑφέλωσι, καὶ ἅμα ἣν ἐφορμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται· πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθνην ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν.

ἣν ἐφορμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται is the reading adopted. There is less authority for σφίσι δαπάνη or αὐτούς. ἐφορμοῦσιν is a conjecture, all the MSS. reading ἐφορμῶσιν. The alteration, though not absolutely necessary, is very slight and gives a better sense.

1)* The Ionians and Lesbians mean to say, *a*) that the Peloponnesians might cut off a main source of Athenian revenue if they induced Ionia to revolt; *b*) that, even though they incurred some expense, the attempt would be worth making; *c*) that Pissuthnes the satrap might be persuaded to assist them, meaning, probably, that he would provide them with money. This might be set against the expense incurred (δαπάνη). Cp. iii. 34 init. whence it appears that Pissuthnes did assist with auxiliaries the party at Colophon which was opposed to the Athenians.

The main confusion lies in the second of these clauses, καὶ ἅμα ... γίγνηται, which is to be subordinated to the previous words καὶ τὴν ... ὑφέλωσι. καὶ ἅμα ἣν = 'although.' The apodosis of ἣν ὑφέλωσι is suppressed, or rather anticipated in ἐλπίδα εἶναι, which is to be repeated after καί in some different form, such as καλῶς ἔξειν. This is not a strictly grammatical explanation, but is the best way of analysing, πρὸς τὸ σημαινόμενον, the course of thought in the mind of Thucydides.

αὐτοῖς refers to the Athenians, σφίσι to the Peloponnesians; ἐφορμοῦσιν αὐτοῖς appears to be the dative of the reason, 'by reason of their blockading,' or (ἐφορμῶσιν) 'attacking them.'

Or 2) the MS. reading ἐφορμῶσι is retained, and taken as the subjunctive after ἣν, and δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται is dependent upon ὅπως, δαπάνη being explained, not of expense, but of the means of meeting expense: 'and that if they deprive Athens of this great source of revenue—even if' (or, 'and also if') 'they, the Athenians, blockade them, they, the Peloponnesians, may have the means of meeting the expense.' But *a*) ὅπως is too far off, or rather separated by too many subordinate clauses, and *b*) the meaning assigned to

δαπάνη is not justified by the context, as in i. 83 init. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος οὐχ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον ἀλλὰ δαπάνης, δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ: i. 99 fin. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις ηὔξετο τὸ ναυτικὸν ἀπὸ τῆς δαπάνης ἣν ἐκεῖνοι ξυμφέροιεν: viii. 37 fin. ὁπόση δ' ἂν στρατιὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῇ βασιλέως ᾖ, μεταπεμψαμένου βασιλέως, τὴν δαπάνην βασιλέα παρέχειν. And *c*) there is the further objection that σφίσιν and αὐτοῖς are referred to the same persons. This might be avoided if we suppose the Peloponnesians to blockade the Athenians. But such a revolution in the situation at this period of the war is quite inconceivable. 31. 1.

Or 3) δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται may still be dependent on ὅπως, but the word δαπάνη taken in its usual sense, the Athenians being the subject of ἐφορμῶσι, and σφίσι referring to them and αὐτοῖς to the Peloponnesians: 'and that, if they deprive the Athenians of this great source of revenue, and at the same time if they,' the Athenians, 'blockade the Peloponnesians, they,' the Athenians, 'may themselves incur expense.' This explanation is supported by the comparison of iii. 33 fin., where Paches the Athenian commander congratulates himself on having escaped the necessity of blockading the Peloponnesian fleet. But *a*) σφίσι cannot refer to the Athenians, although they are the subject of ἐφορμῶσι: for the whole clause δαπάνη σφίσι γίγνηται is connected by ὅπως with the principal subject. And *b*) there is an awkward change of subject in the clauses ἣν ὑφέλωσι and ἣν ἐφορμῶσι, which, according to this interpretation, are parallel in sense.

The last two explanations are greatly assisted by leaving out the ἣν before ὑφέλωσι, which is then dependent on ὅπως and parallel to ἀποστήσωσιν. But there is still a flaw in the word ὑφέλωσι, which is too weak to express the purpose indicated by ὅπως. Two important MSS. (It. Vat.), and a third of less authority, Reg., read ἀφέλωσι.

Or 4) the apodosis to the whole sentence is found in the last clause, πείσειν τε οἴεσθαι καὶ Πισσούθνην ὥστε ξυμπολεμεῖν. But this explanation, besides being somewhat wanting in point (for the adherence of Pissuthnes was not the main object of the Lacedaemonians but only a means to it) gives no sense to the particle τέ. Yet it may be argued, on the other hand, that, as fifteen years afterwards, the money of Persia seemed essential to carrying on the

31. 1. war with success; and that the *τέ* may be explained by an obscure connection with the words *ὅπως ἀποστήσωσι τὴν Ἰωνίαν* (cp. note on i. 9. 3. p. 13), 'that they might induce Ionia to revolt; and if they deprived the Athenians of this great source of revenue, etc., they thought that they might also induce Pissuthnes to join them.'

On the whole 1), which is adopted in the English text, seems the best of these and some other alternatives.

32. 1. *τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους, οὓς κατὰ πλοῦν εἵλήφει, ἀπέσφαξε τοὺς πολλούς.*

For similar cruelties cp. ii. 67 fin.

32. 2. *ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας μέγα τὸ δέος ἐγένετο μὴ παραπλέοντες οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, εἰ καὶ ὡς μὴ διενοοῦντο μένειν, πορθῶσιν ἅμα προσπίπτοντες τὰς πόλεις.*

καὶ ὡς, 1)* 'even although they might plunder them.' *ὡς* refers to *πορθῶσιν* which follows, not 2) to the unwalled state of Ionia (*ἀτειχίστου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς Ἰωνίας*), which, though it would be an inducement to the Peloponnesians to plunder, would not be an inducement to remain. Or 3) *καὶ ὡς* is simply equivalent to 'in any case,' as in i. 44 med. *ἐδόκει γὰρ ὁ πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμος καὶ ὡς ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς*: viii. 51 med. *καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν τειχισμόν τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ὡς μέλλουσα Σάμος θᾶσσον ἐτειχίσθη.*

34. 1. *παραπλέων δὲ πάλιν ἔσχε καὶ ἐς Νότιον τὸ Κολοφωνίων, οὗ κατῴκηντο Κολοφώνιοι τῆς ἄνω πόλεως ἑαλωκυίας ὑπὸ Ἰταμάνους καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ στάσιν ἰδίαν ἐπαχθέντων.*

There is no reason for altering *ἰδίαν* to *ἰδίᾳ*, although the expression *στάσις ἰδία* is obscure. It probably refers to some local or family quarrel, as distinct either from a more general movement on the part of the government of the town, or from the great strife between oligarchy and democracy.

36. 2. *καὶ προσξυνεβάλετο οὐκ ἐλάχιστον τῆς ὁρμῆς αἱ Πελοποννησίων νῆες ἐς Ἰωνίαν ἐκείνοις βοηθοὶ τολμήσασαι παρακινδυνεῦσαι.*

προσξυνεβάλετο, and not *προσξυνελάβετο*, *προσξυνελάβοντο* or *προσξυνεβάλοντο* (adopted by Poppo), which all alike rest on weaker MS. authority, is probably the true reading. The genitive *τῆς ὁρμῆς* is

governed or partly governed by *οὐκ ἐλάχιστον*, though it may also be a partitive genitive after *προσξυνεβάλετο*. Cp. Eur. Med. 284,— 36. 2.

ξυμβάλλεται δὲ πολλὰ τοῦδε δείματος.

'The greater part of this strong feeling was caused by the fact that,' or 'it conduced greatly to this strong feeling that.' There is no difficulty in the use of the singular *προσξυνεβάλετο*, for *αἱ νῆες τολμήσασαι = τὸ τὰς ναῦς τολμῆσαι*.

καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ μετάνοιά τις εὐθὺς ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἀναλογισμὸς ὠμὸν τὸ βούλευμα καὶ μέγα ἐγνῶσθαι πόλιν ὅλην διαφθεῖραι μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους. 36. 4.

Cp. ii. 62 med. *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ κήπιον καὶ ἐγκαλλώπισμα πλούτου*. The words *μᾶλλον ἢ οὐ* occur repeatedly, not only in Herodotus, but in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, the imitator of Thucydides. The expression is most easily explained as a confusion of *ἢ οὐ* with *καὶ οὐ* or *ἀλλ' οὐ*. In other words, the negation of the following clause implied in *ἤ* is repeated in a more definite form; generally (see examples in Jelf, 749. 3), where a negative has preceded; here the negation is implied in *ὠμόν*. Cp. the French, 'il n'écrit pas mieux cette année-ci qu'il ne faisait l'année passée,' and the Italian, 'tuo padre ha più potenza sopra di me che non il tuo amico.'

οὐ σκοποῦντες, ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ πρὸς ἐπιβουλεύοντας αὐτοὺς καὶ ἄκοντας ἀρχομένους, οἳ οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε βλαπτόμενοι αὐτοὶ ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν κ.τ.λ. 37. 2.

οἵ, which is here supplied, is wanting in nearly all the MSS. It is possible also to supply *καί* before *οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε*, or to change *οὐκ* into *οὐδέ*. It is not however certain that any emendation is necessary, either here or at iv. 10 init., where *ὅ* has been similarly inserted by Poppo and other editors. The clause *οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ... ὑμῶν* may be regarded as an epexegesis of *ἄκοντας ... ἀρχομένους*, as in iv. 10, *μενόντων ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται* may likewise be an epexegesis of *τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω*. Cp. ii. 60 med. *καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, ταῖς κατ' οἶκον κακοπραγίαις ἐκπεπληγμένοι τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε*.

θαυμάζω δὲ καὶ ὅστις ἔσται ὁ ἀντερῶν καὶ ἀξιώσων ἀποφαίνειν τὰς μὲν 38. 1.

38. 1. Μυτιληναίων ἀδικίας ἡμῖν ὠφελίμους οὔσας, τὰς δ' ἡμετέρας ξυμφορὰς τοῖς ξυμμάχοις βλάβας καθισταμένας.

τὰς ἡμετέρας ξυμφοράς, although general in form, alludes to the sufferings of the Athenians about the time of the revolt. Cp. iii. 3 init. *οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι (ἦσαν γὰρ τεταλαιπωρημένοι ὑπό τε τῆς νόσου καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἄρτι καθισταμένου καὶ ἀκμάζοντος) μέγα μὲν ἔργον ἡγοῦντο εἶναι Λέσβον προσπολεμώσασθαι κ.τ.λ. ἀδικίας* is opposed to *ξυμφορὰς* as *ὠφελίμους* to *βλάβας*.

The meaning is, 'Who will pretend to say that the crimes of the Mitylenaeans are for our good, or that there is such a community of interest between us and our allies that war and pestilence cannot injure us without injuring them? There would then be an excuse for their revolt, which there is not.' The insertion of *οὐ* before *τοῖς ξυμμάχοις*, adopted by Poppo, gives a meaning not only obscure but pointless.

38. 4. *αἴτιοι δ' ὑμεῖς κακῶς ἀγωνοθετοῦντες, οἵτινες εἰώθατε θεαταὶ μὲν τῶν λόγων γίγνεσθαι, ἀκροαταὶ δὲ τῶν ἔργων, τὰ μὲν μέλλοντα ἔργα ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων σκοποῦντες ὡς δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι,* **τὰ δὲ πεπραγμένα ἤδη οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ ἀκουσθὲν ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων.**

Either 1) *τὰ πεπραγμένα* is governed by *σκοποῦντες* repeated from the previous clause, and *ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ καλῶς ἐπιτιμησάντων* answers to *ἀπὸ τῶν εὖ εἰπόντων*, in which case *οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν . . . τὸ ἀκουσθέν* forms a parenthesis; or better 2)* it is an accusativus pendens resumed in *δρασθέν*: the clause *ἀπὸ τῶν κ.τ.λ.* being governed either by *ἀκουσθέν* or *λαβόντες*. The words *πιστότερον λαβόντες* are to be taken closely together, and *ὄψει* qualifies both of them,='not taking the fact as more certain because you have seen it,' or 'not accepting the ocular demonstration of fact.' For this use of *λαβόντες* cp. note on iii. 59. 1.

Cp. for the thought Aristoph. Knights, 1111, a passage in which the chorus of Knights administers a similar rebuke to the *δῆμος*,—

ὦ Δῆμε, καλὴν γ' ἔχεις
ἀρχήν, ὅτε πάντες ἄν-
θρωποι δεδίασί σ' ὥσ-
περ ἄνδρα τύραννον.

ἀλλ' εὐπαράγωγος εἶ, 38. 4.
θωπευόμενός τε χαί-
ρεις κἀξαπατώμενος,
πρὸς τόν τε λέγοντ' ἀεὶ
κέχηνας· ὁ νοῦς δέ σου
παρὼν ἀποδημεῖ.

Cp., for line 1114, iii. 37 init. *οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν.*

καὶ μετὰ καινότητος μὲν λόγου ἀπατᾶσθαι ἄριστοι, μετὰ δεδοκιμασμένου 38. 5.
δὲ μὴ ξυνέπεσθαι ἐθελεῖν· δοῦλοι ὄντες τῶν ἀεὶ ἀτόπων, ὑπερόπται δὲ τῶν 6.
εἰωθότων· καὶ μάλιστα μὲν αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος δύνασθαι, εἰ
δὲ μή, ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι μὴ ὕστεροι ἀκολουθῆσαι
δοκεῖν τῇ γνώμῃ, ὀξέως δέ τι λέγοντος προεπαινέσαι, καὶ προαισθέσθαι τε
πρόθυμοι εἶναι τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ προνοῆσαι βραδεῖς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀποβη-
σόμενα.

τοῖς τοιαῦτα λέγουσι. τοιαῦτα is to be explained 1) from the general sense of the preceding sentence, *μετὰ καινότητος . . . τῶν εἰωθότων.* Or 2)* from *μάλιστα αὐτὸς εἰπεῖν ἕκαστος βουλόμενος δύνασθαι.* The meaning may then be *a*) 'who thus speak,' i. e. 'who are good orators, as the others would be if they could.' Or rather perhaps *b*) the speakers who get in their word, 'who use this liberty of speaking after their fancy,' are contrasted with the hearers who want to do so, but can only anticipate them by signs of assent and dissent.

δοκεῖν and *πρόθυμοι εἶναι* depend on *ἀνταγωνιζόμενοι* (compare iii. 38 init. *τῷ λέγειν πιστεύσας τὰ πάνυ δοκοῦν ἀνταποφῆναι ὡς οὐκ ἔγνωσται ἀγωνίσαιτ' ἄν*), or perhaps on *βουλόμενοι* understood from *βουλόμενος, ἀκολουθῆσαι* and *προεπαινέσαι* on *δοκεῖν, προαισθέσθαι* on *πρόθυμοι εἶναι.*

τί ἄλλο οὗτοι ἢ ἐπεβούλευσάν τε καὶ ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν 39. 2.
(ἀπόστασις μέν γε τῶν βιαιόν τι πασχόντων ἐστίν), ἐζήτησάν τε μετὰ τῶν
πολεμιωτάτων ἡμᾶς στάντες διαφθεῖραι; καίτοι δεινότερόν ἐστιν ἢ εἰ καθ'
αὐτοὺς δύναμιν κτώμενοι ἀντεπολέμησαν.

'They have not broken off from us, but have risen and turned upon us.' By this forced opposition Cleon means to say, 'I will not use the common term *ἀπόστασις*, for that often implies previous oppression: it was simply a brutal insurrection against us,' *ἐπανάστασις.*

39. 2. *καίτοι* is not adversative, but reflective or pathetic, and introduces a conclusion with an appeal to the reason or feelings of the audience. 'But surely to conspire with our enemies was a far worse crime than to make war against us on their own account.' Cp. notes on ii. 39. 4, 64. 4.

40. 1. *οὔκουν δεῖ προθεῖναι ἐλπίδα οὔτε λόγῳ πιστὴν οὔτε χρήμασιν ὠνητήν, ὡς ξυγγνώμην ἁμαρτεῖν ἀνθρωπίνως λήψονται.*

The two datives may be taken either in the same or in different constructions, 1)* λόγῳ *πιστήν*='assured by words;' 2) *πιστός*= *πίσυνος*: cp. Plato, Laws, vii. 824 B, *νυκτερευτὴν δὲ ἄρκυσι καὶ πλεκταῖς πιστὸν μηδεὶς μηδέποτε ἐάσῃ μηδαμοῦ θηρεῦσαι.*

χρήμασιν ὠνητήν applies, not to the hope, but to the realisation of the hope. There is a confusion of object and subject.

40. 2. *ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ τότε πρῶτον καὶ νῦν διαμάχομαι μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα.*

The words *τότε πρῶτον* are not, strictly speaking, applicable to *μὴ μεταγνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ προδεδογμένα*. For the original resolution must have been passed before it could be repented of.

40. 6. *μάλιστα δὲ οἱ μὴ ξὺν προφάσει τινὰ κακῶς ποιοῦντες ἐπεξέρχονται, καὶ διόλλυνται, τὸν κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενοι τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ἐχθροῦ. ὁ γὰρ μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ τί παθὼν χαλεπώτερος διαφυγὼν τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ.*

διόλλυνται can only be taken as a passive or neuter. It is 1)* an allusion, inserted somewhat out of place, to the fate of the Mitylenaeans.

Or 2) *ἐπεξέρχονται καὶ διόλλυνται* may mean 'go on in a desperate course of revenge.' Compare Soph. El. 140,—

ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῶν μετρίων ἐπ' ἀμήχανον
ἄλγος ἀεὶ στενάχουσα διόλλυσαι.

Or 3) *καὶ διόλλυνται* may perhaps be a gloss.

Or 4) we may adopt the ingenious emendation of Stahl, *καὶ διολλύναι*, 'they pursue their vengeance even to their enemy's destruction.'

According to the alternative rendering of the last sentence, *ὁ γὰρ μή κ.τ.λ.*, given in the English text, the supposition that the

Mitylenaeans might have conquered, (*κρατήσαντας ὑμῶν* above,) is now dropped; *γάρ* refers to the general context, not to the words immediately preceding; and the clause which follows, *μὴ ξὺν ἀνάγκῃ ... ἐχθροῦ* is applicable, not to the Athenians, but to the Mitylenaeans, giving an additional reason why they should be punished. 40. 6.

A great part of Diodotus' speech is a verbal answer to Cleon, whom he pursues throughout. Cp. 42. 2 with 38. 4, 40. 2; 42. 3 with 38. 2; 43. 4 with 37. 5; 44. 1, 2 with 40. 1; 44. 3 with 40. 8; 46. 1 with 40. 8; 46. 3 with 39. 8; 47. 3, 4 with 39. 6; 47. 5 with 40. 4; 48. 1 with 40. 2, 3.

χαλεπώτατοι δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ χρήμασι προσκατηγοροῦντες ἐπίδειξίν τινα. 42. 3.

'But there is another class (*καί*) who bring a further charge (*προσ-*), that of making a display of eloquence for a bribe, and they are the most difficult to meet.' *καί* arises out of a confusion of *χαλεποὶ καὶ οἱ προσκατηγοροῦντες* and **χαλεπώτατοι δὲ οἱ προσκατηγοροῦντες.**

χρὴ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην μὴ ἐκφοβοῦντα τοὺς ἀντεροῦντας ἀλλ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου φαίνεσθαι ἄμεινον λέγοντα, τὴν δὲ σώφρονα πόλιν τῷ τε πλείστῳ εὖ βουλεύοντι μὴ προστιθέναι τιμήν, ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἐλασσοῦν τῆς ὑπαρχούσης, καὶ τὸν μὴ τυχόντα γνώμης οὐχ ὅπως ζημιοῦν ἀλλὰ μηδ' ἀτιμάζειν. 42. 5.

ἐκφοβοῦντα is parallel to *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου*, 'not by intimidation, but by fair play.' The first *ἀλλὰ μηδέ*='but not either,' 'but again not:' the second='but not even.'

οὕτω γὰρ ὅ τε κατορθῶν ἥκιστα ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ ἔτι μειζόνων ἀξιοῦσθαι παρὰ γνώμην τι καὶ πρὸς χάριν λέγοι, ὅ τε μὴ ἐπιτυχὼν ὀρέγοιτο τῷ αὐτῷ, χαριζόμενός τι καὶ αὐτός, προσάγεσθαι τὸ πλῆθος. 42. 6.

χαριζόμενος κ.τ.λ. is epexegetic of *τῷ αὐτῷ*, 'by the same means,' that is to say, 'by imitating his rival's complaisancy.'

ὧν ἡμεῖς τἀναντία δρῶμεν, καὶ προσέτι, ἢν τις καὶ ὑποπτεύηται κέρδους μὲν ἕνεκα, τὰ βέλτιστα δὲ ὅμως λέγειν, φθονήσαντες τῆς οὐ βεβαίου δοκήσεως τῶν κερδῶν τὴν φανερὰν ὠφελίαν τῆς πόλεως ἀφαιρούμεθα. 43. 1.

Strictly speaking the word *ὑποπτεύηται* only applies to *κέρδους ἕνεκα*, some more general notion obtained from it has to be supplied with

43. 1. *τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν.* *καί* is to be taken, not with *ὑποπτεύηται*, but with this more general notion, *ἤν τις καὶ νομίζηται κ.τ.λ.* 'If a man is suspected of receiving money, even although (*ἤν καί*) he be thought nevertheless (*ὅμως*, i. e. notwithstanding his receiving bribes) to say what is best,' etc.

43. 3. *μόνην τε πόλιν διὰ τὰς περιυοίας εὖ ποιῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ προφανοῦς μὴ ἐξαπατήσαντα ἀδύνατον.*

The absence of the article has caused a difficulty, but *μόνην πόλιν* is really the predicate. 'Athens is the only city which,' etc. The words have been taken to mean, 'It is impossible to do good without deception to a city (though it may be possible in the case of individuals.') But Diodotus cannot mean to say this of every state; nor is there any reason why a state should be more subject than an individual to these suspicions, nor any hint in the context that such a contrast is intended.

43. 5. *νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργὴν ἥντινα τύχητε ἔστιν ἅτε σφαλέντες τὴν τοῦ πείσαντος μίαν γνώμην ζημιοῦτε, καὶ οὐ τὰς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν, εἰ πολλαὶ οὖσαι ξυνεξήμαρτον.*

The construction is *νῦν δὲ πρὸς ὀργήν, πρὸς ἥντινα τύχητε ζημιοῦντες, ζημιοῦτε.* For *a*) if we join *πρὸς ὀργήν*, not with *ζημιοῦτε*, but with *σφαλέντες*, there is a want of point in the words. The meaning is not 'according to any passion which led you into disaster,' but 'according to any passion under the influence of which you punish.' In other words, 'You punish, when you have met with a disaster, which will sometimes occur, according to the temper of the moment.' And *b*) *ζημιοῦντες πρὸς ὀργήν* is a more natural expression than *σφαλέντες πρὸς ὀργήν.*

44. 2. *ἤν τε γὰρ ἀποφήνω πάνυ ἀδικοῦντας αὐτούς, οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω, εἰ μὴ ξυμφέρον· ἤν τε καὶ ἔχοντές τι ξυγγνώμης εἶεν, εἰ τῇ πόλει μὴ ἀγαθὸν φαίνοιτο.*

ἤν τε καὶ . . . εἶεν. 1)* *ἤν* is used as in the previous clause; but as the alternative of the Mitylenaeans having an excuse is rhetorically represented to be the less probable of the two—('and even if, which I take to be a remote possibility'—) the optative is substituted for the subjunctive—in other words there is a confusion of

ἦν ὦσιν and εἰ εἶεν. No other instance is found in classical Greek 44. 2.
of the use of ἤν with the optative, although the converse incongruity occurs in the use of εἰ with the subjunctive (εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις φοβηθεῖσαι, vi. 21 init.).

Or 2) we may suppose a corruption of the text; εἶεν may be a reduplication of the εἰ following; the various reading εἰ ἐν τῇ πόλει for εἰ τῇ πόλει is found in several MSS. If εἶεν be left out, ὦσι may be supplied. One good MS., the Clarendonianus, reads ἔχοντας, which would follow ἀποφήνω.

The aposiopesis is natural where the speaker wants to suggest without expressing the opposite and less pleasing alternative; 'I will not say that they are to be acquitted,' οὐ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι κελεύσω. Cp., although not precisely parallel, iii. 3 med. καὶ ἦν μὲν ξυμβῇ ἡ πεῖρα—εἰ δὲ μή, Μυτιληναίοις εἰπεῖν κ.τ.λ.: Plato, Rep. ix. 575 D, ἐὰν μὲν ἑκόντες ὑπείκωσιν—(scil. καλῶς ἔχει) ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπῃ ἡ πόλις . . . τὴν πατρίδα . . . κολάσεται, and Prot. 325 D.

Or 3) a comma is placed after ξυγγνώμης and εἶεν taken in the ordinary sense, 'Be it so,' 'let mercy have no place.' A way of explaining the words equally repugnant to the position and to the meaning of εἶεν. Is there any example of an interjection in the middle of a sentence in Thucydides?

ἡμεῖς δὲ οὐ δικαζόμεθα πρὸς αὐτούς, ὥστε τῶν δικαίων δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλευ- 44. 4.
όμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως χρησίμως ἕξουσιν.

Cp., for the general meaning, Burke, Speech on Conciliation with America: 'At this proposition I must pause for a moment. The thing seems a great deal too big for my ideas of jurisprudence. . . . It looks to me to be narrow and pedantic, to apply the ordinary ideas of criminal justice to this great public contest. I do not know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people.'

πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἁμαρτάνειν. 45. 3.

τέ is here expressive and emphatic, 'Moreover all sin by nature, etc.'

καὶ εἰκὸς τὸ πάλαι τῶν μεγίστων ἀδικημάτων μαλακωτέρας κεῖσθαι αὐτάς, 45. 3.
παραβαινομένων δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐς τὸν θάνατον αἱ πολλαὶ ἀνήκουσι· καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται.

45. 3. τοῦτο refers to θάνατος, but παραβαίνεται is said inaccurately, not of death, but of the law which is sanctioned by the penalty of death. So παραβαινομένων really refers to the idea of a law contained in ζημιῶν just above.

45. 4. ἢ τοίνυν δεινότερόν τι τούτου δέος εὑρετέον ἐστίν, ἢ τόδε γε οὐδὲν ἐπίσχει· ἀλλ' ἡ μὲν πενία ἀνάγκῃ τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα, ἡ δ' ἐξουσία ὕβρει τὴν πλεονεξίαν καὶ φρονήματι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι ξυντυχίαι ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὡς ἑκάστη τις κατέχεται ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος, ἐξάγουσιν ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους.

τούτου and τόδε refer to the same antecedent, the fear of death. The change is only made to avoid tautology. Cp. for a similar variation of the pronoun vi. 61 fin. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ἐρήμῃ δίκῃ θάνατον κατέγνωσαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν μετ' ἐκείνου: Soph. Ant. 296,—

τοῦτο καὶ πόλεις
πορθεῖ, τόδ' ἄνδρας ἐξανίστησιν δόμων.

ἀνάγκῃ and ὕβρει καὶ φρονήματι are most naturally explained as datives after παρέχουσα. In the third clause 1)* the construction changes, ὀργῇ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, the dative of the instrument after ἐξάγουσιν, the principal verb, taking the place of the participial clause ἀνάγκῃ τὴν τόλμαν παρέχουσα κ.τ.λ. Observe that in sense ὀργῇ corresponds to the accusatives τόλμαν, πλεονεξίαν, and the clause ὡς ἑκάστη τις . . . κρείττονος to the datives ἀνάγκῃ, ὕβρει, φρονήματι. For τόλμα and πλεονεξία are passions; ἀνάγκη, ὕβρις, and φρόνημα are the fatal powers which overmaster the several ξυντυχίαι, or conditions of life. Or 2) the same construction may be retained, ὀργῇ being the dative after παρέχουσα, and some general idea being supplied from τόλμαν and πλεονεξίαν, 'the several occasions of human life furnishing a similar incitement to human passion.' With ὑπ' ἀνηκέστου τινὸς κρείσσονος we may then repeat ὀργῆς. The parallelism of the sense is thus less precise, but the parallelism of the grammar more complete.

Thucydides here revels in personification which almost passes into allegory.

ἐξάγουσιν, 'lead them astray,' or 'out of the way.' ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους, into the dangers which await them.

45. 6. καὶ ἡ τύχη ἐπ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔλασσον ξυμβάλλεται ἐς τὸ ἐπαίρειν' ἀδοκήτως

γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε παρισταμένη καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κινδυνεύειν τινα προάγει, 45. 6.
καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τὰς πόλεις ὅσῳ περὶ τῶν μεγίστων, ἐλευθερίας ἢ ἄλλων
ἀρχῆς, καὶ μετὰ πάντων ἕκαστος ἀλογίστως ἐπὶ πλέον τι αὐτῶν ἐδόξασεν.

There is far more MS. authority for *αὐτῶν* than for *αὐτόν*. *τι αὐτῶν*, 'some of these seductive aims,' *τὰ μέγιστα, ἐλευθερία*, and *ἀρχή*.

For the expression *τι αὐτῶν* cp. i. 83 fin. *οἵπερ δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀποβαι-*
νόντων τὸ πλέον ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τῆς αἰτίας ἔξομεν, οὗτοι καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι
αὐτῶν προϊδωμεν. Cp. also v. 26 fin., vi. 92 init.

ἡμῖν τε πῶς οὐ βλάβη δαπανᾶν καθημένοις διὰ τὸ ἀξύμβατον, καὶ ἣν 46. 3.
ἕλωμεν πόλιν, ἐφθαρμένην παραλαβεῖν, καὶ τῆς προσόδου τὸ λοιπὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
στέρεσθαι;

Cp. Burke, Speech on Conciliation with America: 'A further objection to force is, that you *impair the object* by your very endeavours to preserve it. The thing you fought for is not the thing which you recover; but depreciated, sunk, wasted, and consumed in the contest. Nothing less will content me than *whole America*. I do not choose to consume its strength along with our own; because in all parts it is the British strength that I consume.'

ὁρᾶν ὅπως ἐς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον μετρίως κολάζοντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔξομεν ἐς 46. 4.
χρημάτων λόγον ἰσχυούσαις χρῆσθαι.

'In respect of money,' or 'if money be taken into consideration.'

οὗ νῦν τἀναντία δρῶντες, ἤν τινα ἐλεύθερον καὶ βίᾳ ἀρχόμενον εἰκότως 46. 5.
πρὸς αὐτονομίαν ἀποστάντα χειρωσώμεθα, χαλεπῶς οἰόμεθα χρῆναι τιμωρεῖ-
σθαι· χρὴ δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους οὐκ ἀφισταμένους σφόδρα κολάζειν κ.τ.λ.

ἐλεύθερος here signifies something less than *αὐτόνομος*, and refers either to all the allies of Athens or only to those who, like the Lesbians, furnished ships but did not pay tribute. Cp. note on i. 19 in the English text. In iii. 39 init. however Cleon, who is exaggerating the case against the Mitylenaeans, calls them *αὐτόνομοι*. Both words are used by Thucydides to distinguish the independent from the tributary allies of Athens. Cp. iii. 10 fin. *ἡμεῖς δὲ αὐτό-*
νομοι δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι: vi. 85 med. (where *ἐλευθέρως* is the stronger term,) *καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐκεῖ ξυμμάχους ὡς ἕκαστοι χρήσιμοι*
ἐξηγούμεθα, Χίους μὲν καὶ Μηθυμναίους νεῶν παροχῇ αὐτονόμους, τοὺς δὲ

46. 5. *πολλοὺς χρημάτων βιαιότερον φορᾷ, ἄλλους δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἐλευθέρως ξυμμαχοῦντας*, and vii. 57 init. *οἱ ἀπὸ ξυμμαχίας αὐτόνομοι.*

47. 5. *καὶ τοῦτο πολλῷ ξυμφορώτερον ἡγοῦμαι ἐς τὴν κάθεξιν τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἑκόντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικηθῆναι, ἢ δικαίως οὓς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι· καὶ τὸ Κλέωνος τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον καὶ ξύμφορον τῆς τιμωρίας οὐχ εὑρίσκεται ἐν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν ὂν ἅμα γίγνεσθαι.*

ἐν αὐτῷ, 'in the course advised by Cleon,' referring either 1) to *ἡ τιμωρία*, or 2) to *δικαίως οὓς μὴ δεῖ διαφθεῖραι*. For the neuter in 1) cp. vi. 82 fin. *δούλειαν δὲ αὐτοί τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν*: v. 27 init., and iii. 45. 3 quoted above, *καὶ τοῦτο ὅμως παραβαίνεται.*

49. 1. *ῥηθεισῶν δὲ τῶν γνωμῶν τούτων μάλιστα ἀντιπάλων πρὸς ἀλλήλας, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἦλθον μὲν ἐς ἀγῶνα ὅμως τῆς δόξης καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ χειροτονίᾳ ἀγχώμαλοι, ἐκράτησε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Διοδότου.*

ὅμως, 'in spite of the change of feeling,' or reaction, already described, iii. 36; and also in spite of Diodotus' speech, the decree was not repealed without strong opposition (*ἀγχώμαλοι*). There is veiled in the words *γνωμῶν* and *ἀγών* a new form of the old opposition between *λόγος* and *ἔργον*, 'after so much had been said on both sides they proceeded to try the issue.'

49. 2. *καὶ τριήρη εὐθὺς ἄλλην ἀπέστελλον κατὰ σπουδήν, ὅπως μή, φθασάσης τῆς δευτέρας, εὕρωσι διεφθαρμένην τὴν πόλιν· προεῖχε δὲ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ μάλιστα.*

Either 1) the words *ὅπως μὴ εὕρωσι διεφθαρμένην*=*ὅπως σώσωσι*, the nominative to *προεῖχε*, the first trireme, being implied in *φθασάσης*. But this order of the words is harsh. Or 2) through a confusion, or to avoid awkwardness, a second *μή* may have been omitted. The text might have run *ὅπως μή, μὴ φθασάσης κ.τ.λ.* Compare a similar omission of *οὐ*, where it is necessary to the sense, in vii. 75 med. *οὐκ ἄνευ* [*οὐκ*] *ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν*. The other readings, *ἑτέρας, προτέρας*, are clearly corrections. *δευτέρας* cannot possibly refer to the first trireme.

49. 4. *παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν ἡ Μυτιλήνη ἦλθε κινδύνου.*

1) A confusion between *παρὰ τοσοῦτον ἦλθεν ὀλέθρου* and *ἐς τοσοῦτον*

ἦλθε κινδύνου. Or 2) παρὰ τοσοῦτον κινδύνου=ἐς τοσοῦτον κινδύνου, an extension of the local use of παρά. Or 3) κίνδυνος may bear a stronger sense, approaching to that of ὄλεθρος. Compare note on i. 20. 2. Or 4) κινδύνου may be a genitive of respect, and not partitive or local. **49. 4.**

τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ἄνδρας οὓς ὁ Πάχης ἀπέπεμψεν κ.τ.λ. **50. 1.**

The disappearance of Paches from the scene is sufficiently explained by the fact of which Plutarch (Nicias, vi.) has preserved a record, viz. that he drew his sword and killed himself when brought before the dicastery to give an account of his conduct as general, a statement which is confirmed by the epigram of Agathias (A.D. 570) narrating the prosecution instituted against him by the two Mitylenaean women whom he had violated after killing their husbands.

ἐβούλετο δὲ Νικίας τὴν φυλακὴν αὐτόθεν δι' ἐλάσσονος τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ Βουδόρου καὶ τῆς Σαλαμῖνος εἶναι, τούς τε Πελοποννησίους, ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται ἔκπλους αὐτόθεν λανθάνοντες τριήρων τε, οἷον καὶ τὸ πρὶν γενόμενον, καὶ λῃστῶν ἐκπομπαῖς, τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν ἅμα μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν. **51. 2.**

1) The words τοὺς Πελοποννησίους and ὅπως μή are dependent on τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὴν φυλακὴν εἶναι which=τοὺς Ἀθηναίους φυλάσσειν.

Or 2)* ὅπως μὴ ποιῶνται takes the place of μὴ ποιεῖσθαι, answering to μηδὲν ἐσπλεῖν below. The change gives emphasis and liveliness.

τέ before Πελοποννησίους is connected with the following τέ in τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν, the clauses τούς τε Πελοποννησίους and τοῖς τε Μεγαρεῦσιν being subordinate, not parallel, to that which has preceded.

ἑλὼν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας πρῶτον δύο πύργω προέχοντε μηχαναῖς ἐκ θαλάσσης καὶ τὸν ἔσπλουν ἐς τὸ μεταξὺ τῆς νήσου ἐλευθερώσας, ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου, ᾗ κατὰ γέφυραν διὰ τενάγους ἐπιβοήθεια ἦν τῇ νήσῳ οὐ πολὺ διεχούσῃ τῆς ἠπείρου. ὡς δὲ τοῦτο ἐξειργάσαντο ἐν ἡμέραις ὀλίγαις, ὕστερον δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπὼν καὶ φρουρὰν ἀνεχώρησε τῷ στρατῷ. **51. 3.**

The island being now joined to the continent, it is impossible to identify the localities exactly. We are therefore dependent for our knowledge of the geography mainly on the words of Thucydides,

51. 3. from which we may gather that the island of Minoa was divided from the mainland by a channel, crossed at one point where it was shallow by a bridge, and defended at another by two towers projecting into the sea, possibly one on either side of the channel. But their position is not precisely described unless *προέχοντε* be taken with *ἀπὸ Νισαίας*.

For *ἑλὼν μηχαναῖς* cp. the Aristophanic burlesque, Birds, 363, where Peisthetaerus has entrenched himself behind the pot and kettle,—

ὦ σοφώτατ', εὖ γ' ἀνεῦρες αὐτὸ καὶ στρατηγικῶς·
ὑπερακοντίζεις σύ γ' ἤδη Νικίαν ταῖς μηχαναῖς.

ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας, either 1)* 'on the side of Nisaea,' or 2) after *προέχοντε*, 'projecting from Nisaea,' and therefore on the opposite coast. But the order of the words is unfavourable to 2). *ἀπετείχιζε καὶ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου*, 1)* 'he fortified the side of the island nearest to the mainland,' the words being opposed to the previous clause, *ἑλὼν οὖν . . . ἐλευθερώσας*. Nicias turned his attention first to one side of the island and then to the other.

Although Nisaea was itself on the mainland, *τὸ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου* may very well be opposed to *ἀπὸ τῆς Νισαίας*. For the island is likely to have approached the mainland more nearly at the point where they were connected by a bridge over the marsh, or by a bridge and a way through the marsh, than at Nisaea.

It is also possible 2) that the fortification may have been constructed, not on the island, but on the mainland, which would have given the Athenians a greater command of the country on the other side of the channel. A better meaning is thus given to *καί* before *ἐν τῇ νήσῳ*, the fortification on the island being then opposed to the fortification on the mainland. Otherwise *καί* must go with the whole clause, *ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τεῖχος ἐγκαταλιπών*, as in the English text.

From the present appearance of the coast it can only be gathered *a*) that Nisaea lay to the east of the island, where remains of ancient buildings are still found, *b*) that a mole ran out from the island towards Nisaea. On this, one or both of the 'two projecting towers' may have stood.

52. 2. *προσπέμπει δὲ αὐτοῖς κήρυκα λέγοντα, εἰ βούλονται παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν ἑκόντες τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ δικασταῖς ἐκείνοις χρήσασθαι, τούς τε ἀδίκους κολάζειν, παρὰ δίκην δὲ οὐδένα.*

The construction adopted in the English text is that of Arnold, who supports it by iv. 37, *ἐκήρυξάν τε εἰ βούλοιντο τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι καὶ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς Ἀθηναίοις, ὥστε βουλεῦσαι ὅ τι ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ.* 'He sent a herald to say, "Are you willing?"' i. e. to ask if they were willing. All the infinitives depend on *βούλονται*, and the subject of *κολάζειν* is understood from *ἐκείνοις*. Cp. also v. 115 med. *ἐκήρυξαν δέ, εἴ τις βούλεται παρὰ σφῶν Ἀθηναίους λῃΐζεσθαι.* **52. 2.**

Τὴν μὲν παράδοσιν τῆς πόλεως, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, πιστεύσαντες ὑμῖν ἐποιησάμεθα, οὐ τοιάνδε δίκην οἰόμενοι ὑφέξειν, νομιμωτέραν δέ τινα ἔσεσθαι, καὶ **ἐν δικασταῖς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλοις δεξάμενοι, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν, γενέσθαι ἢ ὑμῖν** *ἡγούμενοι τὸ ἴσον μάλιστ' ἂν φέρεσθαι.* **53. 1.**

ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν has been sometimes erroneously connected with *ἐν ἄλλοις*. 'We accepted you and not others for our judges, but we are in the hands of others;' or, as the Plataeans say below, 'we fear that we are sacrificed to the Thebans.' But the Lacedaemonians are really the judges of the Plataeans, and this point of view is maintained throughout the speeches, both of the Plataeans and of the Thebans. To obtain the proper sense for *ὥσπερ καὶ ἐσμέν*, *δεξάμενοι* must be taken in close connection with *ἡγούμενοι*. Either 1)* the words *ἐν δικασταῖς ... ἢ ὑμῖν* are subordinate to *ἡγούμενοι ... φέρεσθαι*, 'thinking that we should best secure justice by accepting you as our judges, as indeed you are.' (*δεξάμενοι = ἐπειδὴ ἐδεξάμεθα.*) Or 2) *ἡγούμενοι* is epexegetic of *δεξάμενοι*, 'accepting you as our judges because we thought,' etc. The Plataeans complain, not that they have not received the judges whom they desired, but that the judges whom they have received are partial.

τεκμαιρόμενοι προκατηγορίας τε ἡμῶν οὐ προγεγενημένης ᾗ χρὴ ἀντειπεῖν, **ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ λόγον ᾐτησάμεθα, τό τε ἐπερώτημα βραχὺ ὄν, ᾧ τὰ μὲν ἀληθῆ ἀποκρίνασθαι ἐναντία γίγνεται, τὰ δὲ ψευδῆ ἔλεγχον ἔχει.** 53. 2.

Either 1) *τὰ ἀληθῆ* may be dependent on *ἀποκρίνασθαι*. 'To answer this question truly is adverse to our interests,' *ἐναντία* being used instead of *ἐναντίον*, by assimilation to *ἀληθῆ*.

Or 2) *ἀποκρίνασθαι* may be taken as epexegetic of *ἀληθῆ*. 'The truth, if we answer what is true, is opposed to our interests.'

καὶ δέδιμεν οὐχὶ μὴ προκαταγνόντες ἡμῶν **τὰς ἀρετὰς ἧσσους εἶναι τῶν** 53. 4.

53. 4. ὑμετέρων ἔγκλημα αὐτὸ ποιῆτε, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλοις χάριν φέροντες ἐπὶ διεγνωσμένην κρίσιν καθιστώμεθα.

τὰς ἀρετὰς ἧσσους εἶναι κ.τ.λ. Not as the words are taken by Göller and Arnold, 'that our services to you are less than your own,' for thus ὑμετέρων has no proper meaning, but simply 'that our virtues are less than your own,' cp. iii. 57 init.

It is doubtful whether χάριν φέροντες refers to the Plataeans or to the Thebans; whether the words mean 1) 'that we are being sacrificed to gratify others,' or 2)* 'that you, to confer a favour on others, are sacrificing us.' 2)* is in accordance with the use of the expression which invariably has an active and not a neuter sense, but the construction is harsh, χάριν φέροντες, although so near the verb καθιστώμεθα, being a 'nominativus pendens.' When the doubt lies between an unusual meaning of a word or phrase and a harsh construction, the latter is in Thucydides the more probable. It may be further remarked that χάριν φέροντες naturally refers to the same subject as προκαταγνόντες.

Compare, for the thought, Isocr. Plataicus (xiv.) 67, ἐνθυμεῖσθε δ' ὅτι Λακεδαιμονίων μεγίστην ἐποιεῖσθε κατηγορίαν ὅτι Θηβαίοις χαριζόμενοι, τοῖς τῶν Ἑλλήνων προδόταις, ἡμᾶς τοὺς εὐεργέτας διέφθειραν.

55. 3. καὶ προδοῦναι αὐτοὺς οὐκέτι ἦν καλόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ οὓς εὖ παθόν τις καὶ αὐτὸς δεόμενος προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους καὶ πολιτείας μετέλαβεν.

καί before αὐτός 1) connects εὖ παθόν with αὐτὸς δεόμενος, or 2)* answers to the καί following, and connects προσηγάγετο ξυμμάχους with πολιτείας μετέλαβεν. Either 1) 'especially when, having experienced good at their hands, and at our own request, we had been made their allies and shared in the privileges of their city,' or 2)* especially when we had experienced good at their hands, and, at our own request, had not only been made their allies, but also shared in the privileges of their city;' πολιτείας μετέλαβεν answers to αὐτὸς δεόμενος, 'have gone out of our way to ask for protection and in return have received the rights of citizenship.' But according to 1) παθόν, being closely connected with δεομένος, must refer to a time previous to that of the alliance (προσηγάγετο), whereas we never hear of any earlier benefit conferred by the Athenians upon the Plataeans. According to 2) παθόν may be

defended as the historic aor. (see note on iv. 112. 1). The kindness shown by the Athenians will then be their ready reception of the Plataeans into their alliance, **55. 3.**

The speaker implies that the Plataeans already possess the rights of Athenian citizens: but if so they must have been admitted to them before the fall of Plataea, probably at the time of the original alliance, cp. iii. 63 init. *ἐγένεσθε ἐπὶ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ τιμωρίᾳ, ὡς φατέ, Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι καὶ πολῖται.*

This earlier connection of Plataea with Athens was ignored, or at any rate is not mentioned, by Isocrates, whose Plataean oration contains many reminiscences of Thucydides. He speaks of rights of intermarriage and of Plataean citizens who were descended from freeborn Athenian women (§ 54). But whether he is referring to the times before or after the fall of Plataea is uncertain. If the earlier connection existed, it probably extended no further than to such privileges as *ἐπιγαμία* and *ἔγκτησις*. It is remarkable, and strikingly illustrates the hold which the mere name of their native city had upon Hellenes, that the Plataeans, who had been made Athenian citizens, should within a few years have thought it worth while to reestablish their ruined home.

Θηβαῖοι δὲ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἡμᾶς ἠδίκησαν, τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον αὐτοὶ **56. 1.** *ξύνιστε δι' ἅπερ καὶ τάδε πάσχομεν.*

δι' ἅπερ need not be taken with *τὸ τελευταῖον*, which stands as an accusative absolute at the beginning of the sentence; 'and as for their latest crime, 1) you yourselves are well aware what are the causes of our present misfortunes.' Or 2) putting a comma after *ξύνιστε*, *δι' ἅπερ* may be connected with *ἃ ἠδίκησαν ἡμᾶς* supplied from the previous clause after *ξύνιστε*. Poppo would read *δι' ὅπερ*, but the plural *ἅπερ* answers better to the plural *τάδε*.

καί before *τάδε* answers to *καί* before *ἄλλα*, 'besides our old wrongs, these fresh sufferings.'

εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησιμῷ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ δίκαιον **56. 1.** *λήψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*

For *λήψεσθε* in the sense 'to conceive of' cp. note on 59. 1 infra.

56. 1. The dative *χρησιμῷ* may be explained as the dative of measure, similar to that following *εἰκάζειν, σταθμᾶσθαι*, etc. 'For if you are going to measure justice by the rule of your own expediency.' The two dative cases connected by the same article and by *τέ, καί*, forcibly express the double aspect of the motives by which the Lacedaemonians were influenced.

56. 5. *οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες.* For the other reading, *τὰ ξύμφορα αὐτοῖς*, cp. note on English text.

56. 7. *καίτοι χρὴ ταὐτὰ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ὁμοίως φαίνεσθαι γιγνώσκοντας, καὶ τὸ ξυμφέρον μὴ ἄλλο τι νομίσαι ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὅταν ἀεὶ βέβαιον τὴν χάριν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἔχωσι, καὶ τὸ παραυτίκα που ἡμῖν ὠφέλιμον καθιστῆται.*

These words, though in form general, are really aimed at the Lacedaemonians. 'You ought to show that you do not entertain different opinions of us at different times, when our conduct is the same. You should remember 1)* that true expediency is nothing but the manifestation of a lasting gratitude to good allies, combined with a proper regard to one's own immediate interests, —with *ἔχωσι* supply from *φαίνεσθαι*, 'men in general;' 2) or *τῶν ξυμμάχων οἱ ἀγαθοί* being made the subject of *ἔχωσι*,—'that true expediency is only this, when, in our relations with good allies, they are sure of a return for their goodness, while (as a matter of course) our own immediate interests are sufficiently secured.'

The second clause, though parallel in form to the first, is in reality a limitation thrown in by the way, and the undue emphasis which it gains by parallelism is softened by the indefinite particle *που*='although at the same time there must be some regard paid to one's immediate interests.' There is no need to read *ἔχουσι*, which is feeble, and spoils the rhythm of the sentence.

The MSS. vary between *ἡμῖν* and *ὑμῖν*. The sense of *ἡμῖν* is general: if we read *ὑμῖν* there is a return from the general to the particular; i.e. to the case of the Lacedaemonians.

In the last clause *ὠφέλιμον* seems to be substituted for *ξυμφέρον* merely in order to avoid tautology. 'Your true interest is to combine gratitude to good allies with your own immediate interest.'

ὁρᾶτε ὅπως μὴ οὐκ ἀποδέξωνται ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν πέρι, αὐτοὺς ἀμείνους 57. 1.
ὄντας, ἀπρεπές τι ἐπιγνῶναι.

ἐπιγνῶναι. ἐπι- implies that the Lacedaemonians are going out of their way to pass sentence on the Plataeans. Cp. i. 70 init. τὰ ὑπάρχοντά τε σώζειν, καὶ ἐπιγνῶναι μηδέν, καὶ ἔργῳ οὐδὲ τἀναγκαῖα ἐξικέσθαι.

οἵτινες Μήδων τε κρατησάντων ἀπωλλύμεθα καὶ νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν τοῖς πρὶν 57. 3.
φιλτάτοις Θηβαίων ἡσσώμεθα, καὶ δύο ἀγῶνας τοὺς μεγίστους ὑπέστημεν,
τότε μὲν τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ παρέδομεν λιμῷ διαφθαρῆναι νῦν δὲ θανάτου
κρίνεσθαι.

'Who after the Persians had the upper hand (i. e. after Thermopylae, when the Persians gained possession of Boeotia) were in a state of ruin,' or 'were all but ruined.'

τότε μέν κ.τ.λ. These words refer, as Arnold rightly remarks, not to some 'fancied danger of starvation' in the Persian war, but to the recent siege. Cp. infra, 59 fin. εἰλόμεθα γὰρ ἂν λιμῷ τελευτῆσαι. τότε='just now.' Cp. note on viii. 62. 3.

καίτοι ἀξιοῦμέν γε καὶ θεῶν ἕνεκα τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν ποτε γενομένων καὶ τῆς 58. 1.
ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καμφθῆναι ὑμᾶς καὶ μεταγνῶναι, εἴ τι ὑπὸ
Θηβαίων ἐπείσθητε, τήν τε δωρεὰν ἀνταπαιτῆσαι αὐτοὺς μὴ κτείνειν οὓς μὴ
ὑμῖν πρέπει, σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν, καὶ μή, ἡδονὴν
δόντας ἄλλοις, κακίαν αὐτοὺς ἀντιλαβεῖν.

ἀνταπαιτῆσαι. The Thebans request the Lacedaemonians to slay the Plataeans. The Lacedaemonians are supposed to make a counter request to the Thebans that they shall not be asked to slay the innocent.

σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν. It is not clear whether χάρις refers 1) to the gratitude which would be shown by the Plataeans in return for an honourable compliance with their wishes on the part of the Lacedaemonians, contrasted with the gratitude shown by the Thebans for a dishonourable compliance; or 2)* to the honourable boon to be granted by the Thebans, contrasted with the dishonourable boon which the Lacedaemonians, if they slay the Plataeans, will grant to them, 'to receive an honourable boon instead of (granting) a dishonourable one.' According to 2)* the language is somewhat inaccurate, since κομίσασθαι does not apply to αἰσχρᾶς χάριτος. But the sense obtained is more forcible.

58. 1. *κομίσασθαι, ἀντιλαβεῖν* are parallel to *ἀνταπαιτῆσαι*, not to *μὴ κτείνειν*, and follow *ἀξιοῦμεν*.

58. 4. *ἐτιμῶμεν κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δημοσίᾳ ἐσθήμασί τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομίμοις.* Either 1)* with offerings of garments, or 2) more probably with mourning garments, i. e. used in processions. These are not said to be offered like the fruits of the earth, and there is no evidence for the practice of offering garments to the dead. For the case of Periander (Herod. v. 92. 28, 29) is exceptional. It is true that the explanation 'garments worn in processions' goes beyond the natural meaning of the words in a prose author. Cp. however Aesch. Eum. 1028,—

φοινικοβάπτοις ἐνδυτοῖς ἐσθήμασι
τιμᾶτε.

And Plutarch (Aristid. xxi), a good authority on Boeotian matters, preserves the fact that in his own time, on the sixteenth day of the month Maimacterion, the commemoration still continued, at which the chief magistrate of the Plataeans, wearing a purple garment and carrying a funeral urn, led the procession, sword in hand, through the city to the tombs of the fallen.

59. 1. *φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ ἐπικλασθῆναι τῇ γνώμῃ οἴκτῳ σώφρονι λαβόντας, μὴ ὧν πεισόμεθα μόνον δεινότητα κατανοοῦντας, ἀλλ' οἷοί τε ἂν ὄντες πάθοιμεν, καὶ ὡς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ᾧτινί ποτ' ἂν καὶ ἀναξίῳ ξυμπέσοι.*

οἴκτῳ σώφρονι, 'by reasonable compassion;' reasonable, *a*) because we are innocent, *b*) because all men are liable to the same. A favourite strain of reflection among the Greeks; cp. Soph. Aj. 121,—

ἐποικτείρω δέ νιν
δύστηνον ἔμπας, καίπερ ὄντα δυσμενῆ,
ὀθούνεκ' ἄτῃ συγκατέζευκται κακῇ,
οὐδὲν τὸ τούτου μᾶλλον ἢ τοὐμὸν σκοπῶν.

1)* *οἴκτῳ σώφρονι* is the dative of the instrument after *ἐπικλασθῆναι*. The construction being weakened by the interposition of *τῇ γνώμῃ* is supported by *λαβόντας*, 'be softened by pity, taking pity,' like *ἄγγελλε δ' ὅρκῳ προστιθείς*, 'tell him with an oath, adding an oath,' Soph. El. 47.

Or 2) *λαβόντας* may mean 'taking,' i. e. 'regarding' our case with

pity. Cp. iii. 38 med. *οὐ τὸ δρασθὲν πιστότερον ὄψει λαβόντες ἢ τὸ* **59. 1.** *ἀκουσθέν*: iii. 56 init. *εἰ γὰρ τῷ αὐτίκα χρησίμῳ ὑμῶν τε καὶ ἐκείνων πολεμίῳ τὸ δίκαιον λήψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*: vi. 53 fin. *πάντα ὑπόπτως ἐλάμβανε.* Cp. also iv. 17 med., vi. 27 fin., vi. 61 init.

ὡς ἀστάθμητον κ.τ.λ. 'How uncertain it is on whom the hand of misfortune may fall, however (*καί*) undeserving he may be.'

ἡμεῖς τε, ὡς πρέπον ἡμῖν καὶ ὡς ἡ χρεία προάγει, αἰτούμεθα ὑμᾶς, θεοὺς **59. 2.** *τοὺς ὁμοβωμίους καὶ κοινοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπιβοώμενοι, πεῖσαι τάδε, προφερόμενοι ὅρκους οὓς οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν ὤμοσαν μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν, ἱκέται γιγνόμεθα ὑμῶν τῶν πατρῴων τάφων, καὶ ἐπικαλούμεθα τοὺς κεκμηκότας μὴ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις, μηδὲ τοῖς ἐχθίστοις φίλτατοι ὄντες παραδοθῆναι.*

προφερόμενοι . . . μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν may be taken either 1) with the preceding, or 2) with the following words.

1) 'Calling upon the Gods whom the Hellenes worship at common altars, we entreat you, at the same time appealing to the oaths which your fathers swore, to be persuaded by us, that is not to forget those oaths:—we are suppliants at the sepulchres of your fathers,' etc. *μὴ ἀμνημονεῖν* is governed by *αἰτούμεθα*, and is a further explanation of *πεῖσαι τάδε*. The anacoluthon is to be accounted for *a*) by the passion of the sentence, *b*) by the intervention of a participial clause, which makes it easier for the writer to lose sight of the preceding finite verb.

Or 2) the whole clause from *προφερόμενοι* down to *παραδοθῆναι* may be an explanation of *τάδε*, the asyndeton being accounted for by the explanatory nature of the words. (Cp. note on iii. 37. 2.)

'We entreat you to grant our request, and our request is this:—appealing to the oaths which your fathers swore, that they would not forget them' (or, with a change of subject, 'and beseeching you not to forget them) we become suppliants at your fathers' tombs,' etc. *ἀμνημονεῖν* may follow either *ὤμοσαν* or *προφερόμενοι*.

πεῖσαι τάδε, lit. 'that we may persuade you of these things.' *μὴ γένεσθαι*, scil. *ἡμᾶς*.

τῇ μέντοι αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ὕστερον ἰόντων Ἀθηναίων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μόνους **62. 2.** *αὖ Βοιωτῶν ἀττικίσαι. καίτοι σκέψασθε, ἐν οἵῳ εἴδει ἑκάτεροι ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἔπραξαν.*

62. 2. τῇ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ, 'in the same manner,' or 'on the same principle;' cp. vi. 76 med. τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἔσχον καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε νῦν πειρῶνται.

ἐν οἵῳ εἴδει: εἶδος from the general sense 'form' may mean either 'state of things,' as here and in viii. 90 init. οἱ δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μάλιστα ἐναντίοι ὄντες τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει, or 'mode of action,' as in vi. 77 fin. ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος τρεπομένους, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἡμῶν διϊστάναι κ.τ.λ., viii. 56 init.

62. 3. ὅπερ δέ ἐστι νόμοις μὲν καὶ τῷ σωφρονεστάτῳ ἐναντιώτατον.

'That which is most opposed to the laws and to the idea of moderation,' or 'to the most perfect form of government.'

62. 4. καὶ οὗτοι ἰδίας δυνάμεις ἐλπίσαντες ἔτι μᾶλλον σχήσειν κ.τ.λ.

The absence of the article shows that ἰδίας is to be taken closely with σχήσειν, 'that they would have a still stronger hold on power for themselves.'

63. 1. ὡς δὲ ὑμεῖς μᾶλλόν τε ἠδικήκατε τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ ἀξιώτεροί ἐστε πάσης ζημίας.

Cp. note on ii. 40. 1.

63. 1. οὐκοῦν χρῆν τὰ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μόνον ὑμᾶς ἐπάγεσθαι αὐτούς, καὶ μὴ ξυνεπιέναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἄλλοις.

Poppo reads ἐπάγεσθαι for ὑπάγεσθαι, against the authority of nearly every MS. The change however seems to be required by the sense, and is supported by ἐπηγάγεσθε infra.

63. 3. καὶ λέγετε ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἦν προδοῦναι τοὺς εὐεργέτας· πολὺ δέ γε αἴσχιον καὶ ἀδικώτερον τοὺς πάντας Ἕλληνας καταπροδοῦναι.

The stronger word καταπροδοῦναι is reserved for the greater offence.

63. 4. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ, ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε. καίτοι τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας μὴ ἀντιδιδόναι αἰσχρὸν μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μετὰ δικαιοσύνης μὲν ὀφειληθείσας, ἐς ἀδικίαν δὲ ἀποδιδομένας.

ὑμεῖς μὲν γάρ κ.τ.λ. 'You say that you summoned them to your aid 63. 4.
when you were wronged, but you became the accomplices of the wrong doers.' It is better to take τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι generally than in the sense of 'them when they were doing wrong.' For although the article followed by δέ is constantly used for the demonstrative (see note on iv. 33. 2), yet here an opposition would be introduced between αὐτούς and τοῖς δέ, which really refer to the same persons.

τὰς ὁμοίας χάριτας, favours or obligations which are attended by no inequality, because they were honourably conferred and can be honourably returned. 'It is dishonourable not to repay honourable obligations; but the reverse of dishonourable not to repay those which are justly due but cannot be honestly repaid.'

Cp. οὐκ ἴσην αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν ἀνταπέδοτε supra, and also iii. 58 init. σώφρονά τε ἀντὶ αἰσχρᾶς κομίσασθαι χάριν. It is true, as Poppo observes, that the χάρις here is different from the χάρις spoken of in c. 58 init. But the mention of χάρις in the speech of the Plataeans may have suggested to the mind of Thucydides the repetition of the thought in a different connection.

δῆλόν τε ἐποιήσατε οὐδὲ τότε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἕνεκα μόνοι οὐ μηδίσαντες, 64. 1.
ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐδ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοῖς μὲν ταὐτὰ βουλόμενοι ποιεῖν, τοῖς δὲ τἀναντία.

With ὑμεῖς δὲ βουλόμενοι supply either 1)* δῆλον ἐποιήσατε or 2) δῆλον ἐποιήσατε οὐ μηδίσαντες. τοῖς δέ, either 1)* the Thebans, or 2) the Hellenes exclusive of the Athenians. In the latter case the speaker is chiefly thinking of the conduct of the Plataeans, not in the Persian war, but in more recent times.

ἐβούλοντο τούς τε ὑμῶν χείρους μηκέτι μᾶλλον γενέσθαι, τούς τε ἀμείνους 65. 3.
τὰ ἄξια ἔχειν, σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες τῆς γνώμης, καὶ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἀλλοτριοῦντες, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν ξυγγένειαν οἰκειοῦντες.

μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ. 1) 'Should no longer be bad instead of good' (μᾶλλον, scil. ἢ ἀγαθούς): or 2)* 'should no longer go on growing worse and worse' (μᾶλλον χείρους). σωφρονισταὶ ὄντες κ.τ.λ. 'Intending to reform your principles, and not to alienate (or estrange) Plataea from your persons (i. e. from her citizens, by death or exile), but to bring her back into the circle of her kindred.'

65. 3. *ἀλλοτριοῦντες* is joined with *τῶν σωμάτων*, but in its opposition to *οἰκειοῦντες* is to be taken absolutely.

66. 2. *εἰ ἄρα καὶ ἐδοκοῦμέν τι ἀνεπιεικέστερον πρᾶξαι οὐ μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους ὑμῶν ἐσελθόντες, τὰ μὲν ὅμοια οὐκ ἀνταπέδοτε ἡμῖν, μήτε νεωτερίσαι ἔργῳ, λόγοις τε πεῖσειν ὥστε ἐξελθεῖν, ἐπιθέμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὴν ξύμβασιν κ.τ.λ.*

νεωτερίσαι and *πεῖσειν* are both explanatory of *ὅμοια*, the indefinite or negative notion taking the aorist and the affirmative the future. In the future *πεῖσειν* the simple fact seems to be expressed as an intention. See English text, and compare for similar uses of the future iv. 9 fin. *σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος, ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἠγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι*: iv. 126 fin. *τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν ἡμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγοῦνται· ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἂν πρὸ τούτου ἐχρῶντο*, where in the same way the negative *τοῦ . . . ἐλθεῖν* is expressed by the aorist and the affirmative *τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν* by the future.

67. 1. *καὶ ταῦτα, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τούτου ἕνεκα ἐπεξήλθομεν καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἡμῶν, ἵνα ὑμεῖς μὲν εἰδῆτε δικαίως αὐτῶν καταγνωσόμενοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὁσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι.*

καταγνωσόμενοι refers to the sentence which the Lacedaemonians are about to pass on the Plataeans, *τετιμωρημένοι* to the vengeance which the Thebans have already taken upon them by assisting to capture their city, and by urging their execution. Cp. § 5 infra, *οὐκ ἀνταποδόντες νῦν τὴν ἴσην τιμωρίαν· ἔννομα γὰρ πείσονται*, where the past and future sufferings of the Plataeans are similarly blended.

ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι ὁσιώτερον τετιμωρημένοι is to be construed, not with *εἰδῶμεν* supplied from *εἰδῆτε*, but with some verb like *φαινώμεθα*, i. e. the passive of *εἰδῶμεν*, 'that it may be shown how righteous has been our vengeance.' Probably the change in construction has arisen from the desire to combine antithesis in the form of the sentence with conciseness.

67. 6. *οὐ λόγων τοὺς ἀγῶνας προθήσοντες, ἀλλ' ἔργων, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων βραχεῖα ἡ ἀπαγγελία ἀρκεῖ, ἁμαρτανομένων δὲ λόγοι ἔπεσι κοσμηθέντες προκαλύμματα γίγνονται.*

ἁμαρτανομένων δέ, scil. *ἔργων*, like *ἡμαρτήθη ὁ πλοῦς*, ii. 65 fin.

ἀλλ' ἢν οἱ ἡγεμόνες, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς, κεφαλαιώσαντες πρὸς τοὺς ξύμ- 67. 7.
παντας διαγνώμας ποιήσησθε, ἧσσόν τις ἐπ' ἀδίκοις ἔργοις λόγους καλοὺς ζητήσει.

ἢν ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς ποιήσησθε = ἦν, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς διαγνώμας ποιεῖσθε, διαγνώμας ποιήσωνται. κεφαλαιώσαντες refers to the shortness of the Lacedaemonian question, πρὸς τοὺς ξύμπαντας to its being asked of all the captives without distinction.

Here again (cp. note on c. 67. 1) the Thebans consider the question as already involving the condemnation of the prisoners.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι δικασταὶ νομίζοντες τὸ ἐπερώτημα σφίσιν ὀρθῶς ἔξειν, 68. 1.
εἴ τι ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀγαθὸν πεπόνθασι, διότι τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον ἠξίουν δῆθεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ τὰς παλαιὰς Παυσανίου μετὰ τὸν Μῆδον σπονδὰς ἡσυχάζειν, καὶ ὅτε ὕστερον ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, ἡγούμενοι τῇ ἑαυτῶν δικαίᾳ βουλήσει ἔκσπονδοι ἤδη ὑπ' αὐτῶν κακῶς πεπονθέναι, αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες, εἴ τι Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους ἀγαθὸν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ δεδρακότες εἰσίν, ὁπότε μὴ φαῖεν, ἀπάγοντες ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἐποιήσαντο οὐδένα.

τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον refers to the time between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars. The assumption that the Plataeans were bound by the treaty made with Pausanias never under any circumstances to fight against the Peloponnesians was regarded by Thucydides as a mere pretence (δῆθεν).

ἠξίουν ... ἡσυχάζειν need not imply a formal request. Such a request is certainly mentioned in ii. 72 init., but it is better to refer the words to the general attitude of the Lacedaemonians. For the imperfect ἠξίουν and the general expression of time (τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον) indicate not so much a particular occasion as the standing offence which the conduct and temper of the Plataeans gave to the Peloponnesians.

The construction of the passage is doubtful.

Either 1)* ὅτε ὕστερον is dependent on ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο. The τέ in τόν τε ἄλλον χρόνον is slightly out of place, for it should have been joined with διότι: ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο answers to διότι ἠξίουν and gives the second reason for the conclusion of the Peloponnesians.

Or 2) ὅτε ὕστερον is dependent on ἠξίουν ἡσυχάζειν αὐτούς repeated,

68. 1. and ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο after ὅτε ὕστερον involves an asyndeton, which is concealed by the complexity of the sentence.

In either case a second προείχοντο has to be supplied, ὅτε ὕστερον, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς, προείχοντο.

Or 3) ἠξίουν ἡσυχάζειν αὐτούς being still repeated before ὅτε, there is a confusion between ὅτε ὕστερον, ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτούς, κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, οὐκ ἐδέξαντο, and ὅτε ὕστερον πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι προείχοντο αὐτοῖς κοινοὺς εἶναι κατ' ἐκεῖνα, ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο.

Or 4) placing a comma after ὅτε ὕστερον, ὡς may be a resumption of ὅτε, the clause ἃ πρὸ τοῦ περιτειχίζεσθαι κ.τ.λ. being the remote accusative after ἐδέξαντο: 'and when, in reference to the offers which they made, when I say they did not receive these offers.'

Lastly, and this is the simplest explanation, 5) ὡς οὐκ ἐδέξαντο may depend on the clause which follows, ἡγούμενοι κ.τ.λ., rather than upon νομίζοντες κ.τ.λ., of which it is the resumption.

68. 4. σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν περὶ Πλαταιῶν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὕτως ἀπὸστετραμμένοι ἐγένοντο Θηβαίων ἕνεκα, νομίζοντες ἐς τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοὺς ἄρτι τότε καθιστάμενον ὠφελίμους εἶναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν κατὰ Πλάταιαν ἔτει τρίτῳ καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ, ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναίων ξύμμαχοι ἐγένοντο, οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν.

σχεδὸν δέ τι καὶ τὸ ξύμπαν = 'pretty nearly throughout the whole affair,' or 'all through the whole affair:' καί adds emphasis to τὸ ξύμπαν. σχεδόν τι, though in form qualifying, is not so in meaning.

ἄρτι τότε, cp. note on iii. 3. 1.

ἔτει τρίτῳ κ.τ.λ. The *à priori* reasons urged by Mr. Grote (Part ii. ch. xxxi. ad fin.) against the date here assigned to the alliance of Plataea and Athens (519 B.C.), and partly inferred from the narrative of Herodotus (vi. 108), have a good deal of weight. But they can scarcely be allowed to counterbalance the express and particular statement of Thucydides.

69. 1. αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων αἱ Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι, ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους ἔκ τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιδιωχθεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ χειμασθεῖσαι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς σποράδες πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν, καταλαμβάνουσιν ἐν τῇ Κυλλήνῃ τρισκαίδεκα τριήρεις κ.τ.λ.

καί after *χειμασθεῖσαι* joins the preceding participles 1) with *σποράδες,=σπαρεῖσαι,* or 2) placing the comma after *ἀπ' αὐτῆς* instead of after *σποράδες,* with *ἀπ' αὐτῆς,=λιποῦσαι αὐτήν, σποράδες* being then closely connected with *κατηνέχθησαν.* 69. 1.

ἐβούλοντο γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὡς τῆς Λέσβου ἡμαρτήκεσαν, πλέον τὸ ναυτικὸν ποιήσαντες ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι στασιάζουσαν, δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ μόναις παρόντων Ἀθηναίων περὶ Ναύπακτον, πρὶν δὲ πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν, ὅπως προφθάσωσι. 69. 2.

ὅπως προφθάσωσι follows *ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν πλεῦσαι.* The construction would have been clearer if Thucydides had written *ὅπως δὲ προφθάσωσι πρὶν πλέον τι ἐπιβοηθῆσαι ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ναυτικόν,* but the present order brings out the connection between *δώδεκα μὲν ναυσὶ* and *πρὶν δὲ πλέον κ.τ.λ.*

τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ὀκτακοσίων ταλάντων τοῖς προξένοις διηγγυημένοι. 70. 1.

τοῖς προξένοις not exactly=*ὑπὸ τῶν προξένων,* but a 'dativus ethicus' 'bailed on the security of their proxeni,' that is of Corinthian citizens who were the representatives of Corcyra at Corinth. As the captives numbered about 250 and the nominal sum required was 800 talents, or £192,000, the ransom of each man would be $3\frac{1}{5}$ talents, or £768. Cp. i. 55 med. where it is said of the captives, *ἐτύγχανον δὲ καὶ δυνάμει αὐτῶν οἱ πλείους πρῶτοι ὄντες τῆς πόλεως.* But, as the sum was never intended to be paid, we need not, with some of the commentators, discuss the unusual amount of the ransom.

ὑπάγουσιν αὐτὸν οὗτοι οἱ ἄνδρες ἐς δίκην. 70. 3.

Scil. the conspirators who had returned from Corinth; not, as in the English text, the partizans of the Peloponnesians generally.

ζημία δὲ καθ' ἑκάστην χάρακα ἐπέκειτο στατήρ. 70. 4.

The values assigned in the notes on the English text to the Corinthian drachma (i. 27 med.) and stater, and to the Aeginetan drachma (v. 47. 6; 63 med.) are those usually given on the assumption *a*) that the Corinthian drachma was identical with the Aeginetan, *b*) that the ratio between the Aeginetan and the Attic

70. 4. drachma was 5:3. Hultsch (Gr. und Rom. Metrologie) denies both these statements, and estimates the ratio just mentioned not at 5:3 but at 7:5. He would reckon the Corinthian and Aeginetan drachma, not at 1*s.* 4*d.*, but at 6*d.* (p. 260) and 1*s.* 1*d.* (p. 258) respectively, and the Corinthian stater, not at 2*s.* 2*d.*, but at 1*s.* 6*d.* (p. 260). The other view of the ratio between the Attic and Aeginetan standard rests on a direct statement of Pollux, iv. 76, 86. To this view other, but less direct, statements of ancient writers, and the actual weight of coins which have been preserved, are opposed (Dict. of Ant. s. v. *Pondus;* Hultsch, p. 134 ff.)

70. 5. *ὀφλόντων δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ ἱκετῶν καθεζομένων διὰ πλῆθος τῆς ζημίας, ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν, ὁ Πειθίας (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ καὶ βουλῆς ὤν) πείθει, ὥστε τῷ νόμῳ χρήσασθαι. οἱ δ' ἐπειδὴ τῷ τε νόμῳ ἐξείργοντο, καὶ ἅμα κ.τ.λ.*

ὅπως ταξάμενοι ἀποδῶσιν. 'That they might pay by arrangement,' or 'by instalments,' lit. 'fixing' the times. Cp. i. 101 fin. *χρήματά τε ὅσα ἔδει ἀποδοῦναι αὐτίκα ταξάμενοι καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν φέρειν.*

τῷ νόμῳ, either dative of cause or reason, 'by reason of the law,' or dative of instrument (cp. Herod. ix. 111, *ὑπὸ τοῦ νόμου ἐξεργόμενος*). *ἐξείργοντο*, 'they were prevented.' Either 1)* generally, 'they could do nothing.' Arnold compares Herod i. 31, *ἐκληϊόμενοι τῇ ὥρῃ*, Isocr. Archidamus (vi.) 84, *ἂν δ' ἄρα ψευσθῶμεν τῶν ἐλπίδων καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐξειργώμεθα.* Or 2) 'they were prevented from doing what they wanted,' i. e. paying by instalments, *τοῦ ταξάμενοι ἀποδοῦναι.*

Possibly the offenders may have had the care of the sacred wood or grove which surrounded the temple. But of this occasion and perhaps aggravation of their offence Thucydides says nothing.

71. 2. *πέμπουσι δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας εὐθὺς πρέσβεις περί τε τῶν πεπραγμένων διδάξοντας, ὡς ξυνέφερε, καὶ τοὺς ἐκεῖ καταπεφευγότας πείσοντας μηδὲν ἀνεπιτήδειον πράσσειν, ὅπως μή τις ἐπιστροφὴ γένηται.*

ὅπως μή κ.τ.λ. is to be taken after *πείσοντας*, not after *πράσσειν*. For the anticipated revolution or reaction would be dreaded, not by the refugees at Athens, but by the oligarchs at Corcyra.

74. 1. *διαλιπούσης δ' ἡμέρας μάχη αὖθις γίγνεται.*

Scil. the day already mentioned in c. 73.

δείσαντες δὲ ἐκεῖνοι, μὴ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἀποπεμφθῶσι, καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ τῶν 75. 3.
Διοσκούρων ἱερόν. Νικόστρατος δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνίστη τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο. ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ὁ δῆμος ὁπλισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν ὑγιὲς διανοουμένων τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ, τά τε ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν ἔλαβε καὶ αὐτῶν τινας, οἷς ἐπέτυχον, εἰ μὴ Νικόστρατος ἐκώλυσε, διέφθειραν ἄν. ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι τὰ γιγνόμενα καθίζουσιν ἐς τὸ Ἡραῖον ἱκέται, καὶ γίγνονται οὐκ ἐλάσσους τετρακοσίων.

τῇ τοῦ μὴ ξυμπλεῖν ἀπιστίᾳ. Either 1) the mistrust which was shown by their not sailing, or by their reluctance to sail, or 2) *μή* being a repetition of the negative in *ἀπιστίᾳ*, 'by their mistrustful reluctance to sail,' cp. ii. 49 med. *ἡ ἀπορία τοῦ μὴ ἡσυχάζειν*, 'their distressing inability to take rest.'

αὐτῶν τινας, probably a few who, unlike the rest, had accepted the offer of Nicostratus. *οἱ ἄλλοι*, those of the suppliants in the temple of the Dioscuri who did not accept the offer of Nicostratus. They fled to the temple of Here probably because they considered it a holier sanctuary. But it is not easy to see how they could have passed safely from one temple to the other, unless under the protection of Nicostratus or when the opposite party was not watching them. *οἱ ἄλλοι* cannot mean 'those who had not taken refuge in the temple of the Dioscuri,' for then Thucydides would leave unfinished the narrative of the fate of those who had taken refuge there.

οἱ μὲν οὖν Πελοποννήσιοι τῆς νυκτὸς εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος ἐκομίζοντο ἐπ' 81. 1.
οἴκου παρὰ τὴν γῆν.

For similar sneers at the proceedings of Alcidas cp. the narrative of his expedition to Ionia, especially iii. 33 init. *ὡς γῇ ἑκούσιος οὐ σχήσων ἄλλῃ ἢ Πελοποννήσῳ.*

Κερκυραῖοι δὲ αἰσθόμενοι τάς τε Ἀττικὰς ναῦς προσπλεούσας τάς τε τῶν 81. 2.
πολεμίων οἰχομένας, λαβόντες τούς τε Μεσσηνίους ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἤγαγον πρότερον ἔξω ὄντας, καὶ τὰς ναῦς περιπλεῦσαι κελεύσαντες, ἃς ἐπλήρωσαν, ἐς τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα, ἐν ὅσῳ περιεκομίζοντο, τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἴ τινα λάβοιεν, ἀπέκτεινον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ὅσους ἔπεισαν ἐσβῆναι ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρῶντο.

The popular party divided their enemies. Thucydides, as his manner is, is silent about the incredible perfidy of the Corcyraean

81. 2. democracy, who thus put out of the way the men who had volunteered to help them (c. 80 init.), *τοῖς τε ἱκέταις ᾖεσαν ἐς λόγους καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅπως σωθήσεται ἡ πόλις· καί τινας αὐτῶν ἔπεισαν ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσβῆναι.*

The Hyllaic harbour in which the massacre took place was the part of the town most completely in the hands of the democratic party (c. 72 fin.), *ἀφικομένης δὲ νυκτὸς ὁ μὲν δῆμος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν καὶ τὰ μετέωρα τῆς πόλεως καταφεύγει καὶ αὐτοῦ ξυλλεγεὶς ἱδρύθη καὶ τὸν Ὑλλαϊκὸν λιμένα εἶχον.* This harbour appears to have been south of the town, as we are told that the other harbour was the one facing the mainland. The ancient Corcyra was situated upon the promontory south of the modern town.

ἐν ὅσῳ περιεκομίζοντο. The massacre was the work of a few minutes: while the ships were going from one harbour to the other the popular party slew any of their enemies whom they caught in the town, and when the ships arrived slew the oligarchs who were in them.

ἐκβιβάζοντες ἀπεχρῶντο. Nearly all the MSS. read *ἀπεχώρησαν*, which gives no sense; for we should not be told what became of the captives. *ἀπεχρῶντο*, the reading of one (Ven.) and found in the margin of two good MSS. (Aug. Cl.), and *ἀνεχρήσαντο*, a very natural emendation, are both attributed to Thucydides by the lexicographers. Neither *ἀπεχρῶντο* nor *ἀνεχρήσαντο* are found elsewhere in Thucydides, which is some reason for assuming that one or other of them is the true reading in this passage. One inferior MS. (Parm.) has *ἀνεχρῶντο* in the margin.

81. 3. *καὶ ἐκ τῶν δένδρων τινὲς ἀπήγχοντο.*

I. e. 'from the trees which were in the precinct of the temple.'

81. 4. *ἡμέρας τε ἑπτά, ἃς ἀφικόμενος ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ναυσὶ παρέμεινε, Κερκυραῖοι σφῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς δοκοῦντας εἶναι ἐφόνευον, τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν, ἀπέθανον δέ τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων σφίσιν ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων.*

The stress is upon *τὴν αἰτίαν*. The words *τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν* express not the fact of the men's guilt, but the nature of

the charge brought against them, scil. *τοῦ τὸν δῆμον καταλύειν*. The article with *καταλύουσιν* means that the charge which the people brought was only applicable to those who aimed at subverting the democracy. But the fact was that men were put to death from all sorts of motives. 81. 4.

οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προὐχώρησε· καὶ ἔδοξε μᾶλλον, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο. 81. 6.

στάσις in the first clause is general, 'revolution,' but, with *ἔδοξε*, *ἡ στάσις* must be supplied from the sense of the words *οὕτως ὠμὴ στάσις προὐχώρησε*. For *ἐν τοῖς πρώτη* cp. note on iii. 17. 1.

'Other revolutions were worse, although this seemed the most atrocious because it was the first of them.' This is the spirit of the words *ἔδοξε μᾶλλον κ.τ.λ.* And the same point of view is maintained throughout, and is indicated by the expression *προετολμήθη* in 84 init., and probably by *τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐχρήσαντο*, 85 init. (although it is possible that these words may refer to the second massacre at Corcyra, iv. 47, 48). Having regard to the strength of language used by a writer who does not often exaggerate, we naturally ask, to what does Thucydides refer when, after describing every sort of perfidy and cruelty, he speaks of the Corcyraean sedition as only the first in a series of similar and even greater horrors?

The chief disturbances which occurred in the lifetime of Thucydides were those attending the establishment of the 400 and of the 30 at Athens; now in both these, though the oligarchs were cruel and arbitrary, great moderation was shown by the party which overthrew them. There were also contemporary with Thucydides a revolution at Megara (Thuc. iv. 74. 2, see note), referred to possibly, but not certainly, by Aristotle, and with a difference (Pol. iv. 15. 15, v. 3. 5, 5. 4), in which the aristocracy put to death 100 of the democratical party, although they had taken an oath to observe an amnesty; a revolution at Argos (Thuc. v. 82); at Syracuse (Thuc. viii. 85, Diod. xiii. 63. 75); and at Samos (Thuc. viii. 21, and later, Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 6, *εὐθὺς δὲ καὶ ἡ ἄλλη Ἑλλὰς ἀφειστήκει Ἀθηναίων μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν πλὴν Σαμίων· οὗτοι δὲ σφαγὰς τῶν γνωρίμων ποιήσαντες κατεῖχον τὴν πόλιν*). The story told

81. 6. in Heraclides Ponticus of the cruelties committed by contending factions at Miletus (Athenaeus, xii. p. 523), probably relate to that earlier time of civil strife which is described by Herodotus, v. 28.

But none of these revolutions were attended, as far as we know, with any special circumstances of cruelty or with the extirpation of the opposite party, except those at Argos (cp. Pausanias, ii. 20, Diod. xii. 80) and at Samos. It may be observed, however, that Thucydides appears in his account of the *στάσις* at Megara to refer back to his general description of *στάσεις*. He thus leaves the impression that he here means no more than actually occurred at Megara. Cp. the language which he uses iv. 74, *ὁρκώσαντες πίστεσι μεγάλαις μηδὲν μνησικακήσειν . . . καὶ τούτων πέρι ἀναγκάσαντες τὸν δῆμον ψῆφον φανερὰν διενεγκεῖν, ὡς κατεγνώσθησαν, ἔκτειναν*, with iii. 82 med. *καὶ ὅρκοι εἴ που ἄρα γένοιντο ξυναλλαγῆς*, 83 init. *οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὅρκος φοβερός*, 82 fin. *μετὰ ψήφου ἀδίκου καταγνώσεως*. There is no trace in Aristotle's account of revolutions in Greek states that exaggerated cruelty generally prevailed.

We can only reply to the difficulty thus raised that Thucydides may have been led away by a real sense of the political evils of party, may we say also by a love of rhetoric which for once is too strong for him? The picture is aggravated by the horror of anarchy in the writer's mind. In this passage, and perhaps in this passage only, he has forgotten the character of a critical historian. But it may be suggested that he is writing under the impression created by the tyranny of the Thirty and the revolutions in the islands, which were abetted or encouraged by Lysander. Throughout the Athenian empire, after the fall of the city, the miseries of the allies must have been great, and we find Lysander playing much the same part in them which is attributed to the Athenian generals at Corcyra (Plut. Lys. xiii), *οὔτε γὰρ ἀριστίνδην οὔτε πλουτίνδην ἀπεδείκνυε τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ἀλλ' ἑταιρείαις καὶ ξενίαις χαριζόμενος τὰ πράγματα καὶ κυρίους ποιῶν τιμῆς τε καὶ κολάσεως, πολλαῖς δὲ παραγενόμενος αὐτὸς σφαγαῖς καὶ συνεκβάλλων τοὺς τῶν φίλων ἐχθροὺς οὐκ ἐπιεικὲς ἐδίδου τοῖς Ἕλλησι δεῖγμα τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχῆς*. We should probably understand this and some other passages of Thucydides better (cp. notes on ii. 65) had he lived to complete the whole work.

Or Thucydides may have been silent respecting other atrocities because it did not come within his general plan to dwell further on the details of Greek revolutions. Something may be allowed for our ignorance of the facts. Scenes like those which occurred at Corcyra may have been enacted elsewhere, and no record of them may have been preserved. Nameless cruelty, like nameless virtue, has often been hidden from the eye of posterity. 81. 6.

ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε καὶ πᾶν, ὥς εἰπεῖν, τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐκινήθη, διαφορῶν 82. 1. *οὐσῶν ἑκασταχοῦ τοῖς τε τῶν δήμων προστάταις τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐπάγεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ὀλίγοις τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων πρόφασιν, οὐδ' ἑτοίμων παρακαλεῖν αὐτούς· πολεμουμένων δὲ καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κακώσει καὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προσποιήσει ῥᾳδίως αἱ ἐπαγωγαὶ τοῖς νεωτερίζειν τι βουλομένοις ἐπορίζοντο.*

The infinitive *ἐπάγεσθαι* is governed by the idea of an object contained partly in *ἐκινήθη*, partly in *διαφορῶν*. Notwithstanding Arnold's argument from usage to the contrary, some sense of the verb *διαφέρειν* probably enters into the substantive *διαφορά*, as into the adjective *διάφορος* in i. 68 init. *ὡς ἕνεκεν τῶν αὐτοῖς ἰδίᾳ* διαφόρων *λέγουσι*, and in iv. 87 init. *οὕτω πολλὴν περιωπὴν τῶν ἡμῖν ἐς τὰ μέγιστα* διαφόρων *ποιούμεθα.*

ξυμμαχίας . . . ἐπορίζοντο. Again the construction is uncertain. *ξυμμαχίας* is either 1)* a genitive absolute with which some verb such as *ὑπαρχούσης* is to be supplied from the previous sentence—cp. *διαφορῶν οὐσῶν* above: or 2) the genitive after *αἱ ἐπαγωγαί*, being the emphatic word, and therefore placed at the beginning of the sentence. 'When they were at war, then (*καί*) an alliance was readily introduced.'

πολεμουμένων corresponds to *ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ*. But for the genitive absolute which should have followed, answering to the clause *οὐκ ἂν ἐχόντων . . . οὐδὲ ἑτοίμων*, the finite verb *ἐπορίζοντο* has been substituted.

καὶ ἐπέπεσε πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ *κατὰ στάσιν ταῖς πόλεσι, γιγνόμενα* 82. 2. *μὲν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐσόμενα ἕως ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἡσυχαίτερα καὶ τοῖς εἴδεσι διηλλαγμένα, ὡς ἂν ἕκασται αἱ μεταβολαὶ τῶν ξυντυχιῶν ἐφιστῶνται.*

82. 2. μᾶλλον=1) μᾶλλον γιγνόμενα, or 2) μᾶλλον χαλεπά. In cc. 82–84 Thucydides is describing the features of revolution not in Corcyra only, but in Hellenic states generally, and the whole passage is one of those digressions in which Thucydides sometimes indulges, e. g. the digression about Pausanias and Themistocles, about Teres and Tereus, about the fall of the Pisistratidae, etc. It may have been added after the fall of Athens. The first words, καὶ ἐπέπεσε κ.τ.λ., are a resumption of ἐπεὶ ὕστερόν γε κ.τ.λ., at the beginning of the chapter, which prepare the way for the more general consideration of the subject.

82. 3. ἐστασίαζέ τε οὖν τὰ τῶν πόλεων, καὶ τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντα πᾶν πύστει τῶν προγενομένων πολὺ ἐπέφερε τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ καινοῦσθαι τὰς διανοίας τῶν τ' ἐπιχειρήσεων περιτεχνήσει καὶ τῶν τιμωριῶν ἀτοπίᾳ.

τὰ τῶν πόλεων is a periphrasis for αἱ πόλεις (as τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντα for αἱ ἐφυστερίζουσαι), but has a somewhat more general meaning, 'everything about the cities was in a state of revolution.'

πύστει τῶν προγενομένων κ.τ.λ., lit. 'by reason of hearing what had been done before greatly exaggerated the extravagance of the revolutionary temper.' In a certain sense the report of what had been done before might be called the cause of later excesses, for it suggested possibilities of still greater atrocities. If succeeding generations had never known the cruelties which had been committed by their predecessors, they could not have consciously exceeded them.

82. 4. καὶ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν ἀξίωσιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ ἔργα ἀντήλλαξαν τῇ δικαιώσει.

ἀξίωσις='value,' or generally received meaning. ἐς τὰ ἔργα goes with ἀξίωσιν. τῇ δικαιώσει 1), 'in their estimate,' scil. of men's conduct; or 2)*, 'by their thinking fit,' i. e. 'as they thought fit.'

82. 4. τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ προσετέθη, ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, ἀποτροπῆς πρόφασις εὔλογος.

ἀσφάλεια δὲ τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι, the reading of nearly all the MSS., is not indefensible. Either 1) τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι may be an epexegetical acc. after ἀσφάλεια, 'security,' i. e. 'deliberation,' a possible

meaning of *ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι*, or 2) *τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι* may be taken 82. 4.
in the more common sense of 'conspiring,' as the so-called 'acc. of reference,' (cp. note on ii. 87. 1) after *ἀσφάλεια*, = 'caution in conspiring.' But the loose construction of *τὸ ἐπιβουλεύσασθαι* with the simple substantive is very harsh.

For the dative *ἀσφαλείᾳ* (one bad MS. and Poppo) cp. iii. 56 fin. *οἱ μὴ τὰ ξύμφορα πρὸς τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλείᾳ πράσσοντες.*

οὐ γὰρ μετὰ τῶν κειμένων νόμων ὠφελίας αἱ τοιαῦται ξύνοδοι, ἀλλὰ παρὰ 82. 6.
τοὺς καθεστῶτας πλεονεξίᾳ.

1) *ὠφελίας* may depend on *τῶν νόμων*, 'for such combinations are not formed in accordance with established laws which have for their object the public good;' or 2) *τῶν νόμων* may follow *ὠφελίας*, 'are not based on the public good of established laws;' i. e. like established laws on the public good; or 3)* *ὠφελίας* may be taken as a predicate with *ξύνοδοι*, 'such combinations are not formed for the public good.' Thus the antithesis to *πλεονεξίᾳ* becomes more pointed.

τά τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων καλῶς λεγόμενα ἐνεδέχοντο ἔργων φυλακῇ, εἰ 82. 7.
προῦχοιεν, καὶ οὐ γενναιότητι.

Either 1)* by watching their enemies' actions, or 2) by watchfulness in their own actions, i. e. by increased precautions. The latter gives the better opposition, and is confirmed by *ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων τῆς ἐπιμελείας*, 'by the vigilance of your administration,' iii. 46 fin. *εἰ προῦχοιεν*, scil. *οἱ ἐναντίοι.*

ῥᾷον δ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοῦργοι ὄντες δεξιοὶ κέκληνται ἢ ἀμαθεῖς ἀγαθοί, 82. 7.
καὶ τῷ μὲν αἰσχύνονται, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται.

These words have been translated, 1) 'men like better to be called clever when they are rogues than simple when they are good.' But this meaning of *ῥᾷον* with a passive verb cannot be maintained, we can say *ῥᾷον καλοῦσι* in the active, 'they more gladly call,' but not 'are more gladly called,' *ῥᾷον κέκληνται*, which could only mean 2)* 'they are more easily called.'

τῷ μέν—τῷ δέ, either 1)* 'goodness,' and 'cleverness,' or 2) combining the two ideas *ἀμαθεῖς—ἀγαθοί* and *δεξιοί—κακοῦργοι*, 'they are ashamed of simple goodness but glory in clever dishonesty.'

82. 8. *οἱ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι προστάντες* μετὰ ὀνόματος *ἑκάτεροι εὐπρεποῦς, πλήθους τε ἰσονομίας πολιτικῆς καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, τὰ μὲν κοινὰ λόγῳ θεραπεύοντες ἆθλα ἐποιοῦντο κ.τ.λ.*

The dative *προτιμήσει* is a variation of the genitive with *μετά* in the preceding clause, intended to support *πλήθους τε . . . σώφρονος*, which is too remote to be governed by the preposition.

82. 8. *παντὶ δὲ τρόπῳ ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἀλλήλων περιγίγνεσθαι ἐτόλμησάν τε τὰ δεινότατα ἐπεξῆεσάν τε τὰς τιμωρίας ἔτι μείζους, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου καὶ τῇ πόλει ξυμφόρου προτιθέντες, ἐς δὲ τὸ ἑκατέροις που ἀεὶ ἡδονὴν ἔχον ὁρίζοντες.*

'And they went still further in their revenges.' *μείζους* expresses the result of *ἐπεξῆεσαν*. The somewhat feeble construction of *τὰς τιμωρίας* with *ἐπεξῆεσαν* (cp. iii. 108 init. *οἱ Μεσσήνιοι . . . τὸ πολὺ τοῦ ἔργου ἐξῆλθον*), is supported by the words *οὐ μέχρι . . . προτιθέντες.*

προτιθέντες, the more difficult reading, has also in this passage better authority than *προστιθέντες*, 'inflicting;' *προτιθέντες* may mean 1) 'fixing beforehand,' i. e. imposing. *οὐ* negatives *προτιθέντες* as well as *μέχρι τοῦ δικαίου κ.τ.λ.* For the partisans whom Thucydides is describing did not 'fix beforehand,' or 'enact' punishments by law at all, and therefore could not be said to 'enact' their revenges in disregard of justice. Some such idea as *ζημίας* must be supplied from *τιμωρίας.*

Or 2)* *προτιθέντες* may be taken in a more general sense, 'proposing no definite limits of justice or expediency to their revenges.'

83. 2. *οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὁ διαλύσων οὔτε λόγος ἐχυρὸς οὔτε ὅρκος φοβερός,* κρείσσους *δὲ ὄντες ἅπαντες λογισμῷ ἐς τὸ ἀνέλπιστον τοῦ βεβαίου, μὴ παθεῖν μᾶλλον προεσκόπουν ἢ πιστεῦσαι ἐδύναντο.*

κρείσσους may mean either 1) 'they were strong rather,' i. e. 'instead of trusting oaths and promises they were strong in despair;' or 2)* 'they were strong in despair rather than in anything else.' 'The thoughts of all men irresistibly tended to despair of security.' *λογισμῷ*, dative of manner after *κρείσσους*, 'strong in their calculations.' Or 3) *κρείσσους ὄντες* may be taken in a different sense, and *λογισμῷ* may be joined with *προεσκόπουν*. 'All men, when

superior in power, by consideration of the hopelessness of security, **83. 2.** were led to provide for their own safety, instead of being able to trust others. Or 4) *τοῦ βεβαίου,=ἢ τῷ βεβαίῳ*, may be taken after *κρείσσονς*: 'all men having regard to the uncertain event, found more strength in making calculations than in securities such as oaths and promises' (Stahl, Classen). But the force of the words is thus weakened, and the construction of the genitive, though not ungrammatical, is unnatural. *ἐς*=either 1) 'in view of,' or 2) 'in reference to,' or 3) carries out the idea of motion contained in *κρείσσονς ὄντες λογισμῷ*, 'inclining to.'

οἱ δὲ καταφρονοῦντες κἂν προαισθέσθαι κ.τ.λ. **83. 4.**

προαισθέσθαι is governed by the idea of *νομίζοντες* or *ἡγούμενοι* latent in *καταφρονοῦντες*, 'thinking in their arrogance that they would perceive in time.'

The genuineness of c. 84 has been denied by the Scholiast, **84. 1.** and doubted by several modern scholars; among them by Bekker, Poppo, Classen. Dr. Arnold in his first edition, vol. i. p. 613, was of opinion that there was 'no other Greek writer at once so good, so wise, and so eloquent as to have been capable of being its author.' But in the second edition, while continuing to maintain that the thought is quite worthy of Thucydides, he is induced by the authority of the Scholiast, 'whose judgment in such matters as well as that of other scholiasts he has learned to value more and more highly,' to deny the genuineness of this chapter, which now appears to him 'affected and caricatured in style, probably the work of some student of Thucydides living at Constantinople in Christian times.'

It is argued on the one hand,

1) That Dionysius of Halicarnassus, De Thuc. Hist. Jud. 28–33, having commented on c. 82 down to the words *ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀγάλλονται* § 7, and having made a transcript of the rest of c. 82 and of c. 83, there stops. But Dionysius likewise omits to comment upon a considerable section of c. 82. §§ 1, 2, *καὶ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ ... τὰς ὀργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ*, besides part of § 4, *τὸ δ' ἐμπλήκτως ὀξὺ ἀνδρὸς μοίρᾳ προσετέθη*, and of §§ 6, 7, *καὶ τὰς ἐς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ... μὴ προπαθεῖν*, and having made a transcript of a long passage may not

84. 1. have thought it worth while to complete the quotation. The words by which he introduces the citation are as follows, *θήσω δὲ καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, οὐδὲ μίαν ἔτι λέξιν ἐμαυτοῦ προστιθείς.* No promise is here given that he will write out the whole passage.

2) That the Scholiast rejected the passage (*τὰ ὠβελισμένα οὐδένι τῶν ἐξηγητῶν ἔδοξε Θουκυδίδου εἶναι. ἀσαφῆ γὰρ καὶ τῷ τύπῳ τῆς ἑρμηνείας καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασι πολὺν ἐμφαίνοντα τὸν νεωτερισμόν*). But it is unlikely that he has preserved any ancient tradition. This will seem the more improbable when we consider that c. 84 is contained in every extant MS. And the reason given by him for the rejection of the passage by himself and others is merely the obscurity or enigmatical character of the style, which Dionysius, regarding such obscurity as characteristic of Thucydides, attributes equally to the whole description of revolutionary Hellas, as well as to many other passages.

This argument is one of which we are at least as well able to judge as the Scholiast himself, and the obscurity of the 84th chapter of Book III is not a strong ground for doubting that it was written by the author of the preceding eighty-second and eighty-third chapters, and of the Melian Controversy; of the Introduction i. 1–22, of passages like the beginning of iii. 68, and part of viii. 89, etc.

On the other side it may be observed that,

1) The precise coincidence of the supposed spurious passage with our chapter 84, considering that the division into chapters was unknown to Thucydides, is very improbable. If 84 is an insertion, we may as well assume at once that the whole of 82, 83, are also inserted by a later hand.

2) The interpolation of a long paragraph in any writer of the age of Thucydides, or Herodotus, or Xenophon, would be without parallel; and no motive for it can be imagined in this passage.

3) If the complexity of the language seems to be a caricature of Thucydides, it is more probable that he should have been exaggerating his own style than that a later writer should have elaborated so curious a forgery.

4) The thought though obscure and involved is weighty and comprehensive. And the words have some latent or 'undesigned'

coincidences with the language and thought of Thucydides, which seem to lie out of the range of the forger's art. Compare § 3, *ἀξιοῦσί τε τοὺς κοινοὺς περὶ τῶν τοιούτων οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους ... ἐν ἅλλων τιμωρίαις προκαταλύειν*, with v. 90, *ᾗ μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε, χρήσιμον ... μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν*. The same remark applies to the opening words of the 84th chapter, *ἐν οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προετολμήθη*, compared with the concluding words of 81, *διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο*, and with *τὰ ἐφυστερίζοντά που* κ.τ.λ. (82. 3), a similarity probably too ingenious for a forger. A fainter resemblance is found in 81. 4, *ἀπέθανον δέ τινες καὶ ἰδίας ἔχθρας ἕνεκα καὶ ἄλλοι χρημάτων ὀφίσιν ὀφειλομένων ὑπὸ τῶν λαβόντων*, compared with *μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν*. But this argument, though an element in arriving at a conclusion, is not equal in strength to the preceding. 84. 1.

Nothing is said in the above criticism of differences in the use of words or constructions, because such arguments are too uncertain to have much weight on either side of the question. There is no word or construction which we can affirm positively not to belong to the age of Thucydides. And the very small amount of Greek prose writing which existed in that age and is now extant, renders the determination of such questions generally impossible, especially as the Greek language was then still 'fusile,' and the meaning of words was rapidly changing.

We infer therefore without any doubt that chap. 84 is the writing of Thucydides.

ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ Κερκύρᾳ τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν προετολμήθη, καὶ ὁπόσα ὕβρει μὲν ἀρχόμενοι τὸ πλέον ἢ σωφροσύνῃ ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν τιμωρίαν παρασχόντων οἱ ἀνταμυνόμενοι δράσειαν, πενίας δὲ τῆς εἰωθυίας ἀπαλλαξείοντές τινες, μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν, οἵ τε μὴ ἐπὶ πλεονεξίᾳ, ἀπὸ ἴσου δὲ μάλιστα ἐπώντες, ἀπαιδευσίᾳ ὀργῆς πλεῖστον ἐκφερόμενοι, ὡμῶς καὶ ἀπαραιτήτως ἐπέλθοιεν. 84. 1.

τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν ... καὶ ὁπόσα. The long period with its several members, *ὁπόσα δράσειαν—γιγνώσκοιεν—ἐπέλθοιεν*, is an explanation of *τὰ πολλά*. The main verb throughout is *προετολμήθη*. *καὶ ὅπωσα* κ.τ.λ. particularizes the general statement which has preceded, 'both what men would be likely to do from desire of revenge,

84. 1. and what from impatience of poverty, and what from party spirit.' But in the subsequent words the construction with *μέν* and *δέ* takes the place of *καί*, which should have followed, an antithesis being introduced between those who are stimulated by revenge only, and those who act under the pressure of poverty.

1)* The participles express what actually did take place, to which the verbs in the optative add the notion of what was likely to have taken place in consequence, and in fact did take place. This sense of the optative is, or arises out of, that of indefinite recurrence in past time, 'and all that men would naturally have done who—,' lit. 'did from time to time who—.' Cp. vii. 71 med. *ἦν τε ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ στρατεύματι τῶν Ἀθηναίων . . . πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀκοῦσαι, ὀλοφυρμός, βοή, νικῶντες, κρατούμενοι, ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδῆ ἀναγκάζοιτο φθέγγεσθαι.*

ἄν in the second clause, *μάλιστα δ' ἂν διὰ πάθους ἐπιθυμοῦντες τὰ τῶν πέλας ἔχειν, παρὰ δίκην γιγνώσκοιεν*, probably goes with the participle and not with *γιγνώσκοιεν*, because no *ἄν* is used with the corresponding finite verbs. 'The dishonest designs of those who wished to be relieved of their poverty, and who would be above all men passionately covetous of their neighbours' goods.'

2) But it is possible to take *ἄν* with *γιγνώσκοιεν* and to supply it with *δράσειαν, ἐπέλθοιεν*, in which case the explanation of the optative given under 1) is unnecessary.

διὰ πάθους, 1) 'passionately,' or 'in their excitement.' Cp. *τὸ ἐρωτικὸν πάθος* in Plato, Phaedr. 265 B., and Aristot. Rhet. i. 2. 5, *διὰ δὲ τῶν ἀκροατῶν, ὅταν εἰς πάθος ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου προαχθῶσιν.* These examples are sufficiently near to justify the somewhat rare sense assigned to *πάθος* in this passage, which is probably an anticipation of the more abstract uses prevailing later. 2) It is also possible that the word may be used in the more common sense of 'suffering,' i. e. *a*) 'in their suffering state,' an expansion of the idea contained in *πενίας εἰωθυίας*; or *b*) 'desiring to have their neighbours' goods, all the more because they inflicted suffering,' i. e. they enjoyed their gains most when 'something had happened to' the previous possessors.

That the savage Corcyraeans were not insensible to the need of unity among themselves is shown by an inscription found at Dodona

(date uncertain), in which they ask 'to whom of Gods or heroes they should sacrifice and pray' in order to attain it,— 84. 1.

θεὸν Τ[ύ]χαν ἀγαθὰν
ἐπ[ι] κοινώντᾳ τοὶ Κ[ο]ρκυρα[ῖοι τῷ Δὶ τῷ
Νάῳ καὶ τᾷ Δ[ι]ώνᾳ τίνι κὰ [θεῶν ἢ]
ἡρώων θύον[τ]ες καὶ εὐχ[όμενοι]
ὁμονοοῖεν ἐ[π]ὶ τὠγαθόν.

(ἐπικοινώντᾳ=ἐπικοινοῦνται, 'communicate with,' or 'make inquiry of;' νάῳ=ναΐῳ.) M. Carapanos, 'Dodone,' i. p. 72; Hellenica, p. 443.

οἱ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Κερκυραῖοι τοιαύταις ὀργαῖς ταῖς πρώταις ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐχρήσαντο. 85. 1.

ταῖς πρώταις. Thucydides seems here to return to the words at the commencement of the description, διότι ἐν τοῖς πρώτη ἐγένετο: see note on iii. 81. 6.

ἡ θάλασσα ἐπανελθοῦσα ἀπὸ τῆς τότε οὔσης γῆς καὶ κυματωθεῖσα ἐπῆλθε τῆς πόλεως μέρος τι. 89. 2.

The MSS. all read ἐπελθοῦσα, which, if genuine, must be taken in the sense of advancing, i. e. retiring from the shore, towards the mountain wave which afterwards broke and inundated the city. But the harshness of this explanation, the tautology of ἐπελθοῦσα and ἐπῆλθε, and the use of the word ἐπαναχώρησις in the description of the corresponding phenomenon at Peparethus, lead to the conclusion that ἐπανελθοῦσα is the true reading. Cp. ἀποστέλλειν, § 5. The natural event seems to have been understood by Thucydides as follows: When the earthquake occurred the land rose near the shore; the waves became heaped up for a moment, and then returned, but so as to form permanently a new coast line. A similar disturbance occurred at Peparethus, but with a difference, the sea retired, but did not advance beyond its old boundary. The same phenomena have been observed to attend earthquakes in later times. See Darwin, Naturalist's Voyage, ch. xiv; Lyell's Geology, vol. ii. ch. xxx.

αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιούτου, ᾗ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐξαπίνης πάλιν ἐπισπωμένην βιαιότερον τὴν ἐπίκλυσιν ποιεῖν. 89. 5.

89. 5. Thucydides is pointing out the connection between the earthquake and the inundation. Where the earthquake was most violent, there the inundation was greatest. But the effect was indirect, being immediately caused by the recoil of the sea after the earthquake was over; hence *τὴν θάλασσαν* and not, as we might expect, *τὸν σεισμόν*, is the subject of *ποιεῖν*. *ἀποστέλλειν*, either act. or neut.

90. 1. *τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους ἐπολέμουν μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, ὡς ἑκάστοις ξυνέβαινεν, ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Σικελιῶται ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύοντες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξὺν τοῖς σφετέροις ξυμμάχοις· ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια ἡ μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἔπραξαν ἢ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ἀντιπολέμιοι, τούτων μνησθήσομαι.*

καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, are not contrasted with *καὶ ἄλλοι*, all the armies which were fighting in Sicily, but are subdivisions of them; 'many were fighting, *a*) the Sicilian Greeks, *b*) the Athenians.' The general statement, *καὶ ἄλλοι κ.τ.λ.*, is opposed to the particular which follows, *ἃ δὲ λόγου μάλιστα ἄξια κ.τ.λ.* But the opposition is imperfectly expressed, for the first clause speaks of the peoples who fought, and the second of the operations in which they were engaged.

92. 4. *ἐπί τε γὰρ τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ναυτικὸν παρασκευασθῆναι ἂν ὥστ' ἐκ βραχέος τὴν διάβασιν γίγνεσθαι, τῆς τε ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης παρόδου χρησίμως ἔξειν.*

Thrace is here as elsewhere put for that part of Thrace in which the Athenian operations were carried on, generally called *τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης*.

Compare i. 60 fin. *καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται τεσσαρακοστῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὕστερον ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, ἡ Ποτίδαια ἀπέστη*: iv. 70 init. *ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης στρατείαν παρασκευαζόμενος*: v. 34 init. *ἡκόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης μετὰ Βρασίδου ἐξελθόντων στρατιωτῶν*: v. 35 init. *τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ξυμμάχους*: med. *τοὺς ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης στρατιώτας*: fin. *Μεσσηνίους τε καὶ τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἐξαγαγεῖν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ Θρᾴκης.*

τῆς παρόδου. Cp. for the use of the genitive i. 36 med. *τῆς τε γὰρ Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας καλῶς παράπλου κεῖται κ.τ.λ. πάροδος*, either 1) simply 'the way into Thrace,' or 2) 'the way past the enemy's country into Thrace.'

92. 5. *πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπήροντο, κελεύοντος δέ, ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς οἰκήτορας κ.τ.λ.*

We may observe that in this instance the God is stated to give his sanction to an enterprise which ends in complete failure. 92. 5.

νεώριά τε παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ ἤρξαντο κατὰ Θερμοπύλας κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ στενόν, ὅπως εὐφύλακτα αὐτοῖς εἴη. 92. 6.

ἤρξαντο. They began the works connected with the docks at Thermopylae, four and a half miles east of Heraclea. *ὅπως εὐφύλακτα εἴη*, either 1) scil. *τὰ νεώρια*, for the better protection of the docks themselves, or 2)* for the better protection of Heraclea, and the road which led to it, against enemies from the south. *εὐφύλακτα* is used like *πλωιμώτερα* (*ἐγένετο*), i. 8 med. 'that everything might be well protected.' Compare viii. 55 med. *εὐφυλακτότερα γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο, εἴ ποι ἀπαίροι τὸ τῶν Πελοποννησίων ναυτικόν.*

αἴτιον δὲ ἦν· οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντες κ.τ.λ. 93. 2.

τέ implies a clause which is to follow. There were two causes which ruined Heraclea, *a*) the jealousy of the Thessalians, *b*) the brutality of the Lacedaemonian governors, *οἵ τε Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες.* But in expressing the second reason a different construction is employed, *οὐ μέντοι ἥκιστα οἱ ἄρχοντες κ.τ.λ.*

Δημοσθένης δ' ἀναπείθεται κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον ὑπὸ Μεσσηνίων, ὡς καλὸν αὐτῷ στρατιᾶς τοσαύτης ξυνειλεγμένης Αἰτωλοῖς ἐπιθέσθαι, Ναυπάκτῳ τε πολεμίοις οὖσι, καὶ ἢν κρατήσῃ αὐτῶν, ῥᾳδίως καὶ τὸ ἄλλο ἠπειρωτικὸν τὸ ταύτῃ Ἀθηναίοις προσποιήσειν. 94. 3.

See note on i. 9. 3. § 6.

χρησθὲν αὐτῷ ἐν Νεμέᾳ τοῦτο παθεῖν. 96. 1.

Thucydides, curious as he always is about oracles, records one respecting the death of Hesiod. For the circumstances see Plut. Sept. Sap. Conv. 19, p. 152 C foll. (Wyttenbach, vol. i. part II. p. 639).

τῇ τύχῃ ἐλπίσας. 97. 2.

Literally, 'induced to hope by his good fortune,' not 'relying upon his good fortune.'

μέχρι μὲν οὖν οἱ τοξόται εἶχόν τε τὰ βέλη αὐτοῖς καὶ οἷοί τε ἦσαν χρῆσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἀντεῖχον· (τοξευόμενοι γὰρ οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ ἄνθρωποι ψιλοὶ ἀνεστέλλοντο·) 98. 1.

98. 1. *ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦ τε τοξάρχου ἀποθανόντος οὗτοι διεσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεκμήκεσαν καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ ξυνεχόμενοι, οἵ τε Αἰτωλοὶ ἐνέκειντο καὶ ἐσηκόντιζον κ.τ.λ.*

αὐτοῖς is what is called by grammarians the dativus ethicus, or the dativus commodi or incommodi, that is, a dative expressing not merely a relation but a feeling or reflection about a relation. 'As long as the Athenians saw (*αὐτοῖς*) that the archers still had their arrows,' etc.

καί emphasizes either *ἐπὶ πολύ* or the whole clause which follows. *τῷ αὐτῷ πόνῳ κ.τ.λ.*, 'harassed for a long time by the same ever continuing trouble.'

98. 4. *ἀπέθανον δὲ τῶν τε ξυμμάχων πολλοὶ καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων ὁπλῖται περὶ εἴκοσι μάλιστα καὶ ἑκατόν· τοσοῦτοι μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή· οὗτοι βέλτιστοι δὴ ἄνδρες ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ τῷδε ἐκ τῆς Ἀθηναίων πόλεως διεφθάρησαν.*

ἡλικία ἡ αὐτή, scil. *ἦν*, 'they were in the same prime of youth.' It would appear from this passage that chosen battalions (*βέλτιστοι*) were sometimes formed of troops of the same age. Cp. note on ii. 13. 6, 7.

100. 1. *τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Αἰτωλοὶ προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις . . . πείθουσιν ὥστε σφίσι πέμψαι στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Ναύπακτον διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγήν.*

προπέμψαντες πρότερον, having already or previously sent envoys, before the point at which the history has now arrived, and so before the Athenian expedition into Aetolia. 'The Lacedaemonian expedition did not come of itself, but I must go back a little to explain why it came.'

διὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπαγωγήν, because the Naupactians had invited the Athenians, iii. 94 med.

101. 2. *ξυνέπρασσον δὲ μάλιστα αὐτῷ τῶν Λοκρῶν Ἀμφισσῆς, διὰ τὸ τῶν Φωκέων ἔχθος δεδιότες.*

The Phocians, although reckoned among the allies of the Lacedaemonians (ii. 9 med., viii. 3 fin.), were friendly to the Athenians, and therefore the Amphissians, who were enemies of the Phocians, were glad to help the Peloponnesians. Cp. iii. 95 init. *ἕως*

καταβαίη ἐς Φωκέας, οἳ προθύμως ἐδόκουν κατὰ τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀεί ποτε φιλίαν ξυστρατεύειν ἢ κἂν βίᾳ προσαχθῆναι. 101. 2.

It is clear from this chapter and from iii. 95 fin. that the Ozolian Locrians generally were allies of the Athenians. Hence the Locrians mentioned ii. 9 med. as members of the Lacedaemonian alliance, must be the Opuntian and Epicnemidian Locrians only.

ἐπί τε Μολύκριον ἐλθόντες, τὴν Κορινθίων μὲν ἀποικίαν, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ὑπήκοον, αἱροῦσι. 102. 2.

Molycrium is a second instance of a city standing to Athens and Corinth in the same relation as Potidaea, i. 56.

Δημοσθένης δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (ἔτι γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ὢν μετὰ τὰ ἐκ τῆς Αἰτωλίας περὶ Ναύπακτον), προαισθόμενος τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ δείσας περὶ αὐτῆς, ἐλθὼν πείθει Ἀκαρνᾶνας χαλεπῶς διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λευκάδος ἀναχώρησιν βοηθῆσαι Ναυπάκτῳ. καὶ πέμπουσι μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν νεῶν χιλίους ὁπλίτας, οἳ ἐσελθόντες περιεποίησαν τὸ χωρίον. 102. 3.

It is not likely that these words refer to Acarnanian ships. The fleet which Demosthenes had brought with him is spoken of as having returned to Athens, c. 98 fin., while Demosthenes remained behind in disgrace. The Corcyraean squadron had also gone home (c. 95 fin.) There seems to be a reference by anticipation to the twenty Athenian ships of which mention is made in c. 105 fin.

δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν, ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἐστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος. 104. 4.

Wolf (Prolegomena, p. cv) considers that the so-called Homeric hymns were προοίμια in honour of the Gods, i. e. are made up of preludes, or fragments of the preludes, with which the rhapsodists introduced their recitations of the Homeric or other poems. Cp. Pindar, Nem. ii. 1–3,—

ὅθενπερ καὶ Ὁμηρίδαι
ῥαπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πολλ' ἀοιδοὶ
ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου.

This is very probable in itself and is confirmed by the meaning of the word προοίμιον, and by the concluding words of some of the hymns, cp. especially those of the third, ninth, and eighteenth,—

σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον·

104. 4. of the seventh,—

χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐωπίδος· οὐδέ πῃ ἔστιν
σεῖό γε ληθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμῆσαι ἀοιδήν·

of the thirty-second,—

χαῖρε, ἄνασσα, θεὰ λευκώλενε, δῖα Σελήνη,
πρόφρον, ἐϋπλόκαμος· σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα φωτῶν
ᾄσομαι ἡμιθέων, ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' ἀοιδοί,
Μουσάων θεράποντες, ἀπὸ στομάτων ἐροέντων.

But the authority of Plutarch, by which Wolf in the Prolegomena supports his view, is not worth much. De Mus. 4. 6. 1132 D, 1133 C (Wyttenbach, vol. v. part I. p. 631, 633), πεποίηται δὲ τῷ Τερπάνδρῳ καὶ προοίμια κιθαρῳδικὰ ἐν ἔπεσιν (in hexameter verse)... νόμοι γὰρ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐξῆν παραβῆναι καθ' ἕκαστον νενομισμένον εἶδος τῆς τάσεως. τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς βούλονται ἀφοσιωσάμενοι, ἐξέβαινον εὐθὺς ἐπί τε τὴν Ὁμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἔστι διὰ τῶν Τερπάνδρου προοιμίων.

The lines which follow in the MSS. of Thucydides differ considerably from the text of the Homeric hymn which has come down to us. They may be fairly regarded as presenting a text prior to the Alexandrian edition, and are therefore interesting as showing the kind of recension to which the Homeric poems were subjected. We may compare the two forms.

Hymn to Apollo, 146–150.

As in Thucydides,—

ἄλλοτε Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυιάν·
ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ [τε] καὶ ὀρχηστυῖ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

As in Wolf's Homer,—

ἀλλὰ σὺ Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεαι ἦτορ·
ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἠγερέθονται,
σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν·
οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ ἀοιδῇ
μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅτ' ἂν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα.

The other quotation contained in the chapter agrees with our

present text, except in line 168, where the reading is *ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται* 104. 4.
ξεῖνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών.

Olpae lay on the Ambracian gulf, at a place where remains are 105.
said to be still found, about three miles north west of the Amphilochian Argos, which is situated in a hilly country about twenty miles south east of the town of Ambracia. The Peloponnesians marched from Proschium about thirty-five miles nearly in a straight line northwards. They found the country deserted by the inhabitants, who were for the most part allies of the Athenians, and had gone to protect Argos. On approaching Argos they struck into the Mount Thyamus, and descending by night into the plain between the two stations of the enemy at Argos and at Crenae, effected a junction with the Ambraciots at Olpae, on the other side of Argos. Argos is described by Thucydides (c. 105 init.) as *ἐπιθαλασσία*, but the probable site of the town is about a mile from the sea. We may suppose, either that *ἐπιθαλασσία* is used in a loose sense, or that an inlet which now runs up into the land near the town formerly extended to the town itself. See Leake, Northern Greece, vol. iv. p. 244 foll.

καταλαμβάνουσιν Ὄλπας, τεῖχος ἐπὶ λόφου ἰσχυρὸν πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ, 105. 1.
ὅ ποτε Ἀκαρνᾶνες τειχισάμενοι κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἐχρῶντο.

κοινῷ, either 'common to all the Acarnanians,' or 'common to the Acarnanians and Amphilochians;' more probably the former.

τὸ δ' ἄλλο Ἀκαρνᾶνες ὡς ἕκαστοι τεταγμένοι ἐπεῖχον. 107. 4.

ἐπεῖχον, 'were spread over,' or 'occupied.' Cp. i. 48 med. *τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον.*

ἐπαναχωροῦντες δὲ ὡς ἑώρων τὸ πλέον νενικημένον, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι Ἀκαρ- 108. 3.
νᾶνες σφίσι προσεκεῖντο, χαλεπῶς διεσώζοντο ἐς τὰς Ὄλπας, καὶ πολλοὶ
ἀπέθανον αὐτῶν ἀτάκτως καὶ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ προσπίπτοντες πλὴν Μαντινέων.
οὗτοι δὲ μάλιστα ξυντεταγμένοι παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀνεχώρησαν.

αὐτῶν, not the right wing of the Peloponnesian army just mentioned, for the Mantineans were on the left, but, generally, 'of their army.' *προσπίπτοντες*, either 1) attacking the enemy, or 2)* dashing into Olpae after the retreat. 1) agrees better with the

108. 3. meaning of the word and with the general sense, 2)* is more appropriate to the particular situation. Cp. διεσώζοντο, ἀνεχώρησαν.

109. 2. ἀναχώρησιν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς οὐκ ἐσπείσαντο ἅπασι, κρύφα δὲ Δημοσθένης μετὰ τῶν ξυστρατήγων Ἀκαρνάνων σπένδονται Μαντινεῦσι καὶ Μενεδαίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄρχουσι τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ ὅσοι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀξιολογώτατοι ἀποχωρεῖν κατὰ τάχος, βουλόμενος ψιλῶσαι τοὺς Ἀμπρακιώτας τε καὶ τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον τὸν ξενικόν, μάλιστα δὲ Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ Πελοποννησίους διαβαλεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐκείνῃ χρήζων Ἕλληνας, ὡς καταπροδόντες τὸ ἑαυτῶν προὐργιαίτερον ἐποιήσαντο.

ψιλῶσαι, 'to leave weak and helpless.'

τὸν μισθοφόρον ὄχλον τὸν ξενικόν, i. e. mercenaries in the pay of the Ambraciots, who have not been previously mentioned, probably from the neighbouring tribes of Epirus, cp. ii. 68, 80. It is unlikely that the Peloponnesians would have left behind their own mercenaries if they had any. And in c. 111 infra no distinction is drawn between different classes of Peloponnesians, but only between Peloponnesians and Ambraciots.

The subject of ἀποχωρεῖν is 'the Peloponnesians' to be supplied from 'the leaders of the Peloponnesians.' Demosthenes negociated with the Mantineans, Menedaeus, and the leaders of the Peloponnesians, not for their personal safety only, but for the safe withdrawal of their forces; the Ambraciots, their allies, being left to their fate.

111. 2. οἱ δ' Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ὅσοι μὲν ἐτύγχανον οὕτως ἀθρόοι ξυνελθόντες, ὡς ἔγνωσαν ἀπιόντας, ὥρμησαν καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἔθεον δρόμῳ, ἐπικαταλαβεῖν βουλόμενοι. οἱ δὲ Ἀκαρνᾶνες τὸ μὲν πρῶτον καὶ πάντας ἐνόμισαν ἀπιέναι ἀσπόνδους ὁμοίως, καὶ τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἐπεδίωκον.

μέν after ὅσοι, which is slightly out of place, is opposed to δέ in the following sentence, οἱ δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνες, and has the same effect as if the words ran οἱ μὲν Ἀμπρακιῶται καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι . . . οἱ δ' Ἀκαρνᾶνες.

1) ὡς ἔγνωσαν may go with what follows, and οὕτως may mean 'on the instant,' 'at once.'

Or 2) οὕτως may answer to ὡς before ἔγνωσαν, 'who happened to have come together when they saw the others running away.' Cp. iv. 135 med. τοῦ γὰρ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος, οὕτως ἐς τὸ διάκενον, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν παραδιδόντα αὐτόν, ἡ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο.

A considerable portion of the Ambraciot army is evidently included in ὅσοι, for not less than 200 of them were killed, iii. 111 fin. 111. 2.

καὶ γὰρ τοὺς Μεσσηνίους πρώτους ἐπίτηδες ὁ Δημοσθένης προὔταξε καὶ προσαγορεύειν ἐκέλευε Δωρίδα τε γλῶσσαν ἱέντας καὶ τοῖς προφύλαξι πίστιν παρεχομένους. 112. 4.

For the employment by the Athenians of their Messenian allies against a Dorian enemy cp. iv. 41 med.

ὁ δὲ Πυθόδωρος . . . ἔπλευσε τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐπὶ τὸ Λοκρῶν φρούριον ὃ πρότερον Λάχης εἶλε. 115. 6.

'The fort which Laches had taken' (c. 99) must have been retaken in the interval by the Locrians.

ἐρρύη δὲ περὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔαρ τοῦτο ὁ ῥύαξ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐκ τῆς Αἴτνης, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρότερον, καὶ γῆν τινὰ ἔφθειρε τῶν Καταναίων, οἳ ἐπὶ τῇ Αἴτνῃ τῷ ὄρει οἰκοῦσιν, ὅπερ μέγιστόν ἐστιν ὄρος ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ. λέγεται δὲ πεντηκοστῷ ἔτει ῥυῆναι τοῦτο μετὰ τὸ πρότερον ῥεῦμα, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν τρὶς γεγενῆσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα, ἀφ' οὗ Σικελία ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων οἰκεῖται. 116. 1. 2.

Thucydides here mentions three eruptions, the latest in the sixth year of the war, 426; one fifty years earlier; and a third earlier still, but occurring after the Greeks had colonized Sicily. Another eruption is said by Diodorus (xiv. 59) to have taken place in the year 396. We may infer with reason that the history of Thucydides, or at least this part of it, was written before, and not revised after, the year 396.

BOOK IV.

1. 4. *καὶ ἄλλαι αἱ πληρούμεναι ἔμελλον αὐτόσε ἐγκαθορμισάμεναι τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν ποιήσεσθαι.*

Either 1), as Classen suggests, *αἱ* has crept in from the end of the previous word, or 2) the ships which were being manned are opposed to the ships which were already manned, rather obscurely implied in the preceding clause, *αἱ δὲ νῆες Μεσσήνην ἐφρούρουν.*

2. 1. *πρὶν τὸν σῖτον ἐν ἀκμῇ εἶναι.*

Cp. note on ii. 2, 1.

3. 1. *ὁ μὲν Εὐρυμέδων καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἠπείγοντο ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν, ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐς τὴν Πύλον πρῶτον ἐκέλευε σχόντας αὐτοὺς καὶ πράξαντας ἃ δεῖ τὸν πλοῦν ποιεῖσθαι.*

πράξαντας ἃ δεῖ, 'after doing what was to be done.' Either 1)* a reference to *εἶπον χρῆσθαι ταῖς ναυσὶ ταύταις περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον* above, 'after executing the design, whatever it was, which Demosthenes had in his mind.' The language is purposely vague. Or 2) to be explained from the words which follow, *ἠξίου τειχίζεσθαι τὸ χωρίον*, 'after doing what was necessary to fortify the place.' Cp. c. 5 med. *τειχίσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοῦ χωρίου τὰ πρὸς ἤπειρον καὶ ἃ μάλιστα ἔδει.*

Is Sphacteria the island now called Sphagia, and the harbour of Pylos the bay of Navarino, Paleokastro being identified with Pylos itself; or are we to look for the scene of action to the north of these places, and to assume Paleokastro to have been Sphacteria and the lake of Osmyn Aga the harbour? in which case Paleokastro must once have been an island, since joined to the mainland.

Dr. Arnold first suggested the latter alternative, to which he himself inclines, chiefly on the ground that the bay of Navarino is too large and the entrance too wide to answer to the description of Thucydides. The length of the island given by Thucydides

(iv. 8 med.) is fifteen stadia, or about $1\frac{3}{5}$ of a mile; the actual length is estimated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ geographical or more than $2\frac{3}{4}$ statute miles. Similarly the southern entrance to the bay is about 1400 yards in width, and the northern, which is at present only practicable for boats, about 150 yards (Col. Leake, Morea, i. p. 401 foll.). But the southern entrance is said by Thucydides to have been a passage through which not more than eight or nine ships could pass abreast, while the northern did not admit more than two ships abreast; and both were to have been closed by ships placed with their heads looking towards the sea (c. 8 med.).

To these objections we reply, that, whatever difficulties attend the ordinary explanation of the localities, much greater are involved in Dr. Arnold's attempt to identify Sphacteria with Paleokastro, or the lake of Osmyn Aga with the harbour of Pylos.

1) It is much more probable that Thucydides should leave unnoticed the lake of Osmyn Aga and the hill of Paleokastro than that he should make no mention of the bay of Navarino and of Sphacteria. The latter, as Mr. Grote remarks, would naturally have afforded a landing-place for the Athenians, as the bay of Navarino would have given them a harbour, when they passed the night at the island of Prote (iv. 13 med.): for the island and the harbour would not, in the supposed case, have been in possession of the Lacedaemonians. And Thucydides would not have opposed *τὴν ἤπειρον* simply to *τὴν νῆσον* (iv. 8 fin.) had there been two adjacent islands close to the coast.

2) It is impossible to suppose the name of Sphagia, which was given to Sphacteria in ancient times, cp. Strabo viii. 4. 2 (*καὶ ἡ προσκειμένη πλησίον τοῦ Πύλου Σφαγία νῆσος· ἡ δ' αὐτὴ καὶ Σφακτηρία λεγομένη, κ.τ.λ.*), to have been transferred from Paleokastro to the present Sphagia. Of all old traditions the names of places are the most trustworthy, and such a change of name as is suggested by Dr. Arnold is most unusual, if not unparalleled, in ancient geography. And this change is supposed to have occurred in the name of a place which, according to Pausanias (iv. 36. 4), was known to all mankind for its historical associations. It is true that Pliny, N. H. iv. 55 (12, 19) says that there were 'ante Pylum tres Sphagiae.' But there is no proof whatever that any of these were identical

with Paleokastro, or even that Paleokastro, now joined to the mainland, was an island at all in ancient times.

3) It is possible that Thucydides may have been in some degree mistaken (see Introduction on the Geography of Thucydides), or that the coast may have changed, or both. Some change in the coast is indicated by a shallow running out from the southern side of the southern channel, and extending nearly half way across. Here the water is only six or eight fathoms deep, whereas in the deepest part of the channel the depth is thirty-five fathoms. See Dr. Arnold's map.

4) The localities, according to Col. Leake, exactly answer to the description given by Thucydides, with the single exception of the size of the island and the width of the channel. No such exact resemblance is to be found in Paleokastro, which is much too small to have been the scene of operations, being about a statute mile in length. And very great changes must be assumed in the formation of the coast if Dr. Arnold's theory be adopted.

5) The remains at Paleokastro, which are very considerable (see Dictionary of Geography, Pylos), show that the place was inhabited from a remote time. But Thucydides tells us that the island was covered with wood and pathless, having never been inhabited (*διὰ τὴν ἀεὶ ἐρημίαν*, iv. 29 med.).

It should be remembered that Pylos, the fort of the Athenians, is situated to the north of Sphacteria, and may have been the Acropolis of the ancient Pylos, which was somewhere in the neighbourhood. But the site, and almost the name (for the Lacedaemonians called the place Coryphasium) were lost in the time of Thucydides. Cp. the oracle, partly quoted in Aristoph. Knights, 1059, (whatever it meant), *ἔστι Πύλος πρὸ Πύλοιο·* [*Πύλος γε μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄλλη.*]

3. 2. *καὶ ἀπέφαινε πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ξύλων τε καὶ λίθων, καὶ φύσει καρτερὸν ὂν καὶ ἔρημον αὐτό τε καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας.*

ἔρημον αὐτό τε καί κ.τ.λ. is an inexact expression, some such idea as *ἐρημία ἦν* having to be supplied from *ἔρημον* with *ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς χώρας*. Lit. 'the place was barren itself, and over a great part of the country,' i. e. there was barrenness. The substantival use of such

phrases with *ἐπί* is not uncommon, cp. ii. 76 fin. *μίαν μὲν (μηχανὴν)* 3. 2. *ἣ τοῦ μεγάλου οἰκοδομήματος, κατὰ τὸ χῶμα προσαχθεῖσα, ἐπὶ μέγα τε κατέσεισε καὶ τοὺς Πλαταιέας ἐφόβησεν*, where *ἐπὶ μέγα* is an accusative: iv. 100 med. *καὶ ἐσεσιδήρωτο ἐπὶ μέγα καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ξύλου*, where it is a nominative, as here.

ἀπέχει γὰρ σταδίους μάλιστα ἡ Πύλος τῆς Σπάρτης τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἔστιν 3. 2. *ἐν τῇ Μεσσηνίᾳ ποτὲ οὔσῃ γῇ.*

Cp. Strabo, viii. 4. 2, *φησὶ δὲ Θουκυδίδης, ναύσταθμον ὑπάρξαι τῶν Μεσσηνίων ταύτην τὴν Πύλον*, where it may be observed that Strabo is not quite accurate, for Thucydides only speaks of Pylos as situated in the ancient territory of the Messenians, and says nothing about their having used the bay as a harbour.

οἱ δὲ πολλὰς ἔφασαν εἶναι ἄκρας ἐρήμους τῆς Πελοποννήσου, ἣν βούληται 3. 3. *καταλαμβάνων τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν.*

1)* The use of *δαπανᾶν* in the active sense, 'to waste the resources of the city,' is sufficiently defended by Antiph. De Caed. Herod. (v.) 30, *καὶ ὃν μὲν τότε παραχρῆμα ἐβασάνισαν, οὗτος μὲν οὐδὲν εἶπε περὶ ἐμοῦ φλαῦρον· ὃν δ' ἡμέραις ὕστερον πολλαῖς ἐδαπάνησαν* (two MSS. repeat *ἐβασάνισαν*) . . . *οὗτος ἦν ὁ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ τούτων*: App. Civ. i. 94, *ἄνεμός τε πολὺς ἐμπεσὼν ἐς τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν (τὴν πόλιν) ἐδαπάνησεν ὡς μηδὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως λάφυρον γενέσθαι*: Suid. s. v. *Θουκυδίδης δὲ τὴν πόλιν δαπανᾶν φησιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ εἰς ἀναλώματα μεγάλα ἐμβάλλειν.*

It is not impossible, however, 2) that the word may be taken in its more ordinary neuter sense with *τὴν πόλιν* for its subject: 'if he by occupying these places wished that the city should be put to expense.' *καταλαμβάνων* then involves an anacoluthon; but cp. note on iii. 53. 4.

τοὺς Μεσσηνίους οἰκείους ὄντας αὐτῷ τὸ ἀρχαῖον. 3. 3.

'The Messenians who were the ancient inhabitants of the place,' not 'The Messenians who were attached to him of old.'

ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔπειθεν οὔτε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς οὔτε τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὕστερον 4. 1. *καὶ τοῖς ταξιάρχοις κοινώσας, ἡσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας, μέχρι αὐτοῖς τοῖς στρατιώταις σχολάζουσιν ὁρμὴ ἐπέπεσε περιστᾶσιν ἐκτειχίσαι τὸ χωρίον.*

We know too little of the circumstances to be able to explain

4. 1. why Demosthenes, having addressed first the generals and then the army, should have applied last of all to the taxiarchs or officers who were next in authority to the generals. He may have said, 'I can do nothing with the generals or with the soldiers *en masse*, I wish you would use your influence with them in detail.' It has also been supposed that the clause *ὕστερον . . . κοινώσας* is explanatory of *οὐκ ἔπειθεν τοὺς στρατιώτας*, and implies that Demosthenes addressed himself to the soldiers only through the taxiarchs. But the order of the words is adverse to this interpretation.

ἠσύχαζεν ὑπὸ ἀπλοίας is a confusion of two ideas: he was prevented from sailing by the bad weather, and he was reduced to inactivity by the refusal of the army to co-operate.

περιστᾶσι, not 'changing their minds,' but 'standing about.' *περίστασθαι* is not used in classical Greek of persons in the sense of 'change.' The aorist (see note on iv. 112. 1) is retained in the participle, as well as in the principal verb *ἐκτειχίσαι*, although the participle coupled with it, *σχολάζουσι*, is in the present, with which the meaning of the verb has a natural affinity. *περιστᾶσιν* is more definite than *σχολάζουσι*, and, said of the sailors, 'hanging about,' is the beginning of the picture in which Thucydides goes on to describe their unwonted activity. Or 2) *περιστᾶσιν* may be closely connected with *ἐκτειχίσαι* in the sense of surrounding or coming about the place=*περιστῆναι καὶ ἐκτειχίσαι*.

ἐσέπεσε is the reading of the great majority of MSS. Though not so idiomatic as *ἐπέπεσε* and *ἐνέπεσε*, it admits of a sufficient sense: 'There fell amongst them a desire.' Classen thinks that the vivid representation of detail in this passage is due to the testimony of ocular witnesses, perhaps even of the historian himself. Though the narrative is probably derived from ocular testimony, is not the liveliness of the picture rather due to the writer's own genius?

5. 1. *οἱ δὲ ἑορτήν τινα ἔτυχον ἄγοντες.*

A frequent cause of delay in Spartan military operations: cp. v. 54 med. 82 and Herod. vi. 106 (before Marathon), vii. 206 (before Thermopylae), ix. 7 (before Plataea).

6. 1. *ἅμα δὲ πρῲ ἐσβαλόντες, καὶ τοῦ σίτου ἔτι χλωροῦ ὄντος, ἐσπάνιζον τροφῆς τοῖς πολλοῖς.*

τοῖς πολλοῖς, for the main body, exclusive of the officers, and 6. 1.
those who had money.

κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον Σιμωνίδης Ἀθηναίων στρατηγὸς Ἡίονα τὴν ἐπὶ 7. 1.
Θράκης, Μενδαίων ἀποικίαν, πολεμίαν δὲ οὖσαν, . . . κατέλαβε.

Not Eion upon the Strymon, which had belonged to Athens since the time of Cimon. The name of Eion, meaning 'shore,' was a common one, and is attributed to three if not more places. Thucydides tells us that the Eion here mentioned was on the coast of Thrace, but the exact spot cannot be defined (Arnold).

ναῦς . . . αἱ ὑπερενεχθεῖσαι τὸν Λευκαδίων ἰσθμὸν καὶ λαθοῦσαι τὰς ἐν 8. 1.
Ζακύνθῳ Ἀττικὰς ναῦς κ.τ.λ.

καὶ λαθοῦσαι, not 'and so escaping,' but 'and also escaping,' for Zacynthus was far south of Leucas.

τὴν δὲ νῆσον ταύτην φοβούμενοι, μὴ ἐξ αὐτῆς τὸν πόλεμον σφίσι ποιῶνται, 8. 7.
ὁπλίτας διεβίβασαν εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον ἄλλους ἔταξαν. οὕτω 8.
γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τήν τε νῆσον πολεμίαν ἔσεσθαι τήν τε ἤπειρον, ἀπόβασιν
οὐκ ἔχουσαν· τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς τῆς Πύλου ἔξω τοῦ ἐσπλοῦ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος
ἀλίμενα ὄντα οὐκ ἔξειν ὅθεν ὁρμώμενοι ὠφελήσουσι τοὺς αὑτῶν.

The passage distinguishes between the shore in the immediate neighbourhood of Pylos, which had no harbours, and the adjoining mainland, on which the Peloponnesians posted soldiers. γάρ explains, or rather completes, the explanation of ἀπόβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσαν. 'For the mainland (—as opposed to the island—where it was not defended by soldiers,) was by nature inaccessible.'

τὰ γὰρ αὐτῆς, either 1) a nominativus pendens, τοὺς Ἀθηναίους being the subject of ἔξειν, or 2) governing ἔξειν, which=παρέξειν.

καὶ τὰς τριήρεις, αἵπερ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν καταλειφθεισῶν, ἀνασπάσας 9. 1.
ὑπὸ τὸ τείχισμα προσεσταύρωσε, καὶ τοὺς ναύτας ἐξ αὐτῶν ὥπλισεν ἀσπίσι
τε φαύλαις καὶ οἰσυΐναις ταῖς πολλαῖς.

προσεσταύρωσε, 1)* planted a stockade close to the ships, for their protection, or 2) joined the ships by a stockade to the fort.

ἀσπίσι τε φαύλαις καὶ=ἀσπίσι φαύλαις τε καί. Compare note on i. 9. 3. § 1.

9. 2. ᾗ μάλιστα ἐκείνους προσεδέχετο πειράσειν ἀποβαίνειν ἐς χωρία μὲν χαλεπὰ καὶ πετρώδη πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος τετραμμένα, σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους ταύτῃ ἀσθενεστάτου ὄντος ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι.

1)* The subject of *ἐπισπάσασθαι* is some notion such as *τὸ ἀσθενὲς τοῦ τείχους* gathered from *σφίσι δὲ τοῦ τείχους . . . ὄντος*. *προθυμήσεσθαι* is used in a pregnant sense:—'to be eager or energetic,' i.e. 'to make this their point,' and so 'to make the attack.' The future implies that their course was already decided by the weakness of the place. 'The weakness of the wall would attract them, and so they would determine to make the attack.' Cp. note on iii. 66. 2. The aorist (*ἐπισπάσασθαι*), being the historical or indefinite tense, is sometimes used when we should expect the future. Cp. ii. 3 med. *ἐνόμισαν ἐπιθέμενοι ῥᾳδίως κρατῆσαι*: iii. 24 init. *νομίζοντες ἥκιστα σφᾶς ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποτοπῆσαι τραπέσθαι*.

2) *ἐπισπάσασθαι* has been altered into *ἐπισπάσεσθαι* (pass.).

a) The subject of *ἐπισπάσεσθαι* may then be *αὐτούς*, the Lacedaemonians. *b*) It is also possible with Poppo to make *ἐπισπάσεσθαι* dependent on *προθυμήσεσθαι*, 'they would be desirous to be drawn on.' But the ideas contained in the two words *ἐπισπάσεσθαι*, *προθυμήσεσθαι*, thus connected, contradict each other, the one being passive and the other active.

The change of reading is, however, unnecessary.

10. 1. Ἄνδρες οἱ ξυναράμενοι τοῦδε τοῦ κινδύνου, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ τοιᾷδε ἀνάγκῃ ξυνετὸς βουλέσθω δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἐκλογιζόμενος ἅπαν τὸ περιεστὼς ἡμᾶς δεινόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀπερισκέπτως εὔελπις ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι τοῖς ἐναντίοις, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος.

ὁμόσε χωρῆσαι, scil. *βουλέσθω*. *καί* emphasizes *ἐκ τούτων*: 'let him resolve to meet the enemy unreflectingly with a good hope, as one who will survive even these dangers.' *καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἂν περιγενόμενος* refers to the feeling and not to the fact, and is to be taken closely with *εὔελπις*.

10. 3. τοῦ τε γὰρ χωρίου τὸ δυσέμβατον ἡμέτερον νομίζω, [ὃ] μενόντων ἡμῶν ξύμμαχον γίγνεται, ὑποχωρήσασι δέ, καίπερ χαλεπὸν ὄν, εὔπορον ἔσται, μηδενὸς κωλύοντος· καὶ τὸν πολέμιον δεινότερον ἕξομεν μὴ ῥᾳδίως αὐτῷ πάλιν οὔσης τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως, ἣν καὶ ὑφ' ἡμῶν βιάζηται.

ὅ before μενόντων is omitted in nearly every MS., but has been restored by recent editors in order to escape the harshness of the asyndeton. The necessity for the insertion is doubtful. Cp. iii. 37. 2 and note, where οἵ before οὐκ ἐξ ὧν ἂν χαρίζησθε . . . ἀκροῶνται ὑμῶν is similarly omitted and inserted. **10. 3.**

ὑποχωρήσασι corresponding to μενόντων is a dative of relation, or a 'dativus incommodi,' referring to the Athenians, 'so far as concerns us, if we retire,' or 'we shall find if we retire,' and is therefore not to be taken after εὔπορον. The meaning is, 'but if we once retreat, although rugged, it will be easy enough for the enemy.' Cp. i. 73. 2, and note, εἰ καὶ δι' ὄχλου μᾶλλον ἔσται ἀεὶ προβαλλομένοις.

καί indicates a further stage: after the Lacedaemonians have effected a landing, it is conceivable that the Athenians may rally, and press upon them in turn, but then, not being able to retreat, they will resist to the last.

καὶ οὐκ ἐν γῇ στρατός ἐστιν ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μείζων, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ νεῶν, αἷς πολλὰ τὰ καίρια δεῖ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ξυμβῆναι. **10. 4.**

ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου is an amplification of ἐν γῇ and equivalent to ὥστε εἶναι ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, 'and it is not a larger army on land, where it would be (otherwise) on an equality, but one on shipboard, and ships require many favourable accidents.'

καὶ ἅμα ἀξιῶ ὑμᾶς, Ἀθηναίους ὄντας καὶ ἐπισταμένους ἐμπειρίᾳ τὴν ναυτικὴν ἐπ' ἄλλους ἀπόβασιν, ὅτι, εἴ τις ὑπομένοι καὶ μὴ φόβῳ ῥοθίου καὶ νεῶν δεινότητος κατάπλου ὑποχωροίη, οὐκ ἄν ποτε βιάζοιτο, καὶ αὐτοὺς νῦν μεῖναί τε καὶ ἀμυνομένους παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν σώζειν ἡμᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸ χωρίον. **10. 5.**

καὶ αὐτούς, 'now that your own turn has come.' The naval experience of the Athenians should have taught them how difficult it was to force a landing in the face of an enemy: they should remember this now that they were on land themselves and had to meet a naval attack.

ταῖς ναυσὶν ἅμα, οὔσαις τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τρισί. **11. 2.**

Sixty was the number of the ships which had gone to Corcyra

11. 2. and had returned to Pylos (iv. 8 init.) But only forty-three are engaged in the attack on Pylos. How the remaining seventeen ships were employed during the battle is not stated.

11. 4. *ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ περιϊδεῖν τεῖχος πεποιημένους.*

'Who have (or had) constructed a fort in the country.' The perfect or pluperfect participle presents the fact as continuing to the mind, and therefore more vividly than the aorist.

12. 3. *ἐπὶ πολὺ γὰρ ἐποίει τῆς δόξης ἐν τῷ τότε τοῖς μὲν ἠπειρώταις μάλιστα εἶναι καὶ τὰ πεζὰ κρατίστοις, τοῖς δὲ θαλασσίοις τε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶ πλεῖστον προέχειν.*

ἐποίει, not 1) 'for the prevailing opinion was that the Lacedaemonians were superior by land,' lit. 'made for the superiority of,' *ἐποίει* being intransitive (cp. iv. 8 med. *ἡ δὲ εὔνοια παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει τῶν ἀνθρώπων μᾶλλον ἐς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*); but 2)* taking *τοῖς μέν κ.τ.λ.* as the subject of *ἐποίει*, 'to be superior by land was a great part of the glory of the Lacedaemonians.' For *ἐπὶ πολύ*, in either case, cp. note on iv. 3. 2.

13. 1. *ἐλπίζοντες τὸ κατὰ τὸν λιμένα τεῖχος ὕψος μὲν ἔχειν, ἀποβάσεως δὲ μάλιστα οὔσης ἑλεῖν μηχαναῖς.*

Either 1) as they could certainly land there, or 2)* as that was the best landing-place. *τεῖχος* is the subject of *ἔχειν*, the object of *ἑλεῖν*.

13. 2. *αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ζακύνθου νῆες τῶν Ἀθηναίων παραγίγνονται πεντήκοντα.*

πεντήκοντα, the reading of two good MSS. (Cl. Ven.), must here be substituted for *τεσσαράκοντα*, the reading of all the rest. For *a*) the Athenian fleet, which already numbered thirty-seven (cp. iv. 2 init., 5 fin., 8 init.), must have numbered more than forty after receiving the reinforcements mentioned in this passage; and *b*) the subsequent addition of twenty ships makes the whole number seventy (c. 23 fin.)

13. 3. *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν ἀνήγοντο ἦν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐπεσπλευσούμενοι.*

ἦν μέν, as in iii. 3 med. followed by εἰ δέ, indicates the preferable alternative. The order of words is inverted for the sake of bringing the clause ἦν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν κ.τ.λ. into nearer connection with the clause to which it is opposed. The whole sentence would have run more naturally τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀνήγοντο, ἦν μὲν ἀντεκπλεῖν ἐθέλωσι σφίσιν ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, παρασκευασάμενοι ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν, εἰ δὲ μή κ.τ.λ. There is therefore no necessity to suppose an aposiopesis. **13. 3.**

καὶ ἐπιδιώκοντες ὡς διὰ βραχέος ἔτρωσαν μεν πολλάς, πέντε δὲ ἔλαβον κ.τ.λ. **14. 1.**

Not 1), as Krüger, 'they pursued them, and, as the distance was so short, disabled many and took five.' For *a*) ὡς διὰ βραχέος goes awkwardly with ἔτρωσαν, and *b*) ἐπιδιώκοντες seems to require a qualification. But 2)* 'pursuing them as well as they could in such a narrow space,' ὡς διὰ βραχέος being the correction of ἐπιδιώκοντες. 'As far as it could be called a pursuit when the land was so near.'

καὶ ἐν τούτῳ κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἕκαστος ᾧ μή τινι καὶ αὐτὸς ἔργῳ παρῆν. **14. 2.**

ἐν τούτῳ may be either 1)* taken adverbially in the sense of 'meanwhile,' i. e. 'in this state of things,' or 2) connected with ἔργῳ.

According to 1)* the subject of κεκωλῦσθαι is ἔργον supplied from ᾧ τινι ἔργῳ, 'each man thought that any work, or part of the action, in which he did not himself' (καί, as well as others) 'share, was marred.'

According to 2) ἐν τούτῳ ᾧ μή τινι ἔργῳ παρῆν = ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ ᾧ τινι μὴ παρῆν, 'in any part of the action in which he was not himself present;' and either *a*) κεκωλῦσθαι is impersonal, or *b*) ἕκαστος ἐδόκει κεκωλῦσθαι may mean, 'every one appeared to have been kept back by force from any part of the action in which he did not himself share.'

Or 3) ἔργῳ may be taken closely with παρῆν in the sense of 'actually,' and ἐν τούτῳ ... ᾧ are connected as in ii. 8. 4 (see note), ἐν τούτῳ τε κεκωλῦσθαι ἐδόκει ἑκάστῳ τὰ πράγματα, ᾧ μή τις αὐτὸς παρέσται.

We cannot however argue that the construction here must be

14. 2. similar to that in ii. 8. 4, for Thucydides may have connected the same or nearly the same words differently in different passages.

15. 1. βουλεύειν παραχρῆμα ὁρῶντας, ὅ τι ἂν δοκῇ.

'That, having the facts before their eyes, they should at once take such resolutions as might seem good.'

15. 2. καὶ κινδυνεύειν οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ἢ ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τι παθεῖν αὐτούς, ἢ ὑπὸ πλήθους βιασθέντας, [ἢ] κρατηθῆναι.

Several good MSS. insert ἤ before κρατηθῆναι. The meaning will then be 'fearing lest they should die, either by starvation, or overwhelmed by superior numbers, or be captured.' But it may be remarked that the words τι παθεῖν and κρατηθῆναι, according to this reading, must have a somewhat forced explanation put upon them.

16. 1. φυλάσσειν δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναίους μηδὲν ἧσσον ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας.

'Doing everything but disembarking,' or 'but not to disembark,' the two words, like ὅτι μή, having by usage passed into a single adverb, in which the grammatical construction is lost sight of. The phrase here may be analysed grammatically into ὅσα ἦν φυλάσσειν μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας. Cp. Arnold on i. 111. 6.

16. 3. αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγένοντο, καὶ αἱ νῆες παρεδόθησαν οὖσαι περὶ ἑξήκοντα.

The Lacedaemonian naval force never approached anything like the high figure of 500, which was the aim of the confederacy at the commencement of the war (ii. 7 med.). At this time the ships engaged in the sea-fight, including some which belonged to the allies (iv. 11 fin.), together with all the ships on the coast of Laconia, amount only to sixty. Of the forty-three which had been engaged, five had been taken by the Athenians (iv. 14 init.). So that, if the terms of the contract were strictly fulfilled, the entire Lacedaemonian fleet at Pylos and elsewhere, including an unknown number of allied vessels, could not have exceeded sixty-five.

18. 2. καίτοι οὔτε δυνάμεως ἐνδείᾳ ἐπάθομεν αὐτό, οὔτε μείζονος προσγενομένης ὑβρίσαντες, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπαρχόντων γνώμῃ σφαλέντες, ἐν ᾧ πᾶσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως ὑπάρχει.

Not 'we were deceived by the course of events,' but 'without 18. 2.
any change in our circumstances we were mistaken in our judgment.'

ἐν ᾧ κ.τ.λ., scil. *ἐν τῷ σφάλλεσθαι γνώμῃ*, 'and in a matter of judgment a like error may befall any one.'

σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν, οἵτινες τἀγαθὰ ἐς ἀμφίβολον ἀσφαλῶς ἔθεντο, 18. 4.
(καὶ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς οἱ αὐτοὶ εὐξυνετώτερον ἂν προσφέροιντο,) τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι μή, καθ' ὅσον ἄν τις αὐτοῦ μέρος βούληται μεταχειρίζειν, τούτῳ ξυνεῖναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἂν αἱ τύχαι αὐτῶν ἡγήσωνται.

In the first clause there is a confusion of *σωφρόνων δὲ ἀνδρῶν τὸ θέσθαι* and *σώφρονες δὲ ἄνδρες οἵτινες ἔθεντο.* Cp. ii. 44. 1, *τὸ δ' εὐτυχές, οἳ ἄν κ.τ.λ.*, and note. As the sentence proceeds the construction varies. *καὶ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς . . . προσφέροιντο* is a parenthesis: *τόν τε πόλεμον νομίσωσι* resumes the thread of *οἵτινες . . . ἔθεντο*, but as if *οἳ ἄν* instead of *οἵτινες* had preceded. *τόν τε πόλεμον κ.τ.λ.* Lit. 'and who consider that war waits upon a man, not in that precise measure in which he wishes to take it in hand, but as the accidents which may befal men (*αὐτῶν*)—or the accidents which govern these matters—may determine.' *τούτῳ* refers to the person implied in *τίς*. *αὐτῶν* may be either masculine or neuter. In the former case it refers to some general notion implied in *ἄνδρες σώφρονες*, i.e. 'mankind.' In the latter it means 'these matters,' the antecedent being obscurely implied in the previous clause. For the thought cp. iv. 64 init. *μωρίᾳ φιλονεικῶν ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς τε οἰκείας γνώμης ὁμοίως αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι καὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄρχω τύχης*: vi. 78 med. *οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε ἅμα τῆς τε ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τῆς τύχης τὸν αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ταμίαν γενέσθαι.*

καὶ ἄμεινον ἡγούμενοι ἀμφοτέροις μὴ διακινδυνεύεσθαι, εἴτε βίᾳ 19. 1.
παρατυχούσης τινὸς σωτηρίας, εἴτε καὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντες μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθεῖεν.

μὴ διακινδυνεύεσθαι κ.τ.λ., 'not to run the risk whether they are to escape, or whether, on the other hand, they may not be forced to surrender, and pass still more completely into your hands.' *διαφύγοιεν* is the deliberative optative, *ἡγούμενοι*, which has preceded, being the imperfect participle=*ἐπεὶ ἡγοῦντο*, 'thinking when they came hither.' In the second clause the construction changes, the

19. 1. only remaining, and therefore the more definite, alternative being expressed by the optative with *ἄν*.

19. 2. *νομίζομέν τε τὰς μεγάλας ἔχθρας μάλιστ' ἂν διαλύεσθαι βεβαίως, οὐκ ἢν ἀνταμυνόμενός τις καὶ ἐπικρατήσας τὰ πλέω τοῦ πολέμου κατ' ἀνάγκην ὅρκοις ἐγκαταλαμβάνων μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ξυμβῇ, ἀλλ' ἤν, παρὸν τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι, πρὸς τὸ ἐπιεικὲς καὶ ἀρετῇ αὐτὸ νικήσας, παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο, μετρίως ξυναλλαγῇ.*

Either 1)* *τὸ αὐτό* refers to the course of action implied in the previous sentence, *αὐτό* to the feeling which dictates it, 'having, in a spirit of moderation and by an effort of virtue, overcome the temptation to enforce an oppressive peace;' or 2) *τὸ αὐτὸ δρᾶσαι* may mean 'to effect the same object' which might have been obtained by war, 'in a gentle manner,' the comma being placed after *ἐπιεικές*, not *δρᾶσαι*, and *αὐτὸ νικήσας*, 'having won his point.' It may be fairly objected to this explanation that the two participles, *παρόν* and *νικήσας*, are then made to refer to different times.

παρὰ ἃ προσεδέχετο, scil. *ὁ ἐχθρός* to be supplied from the general meaning of the sentence.

The reading *αὐτόν*, adopted by Classen on slight MS. authority, and referred by him to the words *τοῦ πολεμίου* (an emendation of *τοῦ πολέμου*), is an unnecessary alteration of the text.

20. 1. *ἐν ᾧ ἀνάγκη ἀΐδιον ὑμῖν ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχειν.*

The speaker is attracted by a connection of sound, and perhaps a fancied connection of sense or etymology, between *ἀΐδιον* and *ἰδίαν*. For a similar play of words cp. iv. 63 med. *καὶ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐς ἀΐδιον ξυμβῶμεν, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνον ὡς πλεῖστον σπεισάμενοι τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς ἐς αὖθις ἀναβαλώμεθα*: iv. 87 fin. *ἀΐδιον δόξαν καταθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τά τε ἴδια μὴ βλαφθῆναι κ.τ.λ.*

20. 2. *καὶ αὐτοί τε ἀντὶ πολέμου εἰρήνην ἑλώμεθα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἕλλησιν ἀνάπαυσιν κακῶν ποιήσωμεν· οἳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὑμᾶς αἰτιωτέρους ἡγήσονται. πολεμοῦνται μὲν γὰρ ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων· καταλύσεως δὲ γιγνομένης, ἧς νῦν ὑμεῖς τὸ πλέον κύριοί ἐστε, τὴν χάριν ὑμῖν προσθήσουσιν.*

οἳ καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, 1) *καί* qualifies the whole relative clause and not *ἐν τούτῳ* only, 'who, as they obtain peace, will also acknowledge you to be the chief authors of it.'

Or 2) 'who will consider you to be the chief authors of peace, as they consider you to have been of the war.' But the latter statement would be too strong, and would be an ungracious topic for the Lacedaemonians to introduce. It would also be inconsistent with the words which follow, *ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων.* **20. 2.**

Or better 3) *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ*='who will give you the credit of the peace, as they will hold you answerable if the war be renewed.'

πολεμοῦνται, either 1), from *πολεμεῖσθαι*, 'they are at war,' or, translating the passive more literally, 'war is made upon them,' or 2) from *πολεμοῦσθαι*, 'they are forced to go to war;' the first accords best with the indefiniteness of *ἀσαφῶς ὁποτέρων ἀρξάντων.*

ἡμῶν γὰρ καὶ ὑμῶν τὰ αὐτὰ λεγόντων τό γε ἄλλο Ἑλληνικὸν ἴστε ὅτι ὑποδεέστερον ὂν τὰ μέγιστα τιμήσει. **20. 4.**

That the jealousy of the other Hellenes was speedily aroused by a temporary combination of the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, which they regarded as a conspiracy against their liberties, we learn from v. 29.

Cp. Aristoph. Pax, 1082,—

ἐξὸν σπεισαμένοις κοινῇ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἄρχειν.

ὁρῶντες δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὔτε σφίσιν οἷόν τε ὂν ἐν πλήθει εἰπεῖν, εἴ τι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἐδόκει αὐτοῖς ξυγχωρεῖν, μὴ ἐς τοὺς ξυμμάχους διαβληθῶσιν εἰπόντες καὶ οὐ τυχόντες κ.τ.λ. **22. 3.**

εἴ τι καί κ.τ.λ., not 'even if they were willing,' but 'although they might be willing,' or 'however willing they might be.' That this is the meaning is shown by the use of *εἰ καί* not *καὶ εἰ* (see Jelf, 861. 2), and also by the context. The Lacedaemonians were clearly willing to make concessions. Cp. viii. 66 med. *ὥστε κέρδος ὁ μὴ πάσχων τι βίαιον, εἰ καὶ σιγῴη, ἐνόμιζε.*

καὶ αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐσεβεβλήκεσαν πανδημεὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν. **24. 2.**

καί may here be emphatic, not copulative. 'And (*δέ*) they themselves too.' But see note on i. 9. 3.

This is probably a new invasion, for the Locrians, after their former invasion, are described as having retreated, iv. 1. And cp. c. 25. 3.

25. 2. *καὶ νικηθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διὰ τάχους ἀπέπλευσαν ὡς ἕκαστοι ἔτυχον ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα στρατόπεδα, τό τε ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, μίαν ναῦν ἀπολέσαντες.*

ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ, not literally 'at Rhegium,' which was friendly to the Athenians, but 'in the territory of Rhegium,' which had been invaded by the Locrian army. Cp. iii. 91 fin. *καὶ στρατευσάμενοι ταύτην τὴν. ἡμέραν ἐν τῇ Τανάγρᾳ ἐδῄουν καὶ ἐνηυλίσαντο*: iv. 5 med. *καί τι καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ στρατὸς ἔτι ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις ὢν ἔπεσχε*: v. 63 init. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ Ἄργους*: v. 77 init. *ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου ἐκβῶντας.*

25. 4. *προσπλεύσαντες δὲ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Ῥηγῖνοι ὁρῶντες τὰς ναῦς κενὰς ἐνέβαλον, καὶ χειρὶ σιδηρᾷ ἐπιβληθείσῃ μίαν ναῦν αὐτοὶ ἀπώλεσαν, τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀποκολυμβησάντων.*

The MSS. vary between *αὐτοί* (Poppo) and *αὐτοῖς* (Bekker). The context shows that *μίαν ναῦν αὐτοῖς ἀπώλεσαν* can only be interpreted, 'the Athenians lost one ship in relation to the enemy,' i. e. 'the enemy succeeded in disabling one of their ships,' not 'the Athenians disabled one of the enemy's ships.' For in the latter case *ἑτέραν ναῦν ἀπολλύουσι*, § 5 infra, must mean, 'the Athenians disabled,' not lost, 'another ship,' which is inconsistent with *οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι*, § 6. It is better therefore to read *αὐτοί*.

25. 5. *καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐσβάντων ἐς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ παραπλεόντων ἀπὸ κάλω ἐς τὴν Μεσσήνην, αὖθις προσβαλόντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀποσιμωσάν-*
6. *των ἐκείνων καὶ προεμβαλόντων, ἑτέραν ναῦν ἀπολλύουσι. καὶ ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ καὶ τῇ ναυμαχίᾳ τοιουτοτρόπῳ γενομένῃ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι παρεκομίσθησαν ἐς τὸν ἐν τῇ Μεσσήνῃ λιμένα.*

ἀποσιμωσάντων κ.τ.λ. The Syracusan ships, which were towed, and therefore more out of the reach of the Athenians, made a sudden turn outwards, and so struck an Athenian vessel before they could be struck themselves. By the words *ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες* Thucydides implies that the success of the Syracusans was partly due to the manner in which their ships were towed from the shore. *ἀποσιμῶσαι* is explained by Suidas and by a grammarian (quoted in Classen) *τὸ ἐπικύψαι καὶ τὴν πυγὴν προτεῖναι γυμνήν*: so here, 'turning round another part of the ship.'

The expression *οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔχοντες οἱ Συρακόσιοι* naturally suggests to the reader's mind the memorable crisis in which the Syracusans became more than a match for the Athenians. And this may have been intended by the writer. *οὐκ ἔλασσον*: the Syracusans had rather the advantage, having taken two ships against one which the Athenians had taken of theirs. **25. 6.**

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν κ.τ.λ. **25. 8.**

περιπλεύσαντες, sailing round a promontory, which projects from the coast south of Naxos, towards the river Acesines. Cp. for the absolute sense of *περιπλεῖν* viii. 34 init. *ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου περιπλέουσα κατ' Ἀργῖνον ἐπιτυγχάνει τρισὶ ναυσὶ τῶν Χίων μακραῖς.*

τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδὴς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει· ἐπώκελλον γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα τετιμημένα χρημάτων. **26. 7.**

The Athenians had to be careful of their ships; but the crews of the boats which tried to land were reckless, because they were insured.

ὁρῶντες τῶν τε ἐπιτηδείων τὴν περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον κομιδὴν ἀδύνατον ἐσομένην, ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ καὶ οὐδ' ἐν θέρει οἷοί τε ὄντες ἱκανὰ περιπέμπειν, τόν τε ἔφορμον χωρίων ἀλιμένων ὄντων οὐκ ἐσόρμενον κ.τ.λ. **27. 1.**

ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ. The words are to be loosely connected with what precedes, as if *οὖσιν* or *ὄντων* were supplied. The desolation of the place was an additional reason why provisions were likely to fail, a reflection which naturally affected the mind of the Athenians. The clause *ἅμα ἐν χωρίῳ . . . περιπέμπειν* is parenthetical.

πάντων δὲ ἐφοβοῦντο μάλιστα τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, ὅτι ἔχοντάς τι ἰσχυρὸν αὐτοὺς ἐνόμιζον οὐκέτι σφίσιν ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι. **27. 2.**

'Because they thought 1)* that the Lacedaemonians, having something to depend upon, were not likely any longer to negotiate,' or 'not in the way of negotiating, with them; or 2) 'that the Lacedaemonians were not now negotiating with them, because they had something to depend upon.' The Greek is in favour of 2), which agrees better with the pres. *ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι*, but the sense

27. 2, is not so good, for the fact that the Lacedaemonians sent no more embassies is too abruptly introduced.

27. 5. *καὶ ἐς Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου, στρατηγὸν ὄντα, ἀπεσήμαινεν κ.τ.λ.*

ἀπο- in *ἀποσημαίνω*, as in *ἀποβλέπω*, strengthens the meaning of the verb, 'He expressly pointed to Nicias.' It may be to this occasion that the poet Phrynichus alludes,—

ἦν γὰρ πολίτης ἀγαθός, ὡς εὖ οἶδ' ἐγώ,
κοὐχ ὑποταγεὶς ἐβάδιζεν ὥσπερ Νικίας.

Meineke, Frag. Com. vol. ii. p. 603.

Cp. Aristoph. *Γεωργοί* (Fragm. 156), Plut. Nic. viii.,—

A. *Ἐθέλω γεωργεῖν.* B. *Εἶτά τις σε κωλύει;*
A. *ὑμεῖς.* *Ἐπεὶ δίδωμι χιλίας δραχμὰς*
ἐάν με τῶν ἀρχῶν ἀφῆτε. B. *Δεχόμεθα·*
δισχίλιαι γάρ εἰσι σὺν ταῖς Νικίου.

The latter words seem to imply that Nicias would pay any fine to get off a command.

More express allusions to the whole affair occur in the Knights of Aristophanes, 54,—

Demosth. *καὶ πρώην γ' ἐμοῦ*
μᾶζαν μεμαχότος ἐν Πύλῳ Λακωνικήν,
πανουργότατά πως περιδραμὼν ὑφαρπάσας
αὐτὸς παρέθηκε τὴν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μεμαγμένην.

Cp. also 391–394, quoted below, 702, 741–745, 1051 foll., 1200–1201.

28. 1. *ὁ δὲ Νικίας τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων τι ὑποθορυβησάντων ἐς τὸν Κλέωνα, ὅ τι οὐ καὶ νῦν πλεῖ, εἰ ῥᾴδιόν γε αὐτῷ φαίνεται κ.τ.λ.*

Either 1)* 'why he did not sail at once,' or 2) 'why he did not sail as it was,' i. e. without being general.

ὅ τι, 'why,' is more graphic than *ὅτι*, 'that' or 'because.'

28. 4. *λαβὼν ἐκ μὲν τῆς πόλεως οὐδένα, Δημνίους δὲ καὶ Ἰμβρίους τοὺς παρόντας καὶ πελταστάς, οἳ ἦσαν ἔκ τε Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξότας τετρακοσίους.*

ἔκ τε Αἴνου . . . καὶ ἄλλοθεν, an anacoluthon, *τέ*, though answering to *καί* following, comes too late in the sentence. The words should

have run πελτασταί τε οἱ ἦσαν ἐξ Αἴνου βεβοηθηκότες, καὶ ἄλλοθεν τοξόται 28. 4
τετρακόσιοι.

τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκασθέντων διὰ τὴν στενοχωρίαν τῆς νήσου τοῖς 30. 2.
ἐσχάτοις προσίσχοντας ἀριστοποιεῖσθαι διὰ προφυλακῆς, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντός τινος κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς ὕλης ἄκοντος, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου, τὸ πολὺ αὐτῆς ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν.

1) ἀπὸ τούτου may be out of place, being really connected with ἔλαθε. ἐμπρήσαντός τινος . . . καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιγενομένου . . . ἀπὸ τούτου ἔλαθε κατακαυθέν. Or 2) καί may be used as if a finite verb had preceded, ἐνέπρησε not ἐμπρήσαντος. Or 3)* placing a comma after τούτου, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου='even from this trifling cause.' Or 4) ἀπὸ τούτου='afterwards.' But this expression, though not uncommon in Herodotus, is not to be found in Thucydides.

οὕτω δὴ τούς τε Λακεδαιμονίους μᾶλλον κατιδὼν πλείους ὄντας, ὑπονοῶν 30. 3.
πρότερον ἐλάσσοσι τὸν σῖτον αὐτοῦ ἐσπέμπειν, τό τε ὡς ἐπ' ἀξιόχρεων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μᾶλλον σπουδὴν ποιεῖσθαι, τήν τε νῆσον εὐαποβατωτέραν οὖσαν, τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν παρεσκευάζετο.

ἐλάσσοσι='for a smaller number than they said,' or 'than now appeared.'

1) αὐτοῦ, although we should have expected αὐτόσε, is probably genuine, arising out of a confusion of rest and motion not uncommon in Greek. Cp. ἵνα περ τὸ πρῶτον ὥρμηντο in iv. 48 fin., 74 init. It must be admitted however that the confusion of motion with rest is less frequent than that of rest with motion.

2) Dr. Kennedy, quoted by Mr. Graves (in his edition of Thucydides iv. 1–41) suggests a new and ingenious but not a probable explanation. He supposes αὐτοῦ to refer to σίτου. 'For a smaller number of men than the corn.' But the order of the words is harsh; and although the meaning given, 'less than' or 'too few for' the corn, is grammatical and a possible translation of the words, the idea, not being assisted by anything in the context, is too abruptly introduced.

3) αὐτοὺς πέμπειν or αὐτοὺς ἐσπέμπειν for αὐτοῦ ἐσπέμπειν is an ingenious but unnecessary emendation.

τό τε. The MSS. read τότε. But if we are to avoid an asyndeton,

30. 3. which would be here inexcusable, δέ must be inserted after τότε, or τότε must be resolved into two words, τό τε. τὸ ποιεῖσθαι is then governed by κατιδών, and is parallel to πλείους ὄντας, τὴν νῆσον εὐαποβατωτέραν οὖσαν. τοὺς Ἀθηναίους=the forces at Pylos, not the Athenians at home, who could not as yet have heard of the burning of the wood, or of the discovery which made the attempt better worth making.

32. 1. οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς μὲν πρώτους φύλακας, οἷς ἐπέδραμον, εὐθὺς διαφθείρουσιν ἔν τε ταῖς εὐναῖς ἔτι ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ λαθόντες τὴν ἀπόβασιν, οἰομένων αὐτῶν τὰς ναῦς κατὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐς ἔφορμον τῆς νυκτὸς πλεῖν.

τέ answers to καί, joining ἐν ταῖς εὐναῖς (of which ἀναλαμβάνοντας τὰ ὅπλα is an explanation) with λαθόντες, although the subject of the two clauses is different. 'The Athenians disembarking unobserved by the enemy'='the enemy unconscious of their disembarkation.' Classen compares Tacitus, Hist. i. 45, 'ita simulatione irae vinciri *iussum et* maiores poenas daturum *adfirmans* praesenti exitio subtraxit.'

32. 4. κατὰ νώτου τε ἀεὶ ἔμελλον αὐτοῖς, ᾗ χωρήσειαν, οἱ πολέμιοι ἔσεσθαι ψιλοὶ καὶ οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, τοξεύμασι καὶ ἀκοντίοις καὶ λίθοις καὶ σφενδόναις ἐκ πολλοῦ ἔχοντες ἀλκήν.

οἱ ἀπορώτατοι, not 'the poorest class of citizens,' and therefore the most poorly armed, but 'the most difficult to deal with.'

33. 2. τοὺς δὲ ψιλούς, ᾗ μάλιστα αὐτοῖς προσθέοντες προσκέοιντο, ἔτρεπον, καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες ἠμύνοντο, ἄνθρωποι κούφως τε ἐσκευασμένοι καὶ προλαμβάνοντες ῥᾳδίως τῆς φυγῆς, χωρίων τε χαλεπότητι καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πρὶν ἐρημίας τραχέων ὄντων.

1) καὶ οἱ ὑποστρέφοντες, 'and those who retired defended themselves.' That they retired again is implied in the preceding word ἔτρεπον. For similar uses of the article cp. iii. 63 fin. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀδικούμενοι αὐτούς, ὡς φατέ, ἐπηγάγεσθε, τοῖς δὲ ἀδικοῦσιν ἄλλους ξυνεργοὶ κατέστητε: 81 fin. τὴν μὲν αἰτίαν ἐπιφέροντες τοῖς τὸν δῆμον καταλύουσιν: v. 5 med. τούτοις οὖν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς κομιζομένοις· οὐκ ἠδίκησεν: 10 init. σημαίνειν τε ἅμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν, καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας . . . ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰόνος.

Two other passages, i. 69 init. **οἱ γὰρ δρῶντες** *βεβουλευμένοι πρὸς οὐ* **διεγνωκότας, ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντες, ἐπέρχονται,** vi. 36 init. **οἱ γὰρ δεδιότες** *ἰδίᾳ τι* **βούλονται τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔκπληξιν καθιστάναι,** in which the article cannot be explained from the preceding words, might seem to indicate a less fixed use of it than occurs in later Greek, like that of the Homeric poems, in which *ὁ, ἡ, τό,* are used with a force greater than that of the article, but less than that of the demonstrative. But this use can be shown to occur in Thucydides only where *δέ* follows (cp. iv. 26 fin. *τοῖς δὲ ἀφειδὴς ὁ κατάπλους καθεστήκει*). It is therefore better to take the article as referring to particular individuals or classes considered under a general aspect, 'the men of energy,' i. e. the Athenians, 'those who have private reasons for alarm,' i. e. the Syracusan oligarchs. And some of the passages quoted above (iii. 63 fin., 81 fin.) may be explained in the same way. **33. 2.**

2) *οἵ,* the old demonstrative pronoun, not *οἱ,* is required in iv. 68 fin. *καταγορεύει τις ξυνειδὼς τοῖς ἑτέροις τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα· καὶ* **οἳ ξυστραφέντες** *ἀθρόοι ἦλθον,* where there is no antecedent to which the article can refer, and it may be the right reading in this place. Cp. Xen. Anab. vii. 6. 4, *καὶ οἳ εἶπον*: Cyr. v. 4. 4, *καὶ ὃς ἐξαπατηθεὶς διώκει ἀνὰ κράτος*: and the stereotyped phrases *ἢ δ' ὅς—ὃς μέν, ὃς δέ—καὶ ὅς.*

κούφως τε . . . ὄντων. *τέ* may be joined either 1)* with *καί,* before *προλαμβάνοντες,* in which case the second *τέ* belongs to *καί* after *χαλεπότητι,* or 2) with *τέ* after *χωρίων*: either 1)* the Athenians were lightly armed and easily outran their pursuers by reason of the difficulty of the country, etc.: or 2) they readily retreated and defended themselves, because they were lightly armed, etc., and by reason of the difficulty of the country.

καὶ αὐτοὶ τῇ τε ὄψει τοῦ θαρσεῖν τὸ πλεῖστον εἰληφότες, πολλαπλάσιοι *φαινόμενοι κ.τ.λ.* **34. 1.**

The last words are the resumption of *τῇ ὄψει.* 1) 'Receiving the greatest encouragement from their own eyes, they appearing to themselves many times the number of the enemy;' i. e. 'from their own eyes which showed them their superiority in numbers.' Or 2) 'from their being able to see around them;' i. e. from the burning of the wood, cp. supra c. 30 init.

34. 3. *ἀποκεκλημένοι μὲν τῇ ὄψει τοῦ προορᾶν κ.τ.λ.*

Lit. 'prevented in their sight from looking before them.' *τῇ ὄψει* is opposed to *ἐσακούοντες* above, and is supplemented by *τοῦ προορᾶν*.

36. 1. *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς· εἰ δὲ βούλονται ἑαυτῷ δοῦναι τῶν τοξοτῶν μέρος τι καὶ τῶν ψιλῶν περιιέναι κατὰ νώτου αὐτοῖς ὁδῷ, ᾗ ἂν αὐτὸς εὕρῃ, δοκεῖν βιάσασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον.*

The accusative (*σφᾶς*) is used because the subject is changed from the singular to the plural, the reflexive pronoun because the Messenian leader regards himself as a part of the Athenian army. He said, 'Our troops are labouring in vain.' Cp. vi. 49. 2 and note.

περιιέναι, infin. of purpose, after *δοῦναι*, 'if they were willing to give him a few archers and light-armed troops for him to find a way round,' etc.

36. 2. *κατὰ τὸ ἀεὶ παρεῖκον τοῦ κρημνώδους τῆς νήσου προσβαίνων καὶ ᾗ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι χωρίου ἰσχύϊ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἐφύλασσον κ.τ.λ.*

κατὰ τὸ ἀεί κ.τ.λ., 'wherever the cliff allowed him a footing;' *καὶ ᾗ* is added in explanation of *τοῦ κρημνώδους*, 'and by a way which the Lacedaemonians had left unguarded.'

36. 3. *καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοί τε ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη καὶ γιγνόμενοι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ξυμπτώματι, ὡς μικρὸν μεγάλῳ εἰκάσαι, τῷ ἐν Θερμοπύλαις, ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τῇ ἀπαπῷ περιελθόντων τῶν Περσῶν διεφθάρησαν, οὗτοί τε ἀμφίβολοι ἤδη ὄντες οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ πολλοῖς τε ὀλίγοι μαχόμενοι καὶ ἀσθενείᾳ σωμάτων διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ὑπεχώρουν· καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκράτουν ἤδη τῶν ἐφόδων.*

An anacoluthon; grammatically, there is no verb following *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βαλλόμενοι*: the end of the sentence is absorbed in the illustration *ἐκεῖνοί τε κ.τ.λ.* But the required thought is supplied in the words *οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον κ.τ.λ.*

Poppo places the words *ἐκεῖνοί τε . . . οὗτοί τε* in a parenthesis, omitting the comma after *διεφθάρησαν*. 'For the men of Thermopylae were destroyed when the Persians found the path round the mountain; and so were these men,'—repeating *διεφθάρησαν*. But (*a*) it is impossible to separate *οὗτοί τε* from *ἀμφίβολοι* which

follows; and (*b*) *διεφθάρησαν* does not describe the fate of the Spartans at Sphacteria who, instead of falling, surrendered. **36. 3.**

In remarking on the similarity of the circumstances Thucydides may have intended to contrast the behaviour of the Spartans at Thermopylae and the Spartans at Sphacteria (*διεφθάρησαν,—οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον ἀλλ' ὑπεχώρουν*).

ἀπιστοῦντές τε μὴ εἶναι τοὺς παραδόντας τοῖς τεθνεῶσιν ὁμοίους, καί τινος **40. 2.** *ἐρομένου ποτὲ ὕστερον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμάχων δι' ἀχθηδόνα ἕνα τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου αἰχμαλώτων εἰ οἱ τεθνεῶτες αὐτῶν καλοὶ κἀγαθοί, ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ πολλοῦ ἂν ἄξιον εἶναι τὸν ἄτρακτον (λέγων τὸν ὀϊστόν), εἰ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς διεγίγνωσκε, δήλωσιν ποιούμενος ὅτι ὁ ἐντυγχάνων τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοξεύμασιν διεφθείρετο.*

ἀπιστοῦντες has no verb, and may be called, in the language of the old grammarians, a nominative absolute. 'The general disbelief in the courage of the survivors elicited the following answer.'

ἄτρακτος, an uncommon word in the sense of 'an arrow,' found however in Soph. Phil. 290, Trach. 714; Eur. Rhes. 312, and retained in mediaeval Greek (Ducange). Either 1) it was the Laconian word for an arrow (of which however there is no evidence), or 2)* it is here used contemptuously by the Lacedaemonians in its ordinary sense. In either case the word would have suggested 'a spindle' to Athenian ears.

For the wonder and curiosity with which the Spartan captives must have been received at Athens compare Aristoph. Clouds, 184,—

ΣΤ. *ὦ Ἡράκλεις, ταυτὶ ποδαπὰ τὰ θηρία;*
ΜΑΘ. *τί ἐθαύμασας; τῷ σοι δοκοῦσιν εἰκέναι;*
ΣΤ. *τοῖς ἐκ Πύλου ληφθεῖσι, τοῖς Λακωνικοῖς.*

Cp. also Knights, 391–394,—

ἀλλ' ὅμως οὗτος τοιοῦτος ὢν ἅπαντα τὸν βίον,
κἄτ' ἀνὴρ ἔδοξεν εἶναι, τἀλλότριον ἀμῶν θέρος.
νῦν δὲ τοὺς στάχυς ἐκείνους, οὓς ἐκεῖθεν ἤγαγεν,
ἐν ξύλῳ δήσας ἀφαύει κἀποδόσθαι βούλεται.

ὁ ἐντυγχάνων, 'the chance or average man,' not the specially brave.

ἐλῄζόν τε τὴν Λακωνικὴν καὶ πλεῖστα ἔβλαπτον ὁμόφωνοι ὄντες. **41. 2.**

41. 2. For a similar advantage gained by the employment of the Messenians at the battle of Idomenè cp. iii. 112 med.

41. 4. *οἱ δὲ μειζόνων τε ὠρέγοντο, καὶ πολλάκις φοιτώντων αὐτοὺς ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμπον.*

Cp. Aristoph. Knights, 794,—

ΑΛ. Ἀρχεπτολέμου δὲ φέροντος
τὴν εἰρήνην ἐξεσκέδασας, τὰς πρεσβείας τ' ἀπελαύνεις
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ῥαθαπυγίζων, αἳ τὰς σπονδὰς προκαλοῦνται.

Peace, 215,—

εἰ δ' αὖ τι πράξαιτ' ἀγαθὸν ἀττικωνικοὶ
κἄλθοιεν οἱ Λάκωνες εἰρήνης πέρι,
ἐλέγετ' ἂν ὑμεῖς εὐθύς· ἐξαπατώμεθα
νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, νὴ Δί', οὐχὶ πειστέον·
ἥξουσι καὖθις, ἢν ἔχωμεν τὴν Πύλον.

665,—

ἐλθοῦσά φησιν αὐτομάτη μετὰ τὰν Πύλῳ
σπονδῶν φέρουσα τῇ πόλει κίστην πλέαν
ἀποχειροτονηθῆναι τρὶς ἐν τἠκκλησίᾳ.

42. 2. *πλέοντες δέ, ἅμα ἕῳ ἔσχον μεταξὺ Χερσονήσου τε καὶ Ῥείτου ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλὸν τοῦ χωρίου ὑπὲρ οὗ ὁ Σολύγειος λόφος ἐστίν.*

The context shows that *ἅμα ἕῳ* is to be taken with *ἔσχον*, not with *πλέοντες*. Cp. *ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔλαθον νυκτὸς καταπλεύσαντες*, infra § 4.

ἐς τὸν αἰγιαλόν κ.τ.λ. lit. 'to the beach of the district which the Solygeian ridge overhangs.'

Cenchreae lay on the coast about two miles south of the narrowest part of the Isthmus. A little to the south of Cenchreae a spur of Mount Oneium comes down to the sea. In the neighbourhood was situated the 'Chersonesus' mentioned by Thucydides, the stream Rheitus being further to the south. The Athenians landed about two miles to the south of Cenchreae; near which place the Corinthians, who had missed their place of landing, were awaiting them. Leaving half their forces at Cenchreae to protect Crommyon, a town on the coast about nine miles to the north-east (which was attacked by the Athenian fleet after the battle and plundered, c. 45 init.), and detaching another division under Battus to protect

Solygeia, a village somewhere on the hill south of Mount Oneium, beneath which the Athenians landed, the Corinthians hurried to meet the enemy. But owing to the interposition of Mount Oneium the engagement which followed was not perceived by the other half of the Corinthian army stationed at Cenchreae until the dust began to rise. Corinth, from which the reinforcements came, was about seven miles north-west of the scene of action. 42. 2.

Κορίνθιοι δὲ προπυθόμενοι ἐξ Ἄργους ὅτι ἡ στρατιὰ ἥξει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἐκ πλείονος ἐβοήθησαν ἐς Ἰσθμὸν πάντες πλὴν τῶν ἔξω Ἰσθμοῦ. 42. 3.

ἐξ Ἄργους. Cp. note on v. 28. 2.

ἐκ πλείονος, either 1)* with ἐβοήθησαν, answering to πρό in προπυθόμενοι, 'having heard beforehand, they had come some time before,' or 2) with προπυθόμενοι; cp. iii. 100 init. προπέμψαντες πρότερον ἔς τε Κόρινθον καὶ ἐς Λακεδαίμονα πρέσβεις.

δύο γὰρ ἦσαν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ οἱ παρόντες. 43. 1.

Not strictly 'in the battle,' for it does not appear that Battus was engaged, but 'on the occasion of the battle.'

τὸ δὲ ἄλλο στρατόπεδον ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐμάχετο ξυνεχῶς. 43. 5.

'Fought steadily or continuously,' i.e. without such vicissitudes of fortune as had befallen the Athenian right wing.

ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ ἱππεῖς ὠφέλιμοι ξυμμαχόμενοι, τῶν ἑτέρων οὐκ ἐχόντων ἵππους. 44. 1.

Cp. the famous parabasis in the Knights of Aristophanes, 595–610, in which the services of the horses on this occasion are duly commemorated.

ἐν δὲ τῇ τροπῇ ταύτῃ κατὰ τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας οἱ πλεῖστοί τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον καὶ Δυκόφρων ὁ στρατηγός. ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οὐ κατὰ δίωξιν πολλὴν οὐδὲ ταχείας φυγῆς γενομένης, ἐπεὶ ἐβιάσθη, ἐπαναχωρήσασα πρὸς τὰ μετέωρα ἱδρύθη. 44. 2

τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ, 'in this manner,' i.e. 'under these circumstances,' 'because the right wing was defeated.'

τῶν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πείθουσί τινας ὀλίγους, ὑποπέμψαντες φίλους καὶ διδάξ- 46. 5.

46. 5. αντες ὡς κατ' εὔνοιαν δὴ λέγειν, ὅτι κράτιστον αὐτοῖς εἴη ὡς τάχιστα ἀποδρᾶναι, πλοῖον δέ τι αὐτοὶ ἑτοιμάσειν.

1)* ὡς κατ' εὔνοιαν δή qualifies διδάξαντες, not λέγειν. The friends of the captives went in good faith to them and told them what they had been made to believe by the leaders of the democracy. The perfidy (δή) was that of the persons who instructed them.

Or possibly 2) φίλους refers to persons who had been friends of the oligarchs but had now come under the influence of the democrats.

αὐτοί, the democratic leaders.

47. 1. ὡς δὲ ἔπεισαν, καὶ μηχανησαμένων τὸ πλοῖον ἐκπλέοντες ἐλήφθησαν κ.τ.λ.

μηχανησαμένων, scil. the democratic leaders acting perfidiously, in concert with the friends of the captives, who acted in good faith.

47. 2. ξυνελάβοντο δὲ τοῦ τοιούτου οὐχ ἥκιστα, ὥστε ἀκριβῆ τὴν πρόφασιν γενέσθαι, καὶ τοὺς τεχνησαμένους ἀδεέστερον ἐγχειρῆσαι, οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, κατάδηλοι ὄντες τοὺς ἄνδρας μὴ ἂν βούλεσθαι ὑπ' ἄλλων κομισθέντας, διότι αὐτοὶ ἐς Σικελίαν ἔπλεον, τὴν τιμὴν τοῖς ἄγουσι προσποιῆσαι.

ὥστε ἀκριβῆ κ.τ.λ. 1)* lit. 'so that the pretext was strict,' or 'exact.' The word ἀκριβῆ which, properly speaking, refers to the interpretation of the agreement, is inaccurately applied to the πρόφασις, because the interpretation of the agreement, regarded from another point of view, was the 'pretext' for delivering the prisoners up to the Corcyraeans. Or in other words, the pretext is called 'strict' because it was founded on a strict interpretation of the agreement.

Or 2) πρόφασις referring to the pretext by which the prisoners were induced to leave the island, 'that the pretext should precisely accord with,' or 'be justified by, the facts;' meaning either *a*) that 'the chief reason which made the false pretext turn out to be the actual truth,' i. e. which realised the fear of the Corcyraean oligarchs that they would be given up to the people, 'was the known disinclination of the Athenian generals,' etc., or *b*) that 'the

chief reason which made the pretext appear satisfactory to the prisoners was,' etc. **47. 2.**

μαστιγοφόροι τε **παριόντες** *ἐπετάχυνον τῆς ὁδοῦ τοὺς σχολαίτερον* **προσ-ιόντας.** **47. 3.**

παριόντες, 'walking by their side:' *τοὺς σχολαίτερον προσιόντας*, 'those who lingered on the way thither,' i.e. to the place where the two rows of hoplites were stationed.

καὶ ἐς μὲν ἄνδρας ἑξήκοντα ἔλαθον τοὺς ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ **48. 1.** *ἐξαγαγόντες καὶ διαφθείραντες· ᾤοντο γὰρ αὐτοὺς* **μεταστήσαντάς ποι ἄλλοσε** *ἄγειν.*

The aor. *μεταστήσαντας*, the reading of all the MSS., may be defended on the ground that it is the historical tense, as we might say *μετέστησαν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἦγον* (cp. note on iv. 112. 1). The tense may also be explained as describing not the completion, but the beginning, of the act of removal.

ποι ἄλλοσε goes with *μεταστήσαντας*, but is to be repeated with *ἄγειν*.

ἐκέλευον **σφᾶς**, *εἰ βούλονται*, **αὐτοὺς** *διαφθεῖραι.* **48. 1.**

αὐτούς, scil. the Athenians, *σφᾶς*, the Corcyreans.

οἱ δὲ Κερκυραῖοι κατὰ μὲν τὰς θύρας **οὐδ' αὐτοὶ** *διενοοῦντο βιάζεσθαι.* **48. 2.**

οὐδέ—'The populace had no more idea of forcing their way in than the captives had of letting them in.'

οἱ δὲ ἐφυλάσσοντό τε ὡς ἠδύναντο καὶ ἅμα οἱ πολλοὶ **σφᾶς αὐτοὺς** **48. 3.** **διέφθειρον**, *ὅτι τούς τε οὓς ἀφίεσαν ἐκεῖνοι ἐς τὰς σφαγὰς καθιέντες, καὶ ἐκ κλινῶν τινων αἳ ἔτυχον αὐτοῖς ἐνοῦσαι ταῖς* **σπάρτοις** *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἱματίων* **παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες** *ἀπαγχόμενοι,* **παντὶ τρόπῳ** *τὸ πολὺ τῆς νυκτός, ἐπεγένετο γὰρ νὺξ τῷ παθήματι,* **ἀναλοῦντες** *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς καὶ βαλλόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄνω* **διεφθάρησαν.**

The participles *καθιέντες*, *ἀπαγχόμενοι*, clearly belong to *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διέφθειρον*, not to *διεφθάρησαν*, and therefore *τέ* after *ὅτι τούς* cannot supply the connection between the two finite verbs, but must answer to *καί* following. The asyndeton before *παντὶ τρόπῳ*

48. 3. may be explained either as a resumption, or from the vehemence of the expression, or from the numerous participles which make the writer forget that a finite verb has preceded. For a like asyndeton caused by the passion of the speaker cp. iii. 59. 2 and note.

παραιρήματα ποιοῦντες=παραιρήμασι, parallel to *τοῖς σπάρτοις*.

ἀναλοῦντες is a conjecture of Heilmann, supported by the translation of Valla, and is confirmed in some degree by the authority of the ancient grammarians, who quote the participle *ἀναλοῦντες* as occurring in Thucydides in the sense of *ἀναιροῦντες*, although not found in our extant MSS. The reading of the MSS., *ἀναδοῦντες*, is far inferior in sense, and can only be defended if the words *ἀναδοῦντες σφᾶς αὐτούς* be taken as a resumption of *ἀπαγχόμενοι*; they would then describe the most striking though not the only way in which the prisoners killed themselves. 'In every sort of way, some tying themselves up, others hit by their enemies from above, they perished.' Such a repetition of one of the particulars after the words *παντὶ τρόπῳ* is extremely harsh. And the change of reading from *ἀναδοῦντες* to *ἀναλοῦντες*, Δ to Λ, is the least possible.

It is remarkable that the instinctive love of life 1) led some of them to shelter themselves (*ἐφυλάσσοντο*), while others only sought to put an end to their own lives: or 2)* led them to seek shelter from the enemy while putting an end to their own lives.

49. *αὐτοὶ Ἀκαρνᾶνες οἰκήτορες ἀπὸ πάντων ἔσχον τὸ χωρίον.*

This circumstance seems to be mentioned as a contrast to that related in ii. 30, *οἱ δ' ἐν ταῖς ἑκατὸν ναυσὶν Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι ὄντες περὶ Πελοπόννησον Σόλλιόν τε Κορινθίων πόλισμα αἱροῦσι καὶ παραδιδόασι Παλαιρεῦσιν Ἀκαρνάνων μόνοις τὴν γῆν καὶ πόλιν νέμεσθαι.*

50. 1. *τῶν ἀργυρολόγων νεῶν . . . αἳ ἐξεπέμφθησαν πρὸς τοὺς ξυμμάχους.*

Sent to collect arrears, or to exact extraordinary contributions. The regular *φόρος* appears to have been paid at Athens, at the Great Dionysia (Boeckh, Staatshaush. i. p. 243).

50. 2. *καὶ αὐτοῦ κομισθέντος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς μὲν ἐπιστολὰς μεταγραψάμενοι ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ἀνέγνωσαν.*

ἐκ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων, i. e. the cuneiform characters; which

the Persians employed in their public inscriptions (Herod. iv. 87), **50. 2.** *θηησάμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Βόσπορον (ὁ Δαρεῖος) στήλας ἔστησε δύο ἐπ' αὐτῷ λίθου λευκοῦ, ἐνταμὼν γράμματα, ἐς μὲν τὴν Ἀσσύρια, ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικά, ἔθνεα πάντα ὅσαπερ ἦγε,)* as here in a public document. They were, in various forms, the common alphabet of several languages.

ποιησάμενοι μέντοι πρὸς Ἀθηναίους πίστεις καὶ βεβαιότητα ἐκ τῶν 51. 1. *δυνατῶν μηδὲν περὶ σφᾶς νεώτερον βουλεύσειν.*

Not 'having given pledges and securities to the Athenians,' which is inconsistent with the word *μέντοι*, but 'having effected' or 'gained pledges and securities.' Cp. *ἄδειαν ποιησάμενον*, 'having obtained a promise of pardon,' vi. 60 med.

καὶ ἦν αὐτῶν ἡ **διάνοια** *τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις τὰς Ἀκταίας καλουμένας,* **52. 3.** *ἃς πρότερον Μυτιληναίων νεμομένων Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, ἐλευθεροῦν, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τὴν Ἀνανδρον, καὶ* **κρατυνάμενοι** *αὐτήν, (***ναῦς** *τε γὰρ* **εὐπορία** *ἦν* **ποιεῖσθαι** *αὐτόθεν, ξύλων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ τῆς Ἴδης ἐπικειμένης,* **καὶ** *τῇ* **ἄλλῃ σκευῇ**), *ῥᾳδίως ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁρμώμενοι τήν τε Λέσβον ἐγγὺς οὖσαν* **κακώσειν** *καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Αἰολικὰ πολίσματα χειρώσασθαι.*

κρατυνάμενοι, as if *διενοοῦντο* instead of *ἦν ἡ διάνοια* had preceded.

ναῦς τε . . . σκευῇ. The second *καί* follows *τέ*: either 1) the construction changes from the infinitive to the dative, *ἦν εὐπορία ποιεῖσθαι ναῦς, ἦν εὐπορία τῇ ἄλλῃ σκευῇ*: 'There was a facility for building ships; there was a facility for (obtaining) other supplies:' or 2)* *καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ σκευῇ* follows as if *ναυσί* had preceded, and is connected with *κακώσειν*. *σκευῇ*, the reading of all the MSS., not occurring elsewhere in Thucydides in this sense, has been corrected without necessity into *παρασκευῇ*.

ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ Λιβύης ὁλκάδων προσβολή, καὶ **53. 3.** *λῃσταὶ ἅμα τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἧσσον ἐλύπουν ἐκ θαλάσσης, ᾗπερ μόνον οἷόν τ' ἦν κακουργεῖσθαι· πᾶσα γὰρ ἀνέχει πρὸς τὸ Σικελικὸν καὶ Κρητικὸν πέλαγος.*

1)* The only danger of the Lacedaemonians was from attacks by sea, *πᾶσα γάρ κ.τ.λ.*, for their whole country, running out into the Sicilian and Cretan seas, is exposed to piracy.

Or 2) *ἀνέχει* may refer to the island, and *γάρ* may explain, not

53. 3. why Lacedaemon was exposed to attack, but why it was protected by Cythera; 'for the whole island runs far out into the two seas,' so that a guard posted there can keep watch over both coasts.

3) Mr. Grote suggests another interpretation. He would translate, 'The whole Laconian coast is high projecting cliff where it fronts the Sicilian and Cretan seas.' He supposes Thucydides to mean that Cythera protects the only vulnerable point of Laconia, the inner part of the Laconian gulf.

But *a*) would the whole of the north coast of the Laconian gulf be described as if it were a point, *ἦπερ*, at which Laconia is vulnerable? Or *b*) is it likely that *ἦπερ* is separable from *θαλάσσῃ*? And *c*) too much meaning is attributed to *ἀνέχει*.

Compare for the importance of Cythera to the enemies of Sparta, and therefore to Sparta, Xen. Hell. iv. 8. 7, *φοβούμενος δὲ τήν τε ἀλιμενότητα τῆς χώρας, καὶ τὰ τῆς βοηθείας, καὶ τὰ τῆς σπανοσιτίας* (scil. *ὁ Φαρνάβαζός τε καὶ ὁ Κόνων*), *ταχύ τε ἀνέστρεψε καὶ ἀποπλέων ὡρμίσθη τῆς Κυθηρίας εἰς Φοινικοῦντα*, and the saying of Chilon in Herod. vii. 235, *Κύθηρα, τὴν Χίλων, ἀνὴρ παρ' ἡμῖν σοφώτατος γενόμενος, κέρδος μέζον ἔφη εἶναι Σπαρτιήτῃσι κατὰ τῆς θαλάσσης καταδεδυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπερέχειν.*

54. 1. *κατασχόντες οὖν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τῷ στρατῷ δέκα μὲν νανσὶ καὶ* δισχιλίοις *Μιλησίων ὁπλίταις τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλιν Σκάνδειαν καλουμένην αἱροῦσι.*

δισχιλίοις seems to be an error of the MSS.; cp. supra c. 53 init., where it is the number of the Athenian hoplites, and viii. 25 init., where the Milesians, close to their own city, bring only 800 hoplites into the field.

54. 3. *διὸ καὶ θᾶσσον καὶ ἐπιτηδειότερον τό τε παραυτίκα καὶ τὸ ἔπειτα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐπράχθη αὐτοῖς· ἀνέστησαν γὰρ ἂν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι Κυθηρίους.*

'Both the immediate and the subsequent steps in the agreement (cp. c. 57 fin.) were more quickly settled, and the terms were milder.' There is no need to insert *τά* before *τῆς ὁμολογίας* against nearly all the MSS., since the Greek admits of the above explanation.

ἄν must be inserted after *ἀνέστησαν* against the MSS., for here we are compelled to desert their authority; *ἄν* can only be omitted in an apodosis of which the protasis is expressed.

μετὰ δὲ τὴν ξύμβασιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τήν τε Σκάνδειαν τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι πόλισμα παραλαβόντες καὶ τῶν Κυθήρων φυλακὴν ποιησάμενοι κ.τ.λ. 54. 4.

παραλαβόντες, taking the government of Scandeia from the Cytherians. The word seems to imply that they had not immediately after their victory taken formal possession of the place, which was now handed over to them.

ἔς τε τὰ πολεμικά, εἴπερ ποτέ, μάλιστα δὴ ὀκνηρότεροι ἐγένοντο. 55. 2.

ὀκνηρότεροι, 1) the comparative has a qualifying force, 'inclined to hesitation,' rather than 'more hesitating,' as the cumbrous addition of μάλιστα δή shows; 'more than ever.' Or 2) lit. 'more hesitating than usual, in a higher degree than ever.'

καὶ τούτῳ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, οἷς τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρούμενον ἀεὶ ἐλλιπὲς ἦν τῆς δοκήσεώς τι πράξειν. 55. 2.

'To whom anything which they ever failed to attempt always left a void in their aspiring thoughts.' ἀεί, though adhering to the participle, is to be supplied again with the verb. Cp. i. 70 med. ἃ ἂν ἐπινοήσαντες μὴ ἐξέλθωσιν, οἰκεῖα στέρεσθαι ἡγοῦνται: iv. 63 init. τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης ὧν ἕκαστός τι ᾠήθημεν πράξειν.

τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τότε τὴν παραθαλάσσιον δηοῦσι τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ἡσύχασαν, ὡς καθ' ἑκάστην φρουρὰν γίγνοιτό τις ἀπόβασις, πλήθει τε ἐλάσσονς ἕκαστοι ἡγούμενοι εἶναι καὶ ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ. 56. 1.

τοῖς δὲ Ἀθηναίοις is a dative of relation after ἡσύχασαν. The construction, which is somewhat feeble, is supported by ὡς γένοιτό τις ἀπόβασις.

ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, 'under such circumstances and in such depression of mind;' scil. ἡσύχασαν, answering, though in a different construction, to ἐλάσσους ἡγούμενοι εἶναι.

τὸν ἄρχοντα ὃς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἦν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, Τάνταλον τοῦ Πατροκλέους. 57. 3.

Although the Lacedaemonian troops retired to a place of safety, the Lacedaemonian governor of Thyrea remained in the town.

Ἑρμοκράτης ὁ Ἕρμωνος, Συρακόσιος, ὅσπερ καὶ ἔπεισε μάλιστα αὐτούς. 58.

See note on English text.

59. 3. αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰ μὴ καιρῷ τύχοιεν ἑκάτεροι πράσσοντες, αἱ παραινέσεις
4. τῶν ξυναλλαγῶν ὠφέλιμοι. ὃ καὶ ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πειθομένοις πλείστου
60. 1. ἂν ἄξιον γένοιτο. τὰ γὰρ ἴδια ἕκαστοι εὖ βουλευόμενοι δὴ θέσθαι τό τε πρῶτον ἐπολεμήσαμεν καὶ νῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δι' ἀντιλογιῶν πειρώμεθα καταλλαγῆναι, καὶ ἦν ἄρα μὴ προχωρήσῃ ἴσον ἑκάστῳ ἔχοντι ἀπελθεῖν, πάλιν πολεμήσομεν. καίτοι γνῶναι χρή, ὅτι οὐ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων μόνον, εἰ σωφρονοῦμεν, ἡ ξύνοδος ἔσται, ἀλλ' εἰ ἐπιβουλευομένην τὴν πᾶσαν Σικελίαν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων δυνησόμεθα ἔτι διασῶσαι. .

ὅ, 'which thing,' either 'proposals of reconciliation,' or 'the recognition of their utility.' The connection may be traced as follows:—

Either 1) the words τὰ γὰρ ἴδια κ.τ.λ. are subordinate to καίτοι γνῶναι χρή three lines below: 'Counsels of peace will be useful to us; for hitherto, whether in going to war or in making peace, we have been considering only our own individual interests, and our peace was hollow. But there is a higher light in which the question should be regarded, namely, that of the common good.'

Or 2), 'Counsels of peace are useful to men when they are pursuing their own interests out of season. And they will be useful to us. For this is precisely what we are doing. But surely we ought to be thinking, not of our own interests, but of the common good.'

60. 1. οἳ δύναμιν ἔχοντες μεγίστην τῶν Ἑλλήνων τάς τε ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν τηροῦσιν, ὀλίγαις ναυσὶ παρόντες, καὶ ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ ξυμμαχίας τὸ φύσει πολέμιον εὐπρεπῶς ἐς τὸ ξυμφέρον καθίστανται.

ὀλίγαις ναυσί. Yet the Athenians had more than fifty ships in Sicily (cp. iv. 2 init., 25 init.) But Thucydides, by the mouth of Hermocrates, is here contrasting the earlier expeditions of the Athenians to Sicily with the great and fatal expedition.

ὀνόματι ἐννόμῳ κ.τ.λ. Either 1)* the Athenians are the natural enemies of Sicily, but by 'disguising their enmity under the honourable name of an alliance,' an alliance such as they have made with some of the cities in Sicily, 'they speciously turn this enmity to their own interest.' It is a proof of the insincerity of the Athenians that they convert what, if they were straightforward, would be enmity, to their own advantage. Or 2) τὸ φύσει πολέμιον may

have a concrete sense, 'they turn their natural enemies to good account.' 60. 1.

πόλεμον γὰρ αἱρομένων ἡμῶν καὶ ἐπαγομένων αὐτούς, ἄνδρας οἳ καὶ τοὺς μὴ ἐπικαλουμένους αὐτοὶ ἐπιστρατεύουσι, κακῶς τε ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποιούντων τέλεσι τοῖς οἰκείοις κ.τ.λ. 60. 2.

ἐπιστρατεύουσι. ἐπί- in composition seems to be used, like the preposition by itself, in the sense of 'to' as well as 'against.' 'Who go with an army even to those who do not invite them.' Compare ii. 67 init. στρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ποτίδαιαν, i. e. to relieve Potidaea: iv. 85 med. ἀλλὰ καί, οἷς ἂν ἐπίω, ἥσσόν τις ἐμοὶ πρόσεισι, δυσχερὲς ποιούμενοι εἰ ἐπὶ οὓς πρῶτον ἦλθον ὑμᾶς . . . μὴ ἐδέξασθε: and v. 110, τράποιντ' ἄν . . . ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσους μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθεν. For the acc. cp. iv. 92 med. ἡσυχάζοντα . . . ἐπιστρατεύειν.

There may be a touch of irony in the expression, for the one meaning of ἐπιστρατεύουσι suggests the other. If the Athenians go where they are not wanted their movement is really hostile, not friendly.

τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅμα προκοπτόντων ἐκείνοις κ.τ.λ. 60. 2.

τῆς ἀρχῆς is best explained as a partitive genitive, lit. 'cutting out in advance for them a portion of their empire,' i. e. 'preparing the way for an extension of their empire.'

νομίσαι τε στάσιν μάλιστα φθείρειν τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν Σικελίαν. 61. 1.

Either 1) 'faction is the great destroyer of the states which are subject to it, and of Sicily in particular;' or 2)* 'of Sicily and her cities.'

ἐδήλωσαν δὲ νῦν ἐν τῇ τοῦ Χαλκιδικοῦ γένους παρακλήσει· τοῖς γὰρ οὐδεπώποτε σφίσι κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν προσβοηθήσασιν αὐτοὶ τὸ δίκαιον μᾶλλον τῆς ξυνθήκης προθύμως παρέσχοντο. 61. 4.

Cp. iii. 86 med. ἐς οὖν τὰς Ἀθήνας πέμψαντες οἱ τῶν Λεοντίνων ξύμμαχοι, κατά τε παλαιὰν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ ὅτι Ἴωνες ἦσαν, πείθουσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους πέμψαι σφίσι ναῦς· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν Συρακοσίων τῆς τε γῆς εἴργοντο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης. καὶ ἔπεμψαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος προφάσει, βουλόμενοι δὲ μήτε σῖτον ἐς τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἄγεσθαι αὐτόθεν, πρόπειράν

61. 4. *τε ποιούμενοι, εἰ σφίσι δυνατὰ εἴη τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ὑποχείρια γενέσθαι.*

The genitive *τῆς ξυνθήκης* is to be construed, not with *μᾶλλον*, but with *τὸ δίκαιον*. *μᾶλλον*=not 'rather than,' but 'instead of;' the Athenians had gone out of their way to observe the treaty: 'instead of waiting till they received help,' or 'instead of following the example of the Chalcidians' (*μᾶλλον*), they had 'voluntarily (*αὐτοί*) offered the rights of the treaty' (*τὸ δίκαιον τῆς ξυνθήκης*) to the Chalcidians.

61. 5. *καὶ οὐ τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις μέμφομαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ὑπακούειν ἑτοιμοτέροις οὖσι.*

ἑτοιμοτέροις. Not 'more ready,' but 'who, instead of wanting to rule, are ready to serve.'

For other instances of the resolved comparative see note on ii. 40. 1.

62. 2. *ἢ δοκεῖτε εἴ τῳ τι ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἢ εἴ τῳ τὰ ἐναντία οὐχ ἡσυχία μᾶλλον ἢ πόλεμος τὸ μὲν παῦσαι ἂν ἑκατέρῳ τὸ δὲ ξυνδιασῶσαι, καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ λαμπρότητας ἀκινδυνοτέρας ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην.*

Either 1) *παῦσαι, ξυνδιασῶσαι* are infinitives dependent on *δοκεῖτε*, *ἡσυχία, πόλεμος* being nominatives to *δοκεῖ* understood in *δοκεῖτε*; *οὐκ* is then supplied from the previous clause with the words *καὶ τὰς τιμὰς . . . εἰρήνην*, or with *δοκεῖτε* from *οὐχ ἡσυχία*.

Or 2) *παύσαι ἄν* and *ξυνδιασώσαι* may be optative: *δοκεῖτε* being parenthetical in the first clause, and governing *ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην* in the second.

62. 3. *γνοὺς ὅτι πλείους ἤδη καὶ τιμωρίαις μετιόντες τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἕτεροι δυνάμει τινὶ πλεονεκτήσειν, οἱ μὲν οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἠμύναντο ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐσώθησαν, τοῖς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ πλέον ἔχειν προσκαταλιπεῖν τὰ αὑτῶν ξυνέβη.*

The word *πλείους* includes both the clauses, *καὶ τιμωρίαις κ.τ.λ.* and *καὶ ἐλπίσαντες ἕτεροι κ.τ.λ.*, which are resumed and more distinctly opposed by *μέν* and *δέ* in the clauses which follow, *οἱ μὲν*=*οἱ μετιόντες*, *τοῖς δὲ*=*τοῖς ἐλπίσασιν*.

62. 4. *τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται· οὐδὲ ἰσχὺς βέβαιον, διότι καὶ εὔελπι.*

Cp. supra *εἴ τις βεβαίως τι ἢ τῷ δικαίῳ ἢ βίᾳ πράξειν οἴεται*, where **62. 4.** *βεβαίως* answers to *βέβαιον* here, *τῷ δικαίῳ* to *δικαίως*, and *βίᾳ* to *ἰσχύς*.

ὅτι καὶ ἀδικεῖται. As in iv. 17 fin. *ἀεὶ γὰρ τοῦ πλέονος ἐλπίδι ὀρέγονται διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἀδοκήτως εὐτυχῆσαι*, the antecedent, and not as in English would be more natural the consequent, is emphasized. Not 'because vengeance is taken for a wrong, it is not therefore as fortunate as it ought to be' (*τιμωρία γὰρ οὐ καὶ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, ὅτι ἀδικεῖται*), but 'vengeance is not as fortunate as it ought to be, because it is first wronged.' Cp. note on ii. 35. 2.

With *ἀδικεῖται* supply, from the personified *τιμωρία, ὁ τιμωρούμενος*.

καὶ νῦν τοῦ ἀφανοῦς τε τούτου διὰ τὸ ἀτέκμαρτον δέος καὶ διὰ τὸ ἤδη **63. 1.** *φοβεροὺς* **παρόντας** *Ἀθηναίους, κατ' ἀμφότερα ἐκπλαγέντες, καὶ τὸ* **ἐλλιπὲς** *τῆς* **γνώμης** *ὧν ἕκαστός* **τις** *ᾠήθημεν πράξειν ταῖς κωλύμαις ταύταις ἱκανῶς νομίσαντες* **εἰρχθῆναι**, *τοὺς ἐφεστῶτας πολεμίους ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀποπέμπωμεν.*

παρόντας. For the use of the participle with the article after the preposition instead of the infinitive cp. note on i. 2. 5; and viii. 105 med. *διὰ τὸ κρατήσαντες ἀδεῶς ἄλλοι ἄλλην ναῦν διώκοντες.*

τὸ ἐλλιπές. Either 1) an accusativus pendens which may be regarded also as a remote accusative after *εἰρχθῆναι*, 'And as to what is wanting to the fulfilment of our purposes, considering that we have been prevented,' etc. Or 2)* *τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης* may be the subject of *εἰρχθῆναι*, the expression being pleonastic.

ὧν is governed by *τὸ ἐλλιπές* or by *τὸ ἐλλιπὲς τῆς γνώμης* taken together; it may also be construed with *εἰρχθῆναι* or with *κωλύμαις*. If 1)* we read *τίς* after *ἕκαστος*, *ὧν=τούτων ἅ*, 'of the things which we hoped severally to accomplish;' if 2) *τί*, *ὧν=τούτων ὧν*, lit. 'of which we hoped to accomplish some part,' or 'which we hoped in some degree to accomplish.' *ᾠήθημεν* answers to *τῆς γνώμης*.

οὐ περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαί τινα, ἀλλά, καὶ ἄγαν εἰ **τύχοιμεν**, *φίλοι μὲν ἂν* **63. 2.** *τοῖς ἐχθίστοις, διάφοροι δὲ οἷς οὐ χρὴ κατ' ἀνάγκην* **γιγνόμεθα.**

εἰ τύχοιμεν, scil. *τιμωρίας. φίλοι μὲν ἄν κ.τ.λ.*, supply *γιγνοίμεθα*. The stress is on the latter part of the sentence, which expresses the fact, and in which accordingly the indicative is substituted for the optative

63. 2. with ἄν. None of the MSS. read γιγνοίμεθα, but either γιγνόμεθα, which is better supported, or γιγνώμεθα.

64. 1. καὶ ἐγὼ μέν, ἅπερ καὶ ἀρχόμενος εἶπον, πόλιν τε μεγίστην παρεχόμενος καὶ ἐπιών τῳ μᾶλλον ἢ ἀμυνούμενος, ἀξιῶ προειδόμενος αὐτῶν ξυγχωρεῖν, καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐναντίους οὕτω κακῶς δρᾶν, ὥστε αὐτὸς τὰ πλείω βλάπτεσθαι, μηδὲ μωρίᾳ φιλονεικῶν ἡγεῖσθαι τῆς τε οἰκείας γνώμης ὁμοίως αὐτοκράτωρ εἶναι καὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄρχω τύχης, ἀλλ' ὅσον εἰκὸς ἠσσᾶσθαι. καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δικαιῶ ταὐτό μοι ποιῆσαι, ὑφ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων τοῦτο παθεῖν.

ἀξιῶ προειδόμενος: the MSS. read προειδομένους and αὐτούς, but προειδόμενος, αὐτός, seem to be required by the words οἰκείας γνώμης and αὐτοκράτωρ which follow, as well as by the next sentence καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους δικαιῶ ταὐτό μοι ποιῆσαι, and has been accepted by all the recent editors. Yet a writer so irregular as Thucydides may have made a speaker pass from his audience to himself, and back again to his audience, with whom for an instant he is identified.

προειδόμενος αὐτῶν, 'having an eye to these things,' i. e. the considerations put forward in the previous speech.

64. 3. οὐδὲν γὰρ αἰσχρὸν οἰκείους οἰκείων ἠσσᾶσθαι, ἢ Δωριέα τινὰ Δωριέως ἢ Χαλκιδέα τῶν ξυγγενῶν, τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας καὶ ξυνοίκους μιᾶς χώρας καὶ περιῤῥύτου, καὶ ὄνομα ἓν κεκλημένους Σικελιώτας.

τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν γείτονας ὄντας κ.τ.λ. These words cannot merely give a reason for the clause which has preceded (οἰκείους ... ξυγγενῶν): 'There is no disgrace in kindred giving way to kindred, Dorian to Dorian, Chalcidian to Chalcidian, while we all recognise that we have a common tie.' For why should the Dorian yield to the Dorian, etc., and not also to the Chalcidian? We must rather repeat οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ἀλλήλων ἠσσᾶσθαι with τὸ δὲ ξύμπαν. 'Not only may kindred give way to one another without disgrace, but every people of Sicily may give way to every other without disgrace, because they are neighbours,' etc. The opposition expressed by δέ is only an opposition of the part to the whole, i. e. of individual Greek races to the whole of the Greek inhabitants of Sicily. The words might have run ἠσσᾶσθαι μὲν οἰκείους οἰκείων, ἠσσᾶσθαι δὲ γείτονας γειτόνων. Classen's emendation, τέ, is unnecessary.

καὶ περιῤῥύτου, 'which is also an island,' an additional reason why the Sicilians should unite. **64.** 3.

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους Μεγαρῆς οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει πιεζόμενοι ὑπό τε Ἀθηναίων τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀεὶ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον δὶς ἐσβαλλόντων παστρατιᾷ ἐς τὴν χώραν κ.τ.λ. **66.** 1.

Cp. Arist. Acharn. (acted in Feb. 425, or about eighteen months before this time), 761 foll.,—

ΔΙ. οὐδὲ σκόροδα;

ΜΕ. ποῖα σκόροδ'; ὑμὲς τῶν ἀεὶ
ὅκκ' ἐσβάλητε, τὼς ἀρουραῖοι μύες,
πάσσακι τὰς ἄγλιθας ἐξορύσσετε.

The whole passage contains a comic account of the sufferings of the Megarians. Cp. also Peace, 246,—

ΠΟ. ὦ Μέγαρα, Μέγαρ', ὡς ἐπιτετρίψεσθ' αὐτίκα
ἅπαξάπαντα καταμεμυττωτευμένα.
ΤΡ. βαβαί, βαβαιάξ, ὡς μεγάλα καὶ δριμέα
τοῖσιν Μεγαρεῦσιν ἐνέβαλεν τὰ κλαύματα.

ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων φυγάδων. **66.** 1.

Probably the same who are mentioned in iii. 68 med. as having been permitted by the Thebans to live for a year in Plataea after the taking of the city in 427. At the expiration of the time, they appear to have seized Pegae, a Megarian port on the Corinthian gulf.

ἦν δὲ σταδίων μάλιστα ὀκτὼ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τὴν Νίσαιαν τὸν λιμένα αὐτῶν. **66.** 4.

Megara is here said to be eight stadia from Nisaea, but according to Strabo ix. 1. 4 the distance was not less than eighteen stadia. Cp. Remarks on the Geography of Thucydides in the Introduction.

ἀκάτιον ἀμφηρικὸν ὡς λῃσταί, ἐκ πολλοῦ τεθεραπευκότες τὴν ἄνοιξιν τῶν πυλῶν, εἰώθεσαν ἐπὶ ἁμάξῃ πείθοντες τὸν ἄρχοντα διὰ τῆς τάφρου κατακομίζειν τῆς νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ ἐκπλεῖν. **67.** 3.

The foss here spoken of, which was outside the wall, must have reached the sea at a point beyond the limits of the harbour (cp. infra, μὴ ὄντος ἐν τῷ λιμένι πλοίου φανεροῦ μηδένος) which was formed by the island of Minoa, then in possession of the Athenians. The

67. 3. whole proceeding was of course a trick, intended to secure the opening of the gates before dawn on a particular morning.

67. 4. *οὗ νῦν τὸ τροπαῖόν ἐστιν.*

It is interesting to remark that many years afterwards, when the soil on which it stood had passed into the hands of the defeated party (cp. iv. 109 init.), this trophy still remained standing. Cp. v. 10 med. where Thucydides speaks of the trophy on the hill outside Amphipolis as in existence at the time when he wrote: and viii. 24 init.

69. 2. *ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον, καὶ διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας, ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἑκατέρωθεν ἐς θάλασσαν τῆς Νισαίας τάφρον τε καὶ τείχη διελομένη ἡ στρατιά, ἔκ τε τοῦ προαστείου λίθοις καὶ πλίνθοις χρώμενοι, καὶ κόπτοντες τὰ δένδρα καὶ ὕλην ἀπεσταύρουν εἴ πῃ δέοιτό τι.*

διοικοδομήσαντες. The Athenians first of all block up the double wall which connected Nisaea with Megara; they then proceed with their line of circumvallation, and finally, c. 69 fin., break off entirely the connection of Nisaea with Megara.

τοῦ τείχους. The double wall (cp. *τὰ μακρὰ τείχη*, iv. 66 fin.) is described as a single one, cp. ii. 13 fin. *τὸ μεταξὺ τοῦ τε μακροῦ καὶ τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ.*

The construction of the sentence is defective. The main verb was intended to be *περιετείχιζον* or some similar word, which must be supplied in sense with *ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἑκατέρωθεν . . . διελομένη ἡ στρατιά*, and also with *ἔκ τε τοῦ . . . χρώμενοι.* But this has been omitted, and *ἀπεσταύρουν*, which is applicable only to *καὶ κόπτοντες κ.τ.λ.*, concludes the sentence, as if some other finite verb had preceded. *δέοιτο=δέοι.* Cp. Soph. O. C. 570,—

ὥστε βραχέα μοι δεῖσθαι φράσαι:

Dem. De Cor. (xviii.) 186, *οὔτ' εἰσήγετο ὃν ἐδεῖτ' αὐτῷ*: and iv. 130 med. *καί τινος αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀντειπόντος κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικόν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν, οὐδὲ δέοιτο πολεμεῖν κ.τ.λ.*, where however *δέοιτο* may='he did not wish to fight.'

70. 2. *ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο (ἔτυχε γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Τριποδίσκον ἐξελθών), ἀπολέξας τριακοσίους τοῦ στρατοῦ, πρὶν ἔκπυστος γενέσθαι, προσῆλθε τῇ τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλει λαθὼν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὄντας περὶ τὴν θάλασσαν.*

ὡς δὲ ἐπύθετο, scil. ἁλῶναι τὴν Νισαίαν. 70. 2.

ἐξελθών, i. e. having come out of the hills. Cp. supra § 1, ἔστι δὲ κώμη . . . ὑπὸ τῷ ὄρει τῇ Γερανείᾳ.

γάρ, 1)* 'for he did not arrive at Tripodiscus until night,' i. e. the night after Nisaea was taken, and therefore could not hear sooner. Or 2) γάρ may explain what follows, 'he was enabled, with a part of his army, to reach the town of Megara undiscovered, for he had arrived at Tripodiscus after dark.'

Brasidas made a descent from the pass on one side of Megara, while the Athenians were on the other side by the sea.

βουλόμενος μὲν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἅμα εἰ δύναιτο ἔργῳ τῆς Νισαίας πειρᾶσαι, 70. 2.
τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἐσελθὼν βεβαιώσασθαι.

The meaning of the favourite opposition is here somewhat obscure. 'He professed that he wanted, and really meant if he could, to attempt the recovery of Nisaea, but his first object was to make sure of Megara,' i. e. to counteract the efforts of the popular party.

τῷ λόγῳ is to be taken with βουλόμενος, ἔργῳ with πειρᾶσαι.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἦλθεν ὁ ἄγγελος, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐῤῥώσθησαν, καὶ ἀποστεί- 72. 1.
λαντες διακοσίους καὶ δισχιλίους ὁπλίτας καὶ ἱππέας ἑξακοσίους τοῖς πλείοσιν
ἀπῆλθον πάλιν.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καί. 'But when there came also a request from outside.'

πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐῤῥώσθησαν . . . τοῖς πλείοσιν ἀπῆλθον πάλιν. The connection seems at first sight strange. But the meaning is that when the Boeotians heard of the intended march of Brasidas they thought that only a portion of their own troops would be needed.

οὐ μέντοι ἔν γε τῷ παντὶ ἔργῳ βεβαίως οὐδέτεροι τελευτήσαντες 72. 4.
ἀπεκρίθησαν.

'Still (μέντοι, although the Athenians succeeded in gaining an isolated advantage), in the whole action neither party when they separated ended with a decided superiority.'

καλῶς δὲ ἐνόμιζον σφίσιν ἀμφότερα ἔχειν, ἅμα μὲν τὸ μὴ ἐπιχειρεῖν 73. 2.
προτέρους μηδὲ μάχης καὶ κινδύνου ἑκόντας ἄρξαι, ἐπειδή γε ἐν φανερῷ

73. 2. ἔδειξαν ἕτοιμοι ὄντες ἀμύνεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀκονιτὶ τὴν νίκην δικαίως ἂν τίθεσθαι.

ἐπειδή γε κ.τ.λ. explains why the Peloponnesians congratulated themselves that they were not taking the offensive,—they had clearly shown themselves ready to fight if attacked, and therefore could not be charged with cowardice: otherwise the refusal to begin would have been construed into defeat.

τίθεσθαι either 1) is in the same construction with *ἐπιχειρεῖν* and included under *τό*, or 2) follows *ἐνόμιζον*.

73. 4. *οἱ γὰρ Μεγαρῆς, ὡς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐτάξαντο μὲν παρὰ τὰ μακρὰ τείχη ἐξελθόντες, ἡσύχαζον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ ἐπιόντων, λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατηγοὶ μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ πλείω αὐτοῖς προεκεχωρήκει, ἄρξασι μάχης πρὸς πλείονας αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν νικήσαντας Μέγαρα ἢ σφαλέντας τῷ βελτίστῳ τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ βλαφθῆναι, τοῖς δὲ ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἕκαστον κινδυνεύειν εἰκότως ἐθέλειν τολμᾶν* κ.τ.λ.

οἱ γὰρ Μεγαρῆς is resumed after many interruptions in *οἱ τῶν φευγόντων φίλοι Μεγαρῆς* which follows several lines below.

μὴ ἐπιόντων, scil. the Peloponnesians.

In the last clause the emphasis is on *ξυμπάσης τῆς δυνάμεως*. *τοῖς δέ* is a dative of relation. 'But in the enemy's case, that the several contingents of their whole force, which were also the several parts of the army now in the field (*τῶν παρόντων*), should run the risk, was a thing which they would naturally be willing to venture.' A subject is supplied with *ἐθέλειν* from *τοῖς δέ*: the clause *ξυμπάσης . . . κινδυνεύειν* being dependent on *τολμᾶν*.

The meaning is, that whereas the main body of the Athenian army consisted of the best of their own heavy-armed (*τὸ βέλτιστον τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ*), the Peloponnesian army was formed of many parts, each part being a fraction of the whole force of the confederacy. The loss to the Peloponnesians would therefore be less from two points of view; (*a*) relatively to the confederacy; the contingents were only a part of its whole force, present and absent; (*b*) relatively to the army; each contingent was only a part of the troops now in the field; whereas the Athenian forces were (*a*) the flower of their whole army, *b*) drawn from one city. It is assumed that the

loss would fall more heavily on one part of the army present than another. If the Boeotians suffered it mattered little to the Corinthians or Sicyonians. But in any case the loss which might be incurred would fall heavily on the Athenians. 73. 4.

Classen's emendation, *τῶν παρόντων μέρος ἑκάστων*, which he translates, 'A portion only of the forces of the several confederates represented in the field,' is ingenious, but unnecessary.

οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει Μεγαρεῖς κ.τ.λ. 74. 2.

The account of the overthrow of the Megarian democracy given by Aristotle is inconsistent with this narrative. See Polit. iv. 15. 15, v. 3. 5, 5. 4, where he speaks of the democracy being overthrown after a battle with the oligarchs, and by reason of the anarchy and disorder which had previously prevailed. It is not however certain that this is the occasion referred to by him, since long before, in the time of Theognis, faction had been in extremes at Megara.

οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐγένοντο καὶ ἐξέτασιν ὅπλων ἐποιήσαντο, διαστήσαντες τοὺς λόχους ἐξελέξαντο τῶν τε ἐχθρῶν, καὶ οἳ ἐδόκουν μάλιστα ξυμπρᾶξαι τὰ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἄνδρας ὡς ἑκατόν. 74. 3.

Cp. the narrative of Hippias, vi. 58. Under pretence of inspecting the arms they separated the troops from their arms, and the different divisions from one another.

ἐκ στάσεως μετάστασις. 74. 4.

Cp. ii. 62 fin. *μὴ φρονήματι μόνον ἀλλὰ καταφρονήματι*: iii. 39 init. *ἐπανέστησαν μᾶλλον ἢ ἀπέστησαν.*

The later internal history of Megara is uncertain. The long walls were retaken and destroyed by the Megarians in the course of the ensuing winter, iv. 109 init., and Nisaea is said by Diodorus to have been recovered by them in the year 409 (xiii. 65). Isocrates, De Pace (viii) 143, 144, mentions the peace and prosperity which Megara enjoyed in his time.

ὁρμήσας ἐς τὸν Κάληκα ποταμὸν ἀπόλλυσι τὰς ναῦς, ὕδατος ἄνωθεν γενομένου καὶ κατελθόντος αἰφνιδίου τοῦ ῥεύματος. 75. 2.

ὕδατος ἄνωθεν γενομένου. Either 1) 'from the sky,' in which case Thucydides seems to be describing something of the nature of a

75. 2. waterspout, or 2)* as Arnold supposes, rain fell in the upper country, and coming down from the mountains swelled the stream with such rapidity as to swamp or dash in pieces vessels drawn up at the mouth.

Arnold is however wrong in maintaining that *ἄνωθεν* cannot mean 'coelitus;' whether such a use is to be found in early Greek or not, it is evidently contained in the original idea of the word.

77. 2. *καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης ἀφικόμενος Οἰνιάδας δὲ ὑπό τε Ἀκαρνάνων πάντων κατηναγκασμένους καταλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ξυμμαχίαν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναστήσας τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν τὸ ἐκείνῃ πᾶν κ.τ.λ.*

Oeniadae had hitherto been the only town in Acarnania which had favoured the Lacedaemonians and successfully resisted the Athenians (ii. 102 init.) *καὶ αὐτός* answers to *ὑπό τε Ἀκαρνάνων*, and opposes the single activity of Demosthenes to the combined efforts of the Acarnanians. *κατηναγκασμένους ἐς* 'coerced into.'

78. 2. *τὴν γὰρ Θεσσαλίαν ἄλλως τε οὐκ εὔπορον ἦν διιέναι ἄνευ ἀγωγοῦ, καὶ μετὰ ὅπλων γε δὴ καὶ τοῖς πᾶσί γε ὁμοίως Ἕλλησιν ὕποπτον καθεστήκει τὴν τῶν πέλας μὴ πείσαντας διιέναι.*

These words contain either two or three distinct statements. Either 1)* 'under any circumstances it would have been no easy matter to cross Thessaly without an escort, indeed for an armed force to go at all through a neighbour's country without his consent was a suspicious proceeding in the eyes of all Hellenes.' It may be objected to this interpretation, *a*) that *γέ* is twice repeated, and *b*) that the words *μετὰ ὅπλων γε δή* (notwithstanding the position of *τὴν γὰρ Θεσσαλίαν* before *ἄλλως τε*) apply generally, and not to Thessaly only. But these objections are not serious.

Greater fault may be found with 2). 'It was not easy to pass through Thessaly without an escort, certainly not with an armed force (putting a colon after *γέ δή*); and to go through a neighbour's country without his consent was a suspicious proceeding,' etc. *a*) The clause *καὶ τοῖς πᾶσί γε . . . διιέναι*, without *μετὰ ὅπλων*, has a feeble sense, and can hardly have been true; *b*) *γέ δή* is awkward at the end of a separate clause.

ἐπεὶ καὶ τόδε ἔπραξαν φοβούμενοι αὐτῶν τὴν νεότητα καὶ τὸ πλῆθος. **80. 3.**

That this atrocity should have been committed at the very time when the Spartans were sending out a body of Helots on a foreign expedition is improbable in itself, and is contradicted by the words below, *καὶ τότε προθύμως τῷ Βρασίδᾳ αὐτῶν ξυνέπεμψαν ἑπτακοσίους ὁπλίτας*, which clearly imply that Thucydides is led by association to speak of what had occurred on some former occasion. Shortly after the expedition of Brasidas the Spartans changed their policy towards the Helots, and emancipated those of them who had served with him (v. 34 init.). They had previously given promises of emancipation which were believed, and therefore probably fulfilled, to Helots conveying food into Sphacteria (iv. 26 med.). If, as Bishop Thirlwall assumes, and Mr. Grote admits (part II. ch. liii. init.) the massacre here mentioned did not take place at this particular time, it is useless to speculate about any other time at which it may possibly have taken place.

προεῖπον αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀξιοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις γεγενῆσθαι σφίσιν ἄριστοι, κρίνεσθαι, ὡς ἐλευθερώσοντες. **80. 3.**

κρίνεσθαι, probably passive. Cp. *προκρίναντες* below.

καὶ οὐδεὶς ἤισθετο ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἕκαστος διεφθάρη. **80. 4.**

The manner in which the greatest crime in Greek history was perpetrated, though unknown to Thucydides and to Plutarch, was known to Diodorus, or rather imagined by him, xii. 67; he supposes that the two thousand Helots were distributed among the chief Spartans and secretly put to death by them: *ἀπογραψαμένων δὲ δισχιλίων, τούτους μὲν προσέταξαν τοῖς κρατίστοις ἀποκτεῖναι κατ' οἶκον ἑκάστου.*

ὥστε τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις γίγνεσθαι ξυμβαίνειν τε βουλομένοις, ὅπερ ἐποίησαν, ἀνταπόδοσιν καὶ ἀποδοχὴν χωρίων, καὶ τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λώφησιν. **81. 2.**

ξυμβαίνειν τε βουλομένοις answers to *καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κ.τ.λ.*, the latter words being equivalent to *καὶ πολεμοῦσι, τοῦ πολέμου ἀπὸ τῆς Πελοποννήσου λώφησιν*. 'When they wanted to come to terms they had places to offer in exchange, and as long as they continued the war it did not press so heavily upon Peloponnesus.'

81. 3. *πρῶτος γὰρ ἐξελθὼν καὶ δόξας εἶναι κατὰ πάντα ἀγαθὸς ἐλπίδα ἐγκατέλιπε βέβαιον ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοί εἰσι.*

πρῶτος, 1)* the first of a series of Lacedaemonian generals who, in accordance with a new policy, were regularly sent to the dependencies of Athens either that they might raise revolt or that they might govern a town already revolted (cp. iv. 132 fin.). *πρῶτος* contrasts Brasidas, not with Pausanias, Salaethus, etc., but with Astyochus, and with the Harmosts who afterwards became so notorious.

Or 2) *πρῶτος* may be qualified by *καὶ δόξας* κ.τ.λ. He was the first, not merely who went out, but who proved himself to be a good man.

For instances of the misconduct of Spartans abroad, see note on English text, i. 77 fin.

83. 4. *ἅμα δέ τι καὶ εἰρήκεσαν τοιοῦτον οἱ παρὰ τοῦ Περδίκκου ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι, ὡς πολλὰ αὐτοῖς τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν χωρίων ξύμμαχα ποιήσοι, ὥστε ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου κοινῇ μᾶλλον ὁ Βρασίδας τὰ τοῦ Ἀρριβαίου ἠξίου πράσσειν.*

Perdiccas had promised to make his neighbours allies of the Lacedaemonians. This gave Brasidas a right to interfere. 'For,' he would argue, 'you are not making an ally but an enemy of Arrhibaeus.'

κοινῇ, either 1)* jointly, or 2) impartially.

84. 2. *πεισθὲν τὸ πλῆθος ὑπὸ τοῦ Βρασίδου δέξασθαί τε αὐτὸν μόνον καὶ ἀκούσαντας βουλεύσασθαι, δέχεται.*

The accusative appears to be used because the subject is partly changed, 'The popular party being persuaded by Brasidas to receive him singly, and then that they (i.e. both parties) should hear him first and decide afterwards.' Cp. Lobeck, Phrynichus, p. 750.

85. 4. *ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἰόμενοί τε παρὰ ξυμμάχους καὶ πρὶν ἔργῳ ἀφικέσθαι τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ ἥξειν καὶ βουλομένοις ἔσεσθαι, κίνδυνόν τε τοσόνδε ἀνερρίψαμεν, διὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν ἰόντες, καὶ πᾶν τὸ πρόθυμον παρεχόμενοι.*

τέ after *οἰόμενοι* answers to *καί* before *βουλομένοις*, 'thinking that we were coming to allies... and that you would be delighted to receive us.'

τῇ γοῦν γνώμῃ, scil. *ὄντας ὑμᾶς (ξυμμάχους).* **85. 4.**

τέ after *κίνδυνον* 1)* corresponds to *καί* before *παρεχόμενοι*, but the attraction of *ἰόντες* has given the latter part of the sentence a participial form; *παρεχόμενοι* instead of *παρεχόμεθα* or *παρειχόμεθα*.

Or 2) *τέ*, though really belonging to *διὰ τῆς ἀλλοτρίας ἰόντες*, may be put by anticipation with the first word of the sentence, like *τέ* after *οἰόμενοι* just above.

For *τέ* see note on i. 9. 3 §§ 1. 5.

ἀνερρίψαμεν is clearly the true reading (cp. *κίνδυνον ἀναρρίπτειν*, iv. 95 init., vi. 13 med.), though several MSS. have *ἀπερρίψαμεν*, nullo sensu.

καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ἕξω πιστὴν ἀποδεικνύναι, ἀλλ' ἢ ἄδικον τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐπιφέρειν, ἢ ἀσθενὴς καὶ ἀδύνατος τιμωρῆσαι τὰ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ἣν ἐπίωσιν, ἀφῖχθαι. **85. 6.**

With the infinitive *ἐπιφέρειν* 1) we may supply *αἰτίαν ἕξω* in a different sense, 'I shall be charged with.' Not only however has *αἰτίαν ἕξω* to be supplied in a different sense, but the words have to be connected in a new manner; for *αἰτίαν* in the preceding clause is the accusative after *ἀποδεικνύναι*, not after *ἕξω*. *ἐπιφέρειν* is therefore more probably to be taken 2)* in apposition with or as an explanation of *τὴν αἰτίαν*, 'I shall be able to give no reason for my rejection, but shall have to confess that the liberty which I offer is false.' Lit. 'I shall have no reason to give except the reason that.'

καίτοι στρατιᾷ γε τῇδ', ἣν νῦν ἐγὼ ἔχω, ἐπὶ Νίσαιαν ἐμοῦ βοηθήσαντος, οὐκ ἠθέλησαν Ἀθηναῖοι πλέονες ὄντες προσμῖξαι· ὥστε οὐκ εἰκὸς νῆΐτῃ γε αὐτοὺς τῷ ἐν Νισαίᾳ στρατῷ ἴσον πλῆθος ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀποστεῖλαι. **85. 7.**

After *νῆΐτῃ* supply *στρατῷ* from *τῷ ἐν τῇ Νισαίᾳ στρατῷ*. The reading found in the Venetian MS., which places *στρατῷ* after *νῆΐτῃ γε* as well as after *Νισαίᾳ*, although probably a gloss, indicates the true meaning of the text. 'With a force superior to mine they did not attack me at Nisaea. Therefore with a force necessarily inferior to that which they had at Nisaea, because brought hither by sea, they certainly will not do so now.' The conclusion implied in *ὥστε* is imperfectly expressed, for we should expect 'they will

85. 7. not attack you here,' instead of which Thucydides only says, 'they will not send an equal force hither.'

The whole statement is manifestly untrue; for *a*) the numbers under the command of Brasidas at Nisaea were more than equal to those of the Athenians, cp. iv. 73 med. *λογιζόμενοι καὶ οἱ ἐκείνων στρατηγοὶ* (i. e. the Athenian generals) *μὴ ἀντίπαλον εἶναι σφίσι τὸν κίνδυνον ... ἄρξασι μάχης πρὸς πλείονας αὐτῶν ἢ λαβεῖν νικήσαντας Μέγαρα κ.τ.λ.*, and *b*) it was not only the Lacedaemonian contingent now with Brasidas which the Athenians feared to encounter, but the selected contingents of the allies: iv. 70 med. *καὶ αὐτὸς ἔχων ἦλθεν ἑπτακοσίους μὲν καὶ δισχιλίους Κορινθίων ὁπλίτας, Φλιασίων δὲ τετρακοσίους, Σικυωνίων δὲ ἑξακοσίους καὶ τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, ὅσοι ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν.*

Cp. iv. 108 med. *τοῦ Βρασίδου ἐφολκὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ ὄντα λέγοντος, ὡς αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Νίσαιαν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μόνῃ στρατιᾷ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ξυμβαλεῖν.*

86. 1. *ὅρκοις τε Λακεδαιμονίων καταλαβὼν τὰ τέλη τοῖς μεγίστοις ἢ μὴν οὓς ἂν ἔγωγε προσαγάγωμαι ξυμμάχους ἔσεσθαι αὐτονόμους.*

Not because Brasidas himself distrusted the Lacedaemonian magistrates (as Grote supposes, part II. ch. lii. fin.), but as a security to which he could appeal when addressing the allies.

86. 2. *οὐκοῦν ἀξιῶ οὔτ' αὐτὸς ὑποπτεύεσθαι, πίστεις γε διδοὺς τὰς μεγίστας, οὔτε τιμωρὸς ἀδύνατος νομισθῆναι.*

αὐτός. Brasidas opposes one aspect of himself, i.e. his personal honesty, to another aspect not equally personal, his ability to help the Acanthians. 'My personal character ought not to be suspected by you, nor my power to assist you undervalued.' Cp. *αὐτός*, 86. 1.

86. 4. *οὐ γὰρ ξυστασιάσων ἥκω, οὐδὲ ἀσαφῆ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν νομίζω ἐπιφέρειν, εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρεὶς τὸ πλέον τοῖς ὀλίγοις ἢ τὸ ἔλασσον τοῖς πᾶσι δουλώσαιμι.*

εἰ τὸ πάτριον παρείς κ.τ.λ. is an explanation of *ἀσαφῆ*, 'as I should do, if.' Cp. notes on i. 38. 4; 40. 2; iii. 11. 3. It has been argued that Brasidas could not have said this, because his own country was an oligarchy. In iv. 126 init. he himself boasts to the Peloponnesian soldiers that they belong to a country in which

the Few rule over the Many. But Brasidas, as Thucydides has told us, was something of a rhetorician (iv. 108 med., cp. 70 fin., 84 fin.) and need not be expected to speak the precise truth at all times, or to use the same language under different circumstances. 86. 4.

καὶ ἡμῖν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐκ ἂν ἀντὶ πόνων χάρις καθίσταιτο, ἀντὶ δὲ τίμης καὶ δόξης αἰτία μᾶλλον· οἷς τε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐγκλήμασι καταπολεμοῦμεν, αὐτοὶ ἂν φαινοίμεθα ἐχθίονα· ἢ ὁ μὴ ὑποδείξας ἀρετὴν κατακτώμενοι. 86. 5.

We may note the use of *ἀντί* in the parallel clauses, meaning *a*) in return for; *b*) instead of.

1) *οἷς*, scil. *ταῦτα οἷς*. *ἐχθίονα*, scil. *ταῦτα τὰ ἐγκλήματα*, lit. 'in a more hateful form.' Or 2)* more simply, the clause *οἷς καταπολεμοῦμεν* (=*ταῦτα οἷς καταπολεμοῦμεν*) represents a nominativus pendens, 'as to the charges with which,' and *ἐχθίονα*='charges more hateful.'

καὶ οὐκ ἂν μείζω πρὸς τοῖς ὅρκοις βεβαίωσιν λάβοιτε ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα ἐκ τῶν λόγων ἀναθρούμενα δόκησιν ἀναγκαίαν παρέχεται ὡς καὶ ξυμφέρει ὁμοίως ὡς εἶπον. 87. 1.

οἷς, scil. *ἢ τούτων οἷς*, 'than they give whose actions examined from the point of view of their words, (i. e. compared with their words,) lead necessarily to the inference that their interests,' or 'their hearers' interests, are really (*καί*) as they say.'

προσεῖναι δέ τί μοι καὶ κατὰ δύο ἀνάγκας τὸ εὔλογον, τῶν μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων, ὅπως μὴ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὔνῳ, εἰ μὴ προσαχθήσεσθε, τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασι φερομένοις παρ' Ἀθηναίους βλάπτωνται, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες ἵνα μὴ κωλύωνται ὑφ' ὑμῶν δουλείας ἀπαλλαγῆναι. 87. 3.

τί, either 1) adverbial, like *πού*, 'methinks;' or 2) agreeing with *τὸ εὔλογον*, 'that I do not act altogether without reason.' In either case *τί* is a litotes.

τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων κ.τ.λ.=*μίαν μέν, ὅπως μὴ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι βλάπτωνται*. *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* is governed by *ἀνάγκην*, 'a necessity imposed by the interests of the Lacedaemonians.' *τοῖς ἀπὸ ὑμῶν χρήμασιν*, *τῷ ὑμετέρῳ εὔνῳ*, are both dependent on *βλάπτωνται*, the first being the

87. 3. dative of the nearer instrument or cause, the second of the more remote.

87. 4. *οὐ γὰρ δὴ εἰκότως γ' ἂν τάδε πράσσοιμεν.*
τάδε=τὸ δηοῦντας τὴν γῆν πειρᾶσθαι βιάζεσθαι.

87. 6. *πρὸς ταῦτα βουλεύεσθε εὖ, καὶ ἀγωνίσασθε τοῖς τε Ἕλλησιν ἄρξαι πρῶτοι ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἀΐδιον δόξαν καταθέσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ τά τε ἴδια μὴ βλαφθῆναι καὶ ξυμπάσῃ τῇ πόλει τὸ κάλλιστον ὄνομα περιθεῖναι.*

τοῖς τε Ἕλλησιν . . . καὶ αὐτοί. The freedom of the Hellenes generally, and the glory of sharing in a great Hellenic struggle, is contrasted with the individual interest of the Acanthians and the fair name of their whole state. The contrast however is somewhat imperfect. It is difficult to see precisely the distinction between *ἀΐδιον δόξαν καταθέσθαι* and *κάλλιστον ὄνομα περιθεῖναι*. But the first clause seems to refer to the general fame of the Acanthians in Hellas, the second to their own consciousness of it (*καὶ αὐτοί*). Or *τὸ κάλλιστον ὄνομα* may be taken in a more precise sense, 'a name of honour,'='liberty.' Cp. vii. 68 med. (*προσέθεσαν ἄν*) *πόλει τῇ πάσῃ τὴν αἰσχίστην ἐπίκλησιν*, scil. *δούλειαν*.

There seems to be a play of sound on *ἀΐδιον* and *ἰδία*: cp. iv. 20. init. *ἐν ᾧ ἀνάγκη ἀΐδιον ὑμῖν ἔχθραν πρὸς τῇ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίαν ἔχειν*: iv. 63 med. *καὶ αὐτοὶ μάλιστα μὲν ἐς ἀΐδιον ξυμβῶμεν, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνον ὡς πλεῖστον σπεισάμενοι τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς ἐς αὖθις ἀναβαλώμεθα.*

90. 2. *τάφρον μὲν κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸν νεὼν ἔσκαπτον, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ὀρύγματος ἀνέβαλλον ἀντὶ τείχους τὸν χοῦν, καὶ σταυροὺς παρακαταπηγνύντες, ἄμπελον κόπτοντες τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐσέβαλλον, καὶ λίθους ἅμα καὶ πλίνθον, ἐκ τῶν οἰκοπέδων τῶν ἐγγὺς καθαιροῦντες, καὶ παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐμετεώριζον τὸ ἔρυμα.*

The full construction would be *ἄμπελον κόπτοντες τὴν περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐσέβαλλον (αὐτήν), καὶ λίθους ἅμα καὶ πλίνθον (ἐσέβαλλον), ἐκ τῶν οἰκοπέδων τῶν ἐγγὺς καθαιροῦντες (αὐτά)*.

ἐκ τῶν οἰκοπέδων, either 1) from the substructures of the houses which, like the cloisters, had fallen down; or 2)* from the houses.

ἔσκαπτον, ἀνέβαλλον κ.τ.λ. For the sake of greater liveliness the imperfect is used throughout the description instead of the aorist.

καὶ εἰσὶ δήπου πολέμιοι, ἐν ᾧ τε ἂν χωρίῳ καταληφθῶσι, καὶ ὅθεν ἐπελ- 92. 1.
θόντες πολέμια ἔδρασαν.

There might be a doubt about the land in which they were caught; there was none about their hostile actions. Hence the subjunctive followed by the indicative. Cp. *ἐπίῃ* and *ἐπέρχεται* below.

νυνὶ δ', εἴ τῳ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον ἔδοξεν εἶναι, μεταγνώτω. 92. 2.

'But now, as matters stand' (alluding to the unwillingness of the other Boeotarchs to fight beyond the borders of Boeotia), 'whoever *does* (*καί*) think it safer not to fight, let him change his mind.' *νυνὶ δέ* answers to *χρῆν μέν* at the beginning of the chapter.

πρός τε γὰρ τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας πᾶσι τὸ ἀντίπαλον καὶ ἐλεύθερον καθί- 92. 4.
σταται, καὶ πρὸς τούτους γε δή, οἳ καὶ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγὺς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄπωθεν
πειρῶνται δουλοῦσθαι, πῶς οὐ χρή κ.τ.λ.

'For, as against neighbours always, where antagonism is, there is liberty'; or 'where men are ready to fight they are also free.'

μὴ τοὺς ἐγγύς, 'you must not say their neighbours only,' answering to *τοὺς ἀστυγείτονας*. *μὴ*=*μὴ ὅτι*.

παράδειγμα δὲ ἔχομεν τούς τε ἀντιπέρας Εὐβοέας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος 92. 4.
τὸ πολύ, ὡς αὐτοῖς διάκειται.

αὐτοῖς is a dative of relation, 'To what a condition they have reduced Euboea and the greater part of Hellas.'

τῷ δὲ Ἱπποκράτει, ὄντι περὶ τὸ Δήλιον, ὡς αὐτῷ ἠγγέλθη ὅτι Βοιωτοὶ 93. 2.
ἐπέρχονται πέμπει κ.τ.λ.

τῷ δὲ Ἱπποκράτει was intended to follow *ἠγγέλθη*, but the construction is changed, *αὐτῷ* being inserted as if *ὁ δὲ Ἱπποκράτης* had preceded.

εἶχον δὲ δεξιὸν μὲν κέρας Θηβαῖοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς. 93. 4.

οἱ ξύμμοροι αὐτοῖς=*οἱ ξυνετέλουν ἐς αὐτούς*, cp. supra, c. 76 med. Χαιρώνειαν δέ, ἢ ἐς Ὀρχομενὸν ... ξυντελεῖ, and for the *ξύμμοροι* of Thebes, Strabo ix. 2. 24, τοὺς Παρασωπίους ... ἅπαντας ὑπὸ Θηβαίοις ὄντας· ... ἐν δὲ τῇ Θηβαίων εἰσὶ καὶ αἱ Θεράπναι, καὶ ὁ Τευμησσός; § 31, Glisas; § 34, Acraephion.

95. 2. *παραστῇ δὲ μηδενὶ ὑμῶν ὡς ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ οὐ προσῆκον τοσόνδε κίνδυνον ἀναῤῥιπτοῦμεν. ἐν γὰρ τῇ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται.*

Either general assumes that the country in which he is fighting belongs to the enemy. Compare 91, 92 init., 99.

96. 3. *ὑποχωρησάντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν παρατεταγμένων κ.τ.λ.*

αὐτοῖς is the so-called 'dativus ethicus,' expressing the effect on the mind. Cp. note on iii. 98. 1. 'For when they saw the troops ranged at their side giving way.'

96. 6. The presence of Socrates at the battle of Delium, where 'he kept his head better than the soldier Laches, and showed by his bearing that he was not a person to be trifled with,' is described at length in the Symposium of Plato, 220 D—221 C, and alluded to Apol. 28 E, Laches, 181 B.

98. 1. *τοσαῦτα τοῦ κήρυκος εἰπόντος, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι πέμψαντες παρὰ τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς ἑαυτῶν κήρυκα τοῦ μὲν ἱεροῦ οὔτε ἀδικῆσαι ἔφασαν οὐδέν, οὔτε τοῦ λοιποῦ ἑκόντες βλάψειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσελθεῖν ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας μᾶλλον σφᾶς ἀμύνωνται.*

οὔτε ἀδικῆσαι . . . βλάψειν. Though *ἑκὼν βλάπτειν* is said to be equivalent to *ἀδικεῖν* (Nic. Eth. v. 9, 4), this is not the case here, for *ἑκόντες* is really separated from *βλάψειν*. Not 'they would not injure,' but 'they would not, if they could help, do any harm.' In a promise the expression *ἑκὼν βλάπτειν* is far more forcible than the repetition of *ἀδικήσειν* would be.

τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σφᾶς. 1) This is a piece of sophistry intended to answer the unusual demand of the Thebans. From the Athenian point of view the Thebans were now the aggressors, either because they had crossed the frontier, or because they were attacking Delium, which the Athenians maintained to be theirs by right of conquest. Of course this was no real excuse for the occupation of Delium, which took place before either of these pretended acts of aggression.

Or 2) the words *τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας σφᾶς* may be taken in a more general sense. They wanted to defend themselves against those who were doing them a wrong by joining in the Lacedaemonian invasions of Attica.

In either case μᾶλλον is connected with ἐσελθεῖν, not with ἀδι- 98. 1.
κοῦντας.

τὸν δὲ νόμον τοῖς Ἕλλησιν εἶναι, ὧν ἂν ᾖ τὸ κράτος τῆς γῆς ἑκάστης 98. 2.
ἥν τε πλέονος ἥν τε βραχυτέρας, τούτων καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι, τρόποις
θεραπευόμενα οἷς ἂν πρὸς τοῖς εἰωθόσι καὶ δύνωνται.

The last words are a limitation on τοῖς εἰωθόσι, 'which besides being customary were possible,' or 'which were customary whenever possible.'

καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπὶ πλέον δυνηθῆναι τῆς ἐκείνων κρατῆσαι, τοῦτ' ἂν ἔχειν. 98. 4.

δυνηθῆναι in orat. obliq. = εἰ ἐδυνήθησαν. τοῦτο, scil. 'the ownership of the Boeotian temples.'

σαφῶς τε ἐκέλευον σφίσιν εἰπεῖν μὴ 'ἀπιοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς Βοιωτῶν γῆς,' (οὐ 98. 8.
γὰρ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἔτι εἶναι, ἐν ᾗ δὲ δορὶ ἐκτήσαντο,) ἀλλὰ 'κατὰ τὰ πάτρια'
τοὺς νεκροὺς 'σπένδουσιν' ἀναιρεῖσθαι.

σαφῶς εἰπεῖν refers to the second condition, not to the first. σπένδουσιν appears to be used here, and here only in classical Greek, in the sense of σπενδομένοις.

οἱ δὲ Βοιωτοὶ ἀπεκρίναντο, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ εἰσίν, ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς 99.
ἑαυτῶν ἀποφέρεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων, αὐτοὺς γιγνώσκειν τὸ
ποιητέον, νομίζοντες τὴν μὲν Ὠρωπίαν, ἐν ᾗ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐν μεθορίοις τῆς
μάχης γενομένης κεῖσθαι ξυνέβη, Ἀθηναίων κατὰ τὸ ὑπήκοον εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ
ἂν αὐτοὺς βίᾳ σφῶν κρατῆσαι αὐτῶν· οὐδ' αὖ ἐσπένδοντο δῆθεν ὑπὲρ τῆς
ἐκείνων· τὸ δὲ 'ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν' εὐπρεπὲς εἶναι ἀποκρίνασθαι 'ἀπιόντας,
καὶ ἀπολαβεῖν ἃ ἀπαιτοῦσιν.'

At first the Boeotians argue that they are not bound to give up the dead bodies, unless the Athenians previously give up the temple which they have profaned. They now shift their ground, and offer the following dilemma. 'If Oropia is yours, take the bodies; if it is ours, first leave what is not your own,' i. e. leave Oropia and the temple. That the Thebans were in the wrong, according to Hellenic international law, is shown by their giving up the bodies, without insisting on the Athenians quitting Oropia (iv. 101 init.), when they had recovered the temple.

The clause καὶ οὐκ ἂν αὐτούς is really opposed to what has

99. preceded, but is expressed as though coordinate with it. The Boeotians knew that Oropia was *de facto* subject to the Athenians, and they also knew that the Athenians could not bury the dead bodies, although lying in their own country, without the permission of the Boeotians. Their answer was a sophism, which in effect would deny the right of burial to the conquerors of a new territory, if for any reason they could not obtain possession of their dead, unless they first renounced their conquest. Both clauses, *νομίζοντες . . . εἶναι*, and *καὶ οὐκ ἂν . . . ἐκείνων*, give a reason for the second part of the answer, *εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων, αὐτοὺς γιγνώσκειν τὸ ποιητέον*, 'they should themselves decide what was to be done;' while the first part, *εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ εἰσίν, ἀπιόντας ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἀποφέρεσθαι τὰ σφέτερα*, is justified in the words *τὸ δὲ Ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν . . . ἃ ἀπαιτοῦσιν*.

δῆθεν is to be taken either 1)* with *ἐσπένδοντο*, or 2) with *τῆς ἐκείνων*. Either 1)* the Boeotians profess that it is unnecessary to make a truce when the land in question belongs to the Athenians, or 2) they are unwilling to admit indirectly the Athenian claim to Oropia.

102. 4. *ὡρμῶντο δὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἠιόνος, ἣν αὐτοὶ εἶχον ἐμπόριον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐπιθαλάσσιον, πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν πόλεως, ἣν Ἀμφίπολιν Ἄγνων ὠνόμασεν, ὅτι ἐπ' ἀμφότερα περιῤῥέοντος τοῦ Στρυμόνος, διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν, τείχει μακρῷ ἀπολαβὼν ἐκ ποταμοῦ ἐς ποταμὸν περιφανῆ ἐς θάλασσάν τε καὶ τὴν ἤπειρον ᾤκισεν.*

Thucydides means to say, *a*) that Hagnon called the city Amphipolis='a two-fronted city,' because on either side it was surrounded by the Strymon, and was conspicuous both from the land and from the sea, *b*) that the portion of land within the bend of the river he cut off by a wall when founding the city. The two statements, though disparate in meaning, are closely combined in grammatical construction. The reason for the name of the city is given in the subordinate clauses, *ἐπ' ἀμφότερα . . . τοῦ Στρυμόνος, περιφανῆ . . . ἤπειρον*, not in the verb *ᾤκισεν*, nor in the participle *ἀπολαβών*.

διὰ τὸ περιέχειν αὐτήν, either 1)* 'because he wanted to enclose it;' or 2) a repetition of *περιῤῥέοντος τοῦ Στρύμονος*, 'because the river surrounded it.'

For the dates of the different foundations of Ennea Hodoi or Amphipolis see note on i. 103. 1.

οὐ καθεῖτο τείχη. **103. 5.**

I. e. there were no walls going down to the bridge and communicating with the town.

Θουκυδίδην τὸν Ὀλόρου ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψεν. **104. 4.**

For the conduct of Thucydides with regard to the loss of Amphipolis see note on v. 26. 5.

πόλεώς τε ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ οὐ στερισκόμενοι καὶ κινδύνου παρὰ δόξαν ἀφιέ- **106. 1.**
μενοι.

ἐν τῷ ἴσῳ, either 1) scil. *τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις*, being treated with the same lenity as the Athenians; or 2)* remaining in possession of their city as they were before.

ἐχομένης δὲ τῆς Ἀμφιπόλεως, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐς μέγα δέος κατέστησαν, **108. 1.**
ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι μέχρι μὲν τοῦ Στρυμόνος ἦν πάροδος Θεσσαλῶν διαγόντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους σφῶν τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις· τῆς δὲ γεφύρας μὴ κρατούντων, ἄνωθεν μὲν μεγάλης οὔσης ἐπὶ πολὺ λίμνης τοῦ ποταμοῦ, τὰ δὲ πρὸς Ἠιόνα τριήρεσι τηρουμένων, οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι προελθεῖν· τότε δὲ ῥᾴδια ἤδη ἐνομίζετο γεγενῆσθαι.

τηρουμένων, scil. *τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.*

οὐκ ἂν δύνασθαι κ.τ.λ. is governed by some word such as *ἐνόμισαν*, partly gathered from the subjective character of the preceding sentence, partly supplied in *ἐνομίζετο*.

ἔστι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως διορύγματος ἔσω προὔχουσα, καὶ ὁ Ἄθως αὐτῆς **109. 2.**
ὄρος ὑψηλὸν τελευτᾷ ἐς τὸ Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος.

ἔσω is said not, as might be expected, with respect to the mainland, but with respect to the peninsula and to Mount Athos, which was the boundary of the lower district called Actè, or coastland.

αἳ οἰκοῦνται ξυμμίκτοις ἔθνεσι βαρβάρων διγλώσσων καί τι καὶ Χαλκιδικὸν **109. 4.**
ἔνι βραχύ, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον Πελασγικὸν τῶν καὶ Λῆμνόν ποτε καὶ Ἀθήνας Τυρσηνῶν οἰκησάντων, καὶ Βισαλτικὸν καὶ Κρηστωνικὸν καὶ Ἤδωνες.

For the Pelasgians and their language cp. note on i. 3. 4.

οἱ δὲ πράσσοντες αὐτῷ, εἰδότες ὅτι ἤξοι, καὶ προσελθόντες τινὲς αὐτῶν **110. 2.**
λάθρα ὀλίγοι, ἐτήρουν τὴν πρόσοδον, καὶ ὡς ᾔσθοντο παρόντα, ἐσκομίζ-
ουσι παρ' αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρίδια ἔχοντας ἄνδρας ψιλοὺς ἑπτά.

110. 2. The words *καὶ προσελθόντες . . . ὀλίγοι* are not to be taken with *ἐτήρουν* and *ἐσκομίζουσι*, but form a parenthesis (=*προσελθόντων τινῶν*) and refer to a part only of the main subject.

112. 1. *καὶ ὁ Βρασίδας ἰδὼν τὸ ξύνθημα ἔθει δρόμῳ, ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐμβοήσαντά τε ἀθρόον καὶ ἔκπληξιν πολλὴν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει παρασχόντα.*

ἐμβοήσαντά τε ἀθρόον. As elsewhere, the participle of the aorist, like the aorist itself, is used historically, i. e. simply to indicate the occurrence of an event without any specification of time. Thus the action referred to in *ἐμβοήσαντα*, so far from preceding that of *ἀναστήσας*, is in fact subsequent to it, 'who then raised a shout.' Cp. for a like indefinite use of the aorist ii. 68 init. *Ἄργος τὸ Ἀμφιλοχικὸν καὶ Ἀμφιλοχίαν τὴν ἄλλην ἔκτισε . . . Ἀμφίλοχος ὁ Ἀμφιάρεω . . . ὁμώνυμον τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι Ἄργος ὀνομάσας.* Cp. notes on i. 101. 3, ii. 49. 4, iv. 4. 1, 48. 1, vi. 14.

117. 1. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα ἦρι τοῦ ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἐκεχειρίαν ἐποιήσαντο ἐνιαύσιον, νομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν . . . Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἡγούμενοι, ἅπερ ἔδεισαν, φοβεῖσθαι, καὶ γενομένης ἀνακωχῆς κακῶν καὶ ταλαιπωρίας μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσειν αὐτοὺς πειρασαμένους ξυναλλαγῆναί τε καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας σφίσιν ἀποδόντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ἐς*
2. *τὸν πλείω χρόνον. τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας περὶ πλείονος ἐποιοῦντο κομίσασθαι ὡς ἔτι Βρασίδας εὐτύχει· καὶ ἔμελλον, ἐπὶ μεῖζον χωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντίπαλα καταστήσαντος, τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι, τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι κινδυνεύειν καὶ κρατήσειν.*

τοὺς γὰρ δὴ ἄνδρας κ.τ.λ. The connection with the previous sentence is as follows: 1) The Lacedaemonians divining the apprehensions of the Athenians, and wanting to recover the captives, made a temporary peace: for they were anxious to recover their men while the good fortune of Brasidas lasted.

περὶ πλείονος, they valued the recovery of their men 'more highly' than anything else, and in particular more highly than the prospect of further success, or even of ultimate victory.

στέρεσθαι here=simply 'remain deprived of,' not necessarily 'be deprived of them' by the execution of the Athenian threat mentioned in iv. 41 init. *ἦν δ' οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸ τούτου ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐσβάλλωσιν, ἐξαγαγόντες ἀποκτεῖναι.* For while the prisoners remained at Athens there was no likelihood of an invasion of Attica.

τοῖς δέ, not 'with the rest of their forces,' for 'their forces' 117. 2.
have nowhere been previously mentioned; but 'against the Athenians,' the dat. being governed by the idea of 'fighting' contained in the words which follow. Cp. note on ii. 100. 6.

κομίσασθαι is to be taken closely with ὡς ἔτι Βρασίδας εὐτύχει. 'To recover their men while the good fortune of Brasidas lasted, was their great object. On the other hand (καί, cp. note on iv. 99) there was a danger if he carried his successes further, and established an equality, that they would remain deprived of them, *a*)* even although they might be finally victorious.' καί, concurrently with the loss of their prisoners they would have a chance of conquering. The emphasis is on τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι: the antithetical form has got the better of the logical point of the sentence. Cp. ii. 42 fin. τοὺς μὲν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν δὲ ἐφίεσθαι.

But *b*) καί may have another meaning, and be taken more closely with κρατήσειν, which it immediately precedes, 'even their chance of victory would be doubtful.' In this case both clauses are equally emphatic, and represent a disadvantage which might ensue from allowing Brasidas to continue the campaign.

Mr. Grote objects to any such mode of rendering this passage, that if Brasidas had carried his successes further the Lacedaemonians would have had more places to give up, and therefore more chance of recovering their men. It may be replied that the Lacedaemonians only consider two alternatives, making peace now, or fighting on until they had taken Athens. They prefer the former, which would restore to them the prisoners, whereas in the other case they might be deprived of them for an indefinite time.

2) Another turn is given to the passage by Herbst and Classen, who regard the words τοὺς γάρ κ.τ.λ. as a reflection of the Athenians on the motives of the Lacedaemonians, and as the reason of the preceding words, μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμήσειν αὐτούς κ.τ.λ. τοῖς δέ κ.τ.λ. is then the emphatic clause, not τῶν μὲν στέρεσθαι. 'The Lacedaemonians would remain deprived indeed of their men, but there would be a danger that they would actually (καί) be victorious;' κινδυνεύειν referring to the fears, not of the Lacedaemonians, but of the Athenians. The rest of the explanation given by these two commentators is less satisfactory than their view of the general connection, which

117. 2. is quite consistent with the natural interpretation of the passage given above. 'The Athenians were anxious to make peace, because they knew that they could get good terms from the Lacedaemonians, who were anxious to recover their prisoners before Brasidas met with any disaster.'

118. The chief stipulations of the provisional treaty are,—

1) The security *a*) for free access to the Delphic oracle, and *b*) for the protection of its treasures. Considering that the oracle was notoriously favourable to the Lacedaemonians, it was deemed necessary for the Athenians to assert an equal share in it (cp. for the general sense Aristoph. Birds, 188,—

εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, ἢν ἰέναι βουλώμεθα
Πυθώδε, Βοιωτοὺς δίοδον αἰτούμεθα).

The second provision may possibly refer to the intention which the Corinthians expressed at the beginning of the war of converting the treasures of the temple to the use of the confederacy, i. 121 med.

2) The remainder of the treaty asserts the 'uti possidetis.' This principle applied especially to Pylos, Cythera, Nisaea, which had been won by the Athenians, to Amphipolis, and the other towns in Thrace which had joined Brasidas, or been taken by him, and to the territory of Troezen, upon which the Athenians appear to have encroached when they cut off the peninsula of Methonè, iv. 45. For *ἐν Τροιζῆνι*, put for *ἐν τῇ Τροιζηνίδι*, cp. note on iv. 25. 2.

3) The Peloponnesians are allowed to sail along their own coast and that of their allies in small trading vessels, but not in ships of war.

4) Provision is made for diplomatic intercourse, for arbitration, and for the extradition of deserters.

The whole form of the treaty, especially the words of the last clause, *ἰόντες ἐς Λακεδαίμονα διδάσκετε*, show that the terms of it had been first agreed upon at Sparta, and were afterwards sent to Athens for acceptance.

118. 4. *τοὺς δὲ ἐν Νισαίᾳ καὶ Μινώᾳ μὴ ὑπερβαίνοντας τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν*

πυλῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Νίσου ἐπὶ τὸ Ποσειδώνιον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Ποσειδωνίου **118. 4.** εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν τὴν ἐς Μινώαν.

Having regard to the direction of the road, the gates of the temple of Nisus, (or possibly the entrance to a statue of Nisus near the city,) are spoken of as the 'gates leading from the temple of Nisus.'

περὶ δὲ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας, αἷς ἐπήρχοντο, Σκιώνη ἐν τῇ Παλλήνῃ πόλις **120. 1.** ἀπέστη ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Βρασίδαν.

ἐπήρχοντο, 'they were coming and going.' But the word is doubtful, because the imperfect of ἔρχομαι is not found in Attic prose. It is therefore proposed by Herbst (on Cobet's Emendations, p. 10) to make it the imperfect of ἐπάρχομαι, which is supposed to=ἐσπένδοντο c. 119 init. supra.

But a more general word seems to be required in this place. Not 'about the time when they were making the offerings at the ratification of the treaty,' but 'when they were ratifying the treaty.' We must therefore adhere, though with some doubt, to the received interpretation. We cannot tell whether ἐπήρχοντο refers to the transaction of business connected with the truce, or to the negotiations which followed it, and which may have begun immediately. For Scionè revolted only two days after the conclusion of the truce (c. 122 fin.)

τριήρει μὲν φιλίᾳ προπλεούσῃ, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐν κελητίῳ ἄπωθεν ἐφεπόμενος, **120. 2.** ὅπως, εἰ μέν τινι τοῦ κέλητος μείζονι πλοίῳ περιτυγχάνοι, ἡ τριήρης ἀμύνῃ αὐτῷ, ἀντιπάλου δὲ ἄλλης τριήρους ἐπιγενομένης, οὐ πρὸς τὸ ἔλασσον νομίζων τρέψεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ αὐτὸν διασώσειν.

αὐτῇ is here the reading of nearly all the MSS. 1) It has been altered by Hermann and others into αὐτή. This would mean that the mere appearance of the trireme would be a sufficient protection against any larger vessel not a ship of war. But the explanation of αὐτή is forced; it is better 2)* to read αὐτῷ, scil. τῷ κέλητι, or τῷ Βρασίδᾳ, the ῃ in αὐτῇ being probably a repetition of ῃ in the previous word.

ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἐταινίουν τε καὶ προσήρχοντο ὥσπερ ἀθλητῇ. **121. 1.**

The same doubt arises about προσήρχοντο as about ἐπήρχοντο

121 1. c. 120. 1, supra. If from *προσάρχομαι*, it means 'made offerings' of flowers, etc. to Brasidas, i. e. threw flowers upon him, an honour constantly shown to great athletes, and other popular favourites. See Herbst, p. 7. Cp. Plato, Theaet. 168 C, *ταῦτα, ὦ Θεόδωρε, τῷ ἑταίρῳ σου εἰς βοήθειαν προσηρξάμην κατ' ἐμὴν δύναμιν, σμικρὰ ἀπὸ σμικρῶν.* But the ordinary rendering gives a sufficient sense, 'came up to him,' i. e. to congratulate him.

121. 2. *ἡγούμενος καὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους βοηθῆσαι ἂν ὡς ἐς νῆσον, καὶ βουλόμενος φθάσαι.*

καί, 'that the Athenians as well as himself would come with an armed force' (though with a different object). *βοηθεῖν* need not mean 'come to the rescue;' cp. iii. 24 fin. *τῆς βοηθείας παυσάμενοι*, 'desisting from the pursuit.'

123. 1. *καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐδέξατο ὁ Βρασίδας οὐ νομίζων ἀδικεῖν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ φανερῶς προσεχώρησαν· ἔστι γὰρ ἃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐνεκάλει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις παραβαίνειν τὰς σπονδάς.* διὸ καὶ *οἱ Μενδαῖοι μᾶλλον ἐτόλμησαν, τήν τε τοῦ Βρασίδου γνώμην ὁρῶντες ἑτοίμην, τεκμαιρόμενοι καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Σκιώνης ὅτι οὐ προὐδίδου, καὶ ἅμα κ.τ.λ.*

διό refers to what precedes, and is further explained in what follows. 'And therefore (i. e. because they saw that Brasidas was already charging upon the Athenians a violation of the treaty) the Mendaeans were encouraged to revolt, observing as they did the zeal of Brasidas, which they inferred also from his unwillingness to betray the cause of the Scionaeans.' It is evident that Brasidas wanted, if possible, to set aside the treaty.

125. 1. *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, διαφερομένων αὐτῶν, ἠγγέλθη, ὅτι καὶ οἱ Ἰλλυριοὶ μετ' Ἀρριβαίου προδόντες Περδίκκαν γεγένηνται.*

καί, either 'besides other reasons for retreat,' or 'in addition to the army which he had, that Arrhibaeus had been reinforced by the Illyrians.'

126. 2. *ἀγαθοῖς γὰρ εἶναι ὑμῖν προσήκει τὰ πολέμια οὐ διὰ ξυμμάχων παρουσίαν ἑκάστοτε, ἀλλὰ δι' οἰκείαν ἀρετήν, καὶ μηδὲν πλῆθος πεφοβῆσθαι ἑτέρων, οἳ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἥκετε, ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων*

ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσους, οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ κτησάμενοι τὴν δυναστείαν ἢ τῷ μαχόμενοι κρατεῖν. 126. 2.

τοιούτων, scil. ὧν οἱ πολῖται πλῆθος πεφόβηνται, refers to what has preceded. 'For you do not come from cities in which men fear a multitude, but from cities in which not the many rule over the few but the few over the many.' The antecedent to ἐν αἷς is really to be obtained, not from ἀπὸ τοιούτων πολιτειῶν, but from ἀπὸ μὴ τοιούτων πολιτειῶν implied in the previous clause. 'You do not come from cities of a kind,' implies 'You come from cities of another kind, and in those cities not the many, etc.' Cp. vi. 68 fin. οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἔσται ὁ ἀγών, ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι, ἐξ ἧς κρατεῖν δεῖ ἢ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀποχωρεῖν.

βαρβάρους δέ, οὓς νῦν ἀπειρίᾳ δέδιτε, μαθεῖν χρὴ ἐξ ὧν τε προηγώνισθε τοῖς Μακεδόσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀφ' ὧν ἐγὼ εἰκάζω τε καὶ ἄλλων ἀκῇ ἐπίσταμαι, οὐ δεινοὺς ἐσομένους. καὶ γὰρ ὅσα μὲν τῷ ὄντι ἀσθενῆ ὄντα τῶν πολεμίων δόκησιν ἔχει ἰσχύος, διδαχῇ ἀληθὴς προσγενομένη περὶ αὐτῶν ἐθάρσυνε μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀμυνομένους· οἷς δὲ βεβαίως τι πρόσεστιν ἀγαθόν, μὴ προειδὼς τις ἂν αὐτοῖς τολμηρότερον προσφέροιτο. 126. 4.

γάρ. You ought to know (μαθεῖν χρή), for to know will do you good. ὅσα μέν is the more emphatic clause. 'If an enemy is weak his weakness had better be revealed, although if he is strong his strength had better be concealed.'

οὔτε γὰρ τάξιν ἔχοντες αἰσχυνθεῖεν ἂν λιπεῖν τινὰ χώραν βιαζόμενοι, ἥ τε φυγὴ καὶ ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν ἴσην ἔχουσα δόξαν τοῦ καλοῦ ἀνεξέλεγκτον καὶ τὸ ἀνδρεῖον ἔχει. 126. 5.

'Truly it would be a strange thing to use so noble and costly a machine as a British army, with all its national reputation to support, as lightly as those Spanish multitudes, collected in a day, dispersed in an hour, reassembled again without difficulty, incapable of attaining, and consequently incapable of losing, any military reputation.'—Napier, Peninsular War, bk. xi. c. i.

τοῦ τε ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν πιστότερον τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν ἡμᾶς ἀκινδύνως ἡγοῦνται. 126. 5.

τὸ ἐκφοβήσειν. 'The attempt to terrify us without danger to themselves.' For the future cp. note on iii. 36. 2.

128. 1. *ὁ δὲ γνοὺς προεῖπε τοῖς μεθ' αὑτοῦ τριακοσίοις, ὃν ᾧετο μᾶλλον ἂν ἑλεῖν τῶν λόφων, χωρήσαντας πρὸς αὐτὸν δρόμῳ, ὡς τάχιστα ἕκαστος δύναται, ἄνευ τάξεως πειρᾶσαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκκροῦσαι τοὺς ἤδη ἐπόντας βαρβάρους, πρὶν καὶ τὴν πλείονα κύκλωσιν σφῶν αὐτόσε προσμῖξαι.*

ὃν ᾧετο κ.τ.λ. Either 1) which he thought his troops could best occupy; or 2)* which he thought the barbarians were most likely to occupy. The latter explanation is not inconsistent with *ἐπόντας* which follows, for although the enemy had occupied the defile, and some of them were already on the hill (*τοὺς ἤδη ἐπόντας βαρβάρους*), they might not yet have taken complete possession of it.

ἐπόντας is a correction of the MS. reading *ἐπιόντας*. Cp. infra 131. 2, *προσβαλόντες δ' αὐτῷ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ μάχῃ ἐκκρούσαντες τοὺς ἐπόντας* κ.τ.λ., where *ἐπόντας* has the authority of one good MS., the Clarendonianus. In both places the word *ἐκκροῦσαι* is strongly against *ἐπιόντας*. For we can hardly speak of 'dislodging' those who are 'attacking.' And *ἐπιόντας* would be unsupported by anything in the context.

128. 5. *ἀπὸ τούτου τε πρῶτον Περδίκκας Βρασίδαν τε πολέμιον ἐνόμισε, καὶ ἐς τὸ λοιπὸν Πελοποννησίων τῇ μὲν γνώμῃ δι' Ἀθηναίους οὐ ξύνηθες μῖσος εἶχε, τῶν δὲ ἀναγκαίων ξυμφόρων διαναστὰς ἔπρασσεν, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ τάχιστα τοῖς μὲν ξυμβήσεται, τῶν δὲ ἀπαλλάξεται.*

τῇ γνώμῃ and *δι' Ἀθηναίους* are to be taken with *οὐ ξύνηθες*. Perdiccas cherished a feeling of hatred towards the Peloponnesians, to which the mind of one who was an enemy of the Athenians might have been expected to be a stranger.

τῶν δ' ἀναγκαίων ξυμφόρων διαναστάς, lit. 'departing from' (i. e. not regarding) 'his necessary, or most pressing, interests.'

129. An inscription is extant containing the names of those who fell *a*) in a battle, or probably two battles which are unknown to us, *b*) at Potidaea (three names only), *c*) at Amphipolis, *d*) *ἐπὶ Θράκης*, *e*) at Pylos, *f*) at Sermylia, *g*) at Singus (one name only in the case of the last five places). Kirchhoff (C. I. A. vol. i. p. 200) assigns the inscription to 425, the capture of Pylos; Mr. Hicks (Newton and Hicks, Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part I. p. 106), following Boeckh (C. I. G. vol. i. no. 171), to 423, and to the expe-

dition against Mendè and Scionè recorded in the present chapter. 129.
It may be conjectured that an Athenian soldier fell in defending the bridge at Amphipolis (iv. 103 fin.) and that some trifling engagement, which is not mentioned by Thucydides, took place at Potidaea (cp. iv. 135) Sermylia (or Sermylè) and Singus (see note on v. 18). But such hypotheses can never be brought to the test, it is therefore better to refrain from them.

The names of certain ἔγγρ[αφοι], *τοξόται*, and *ξένοι* are recorded in the inscription. Boeckh compares iv. 129 init. (*ὁπλίταις δὲ χιλίοις ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοξόταις ἑξακοσίοις καὶ Θρᾳξὶ μισθωτοῖς χιλίοις καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων πελτασταῖς*), and supposes the ἔγγρ[αφοι] to have been metics enrolled among the citizen hoplites (*ὁπλῖται ἑαυτῶν*). But, again, such combinations are hazardous, for the Athenian army would probably be composed of the same elements on many different occasions. We know of no one time at which soldiers were falling at Potidaea, at Amphipolis, and at Pylos. We are only sure that the inscription cannot be earlier than the capture of Pylos, or later than the first year of the peace, 421.

Besides the two similar and more celebrated inscriptions cited in the notes on i. 63. 3, 103. 1, we have a list of names (of which part was discovered 1834) including the title *ἐν Θάσ*[ῳ]. The latter words may suggest that the inscription is the monument of those who fell in 465 against the revolted Thasians (i. 100 med., Kirchhoff, no. 432).

καί τινος αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀντειπόντος κατὰ τὸ στασιωτικόν, ὅτι 130. 4.
οὐκ ἐπέξεισιν, οὐδὲ δέοιτο *πολεμεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

Cp. note on iv. 69. 2.

περιτειχιζομένης δὲ τῆς Σκιώνης, Περδίκκας *τοῖς τῶν Ἀθηναίων* 132. 1.
στρατηγοῖς ἐπικηρυκευσάμενος ὁμολογίαν ποιεῖται πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους διὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρασίδου ἔχθραν περὶ τῆς ἐκ τῆς Λύγκου ἀναχωρήσεως, εὐθὺς τότε ἀρξάμενος πράσσειν. καὶ ἐτύγχανε γὰρ τότε Ἰσχαγόρας ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος στρατιὰν μέλλων πεζῇ πορεύσειν ὡς Βρασίδαν κ.τ.λ.

For Scionè cp. Aristoph. Wasps, 209 (acted in 422),—

νὴ Δί' ἦ μοι κρεῖττον ἦν
τηρεῖν Σκιώνην ἀντὶ τούτου τοῦ πατρός.

For the fate of the city cp. v. 32 init.

132. 1. For *εὐθὺς τότε κ.τ.λ.* see note on English text.

135. 1. *τοῦ γὰρ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος,* **οὕτως** *ἐς τὸ διάκενον, πρὶν ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν παραδιδόντα αὐτόν, ἡ πρόσθεσις ἐγένετο.*

οὕτως refers to *τοῦ κώδωνος παρενεχθέντος,* 'thus—taking this opportunity.' Cp. iii. 96 med. *τὴν γὰρ γνώμην εἶχε τἆλλα καταστρεψάμενος* **οὕτως** *ἐπὶ Ὀφιονέας . . . στρατεῦσαι ὕστερον.*

Cp. the orders issued by Peisthetaerus to the builders of Nephelococcygia, Birds 842,—

κωδωνοφορῶν περίτρεχε,—καὶ κάθευδ' ἐκεῖ.

BOOK V.

Τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους, αἱ μὲν ἐνιαύσιοι σπονδαὶ διελέλυντο μέχρι **1.** 1. Πυθίων· καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκεχειρίᾳ Ἀθηναῖοι Δηλίους ἀνέστησαν ἐκ Δήλου . . . καὶ οἱ μὲν Δήλιοι Ἀτραμύττιον Φαρνάκου δόντος αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ᾤκησαν, οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο. Κλέων δὲ Ἀθηναίους πείσας ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης **2.** 1. χωρία ἐξέπλευσε μετὰ τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν.

The truce expired in Elaphebolion, March—April. The Pythian games were celebrated in the Delphic month Bucatius, which appears, from inscriptions found at Delphi, to have corresponded to the Attic Metageitnion (August—September). See Kirchhoff, Monatsb. der Berl. Acad. 1864, p. 129 foll. And it is clear from v. 12 that the battle of Amphipolis took place at the end of the summer. Nothing is said by Thucydides of operations preceding the expedition to Amphipolis. Therefore the words *διελέλυντό μέχρι Πυθίων* cannot imply that the war was renewed before the Pythian games.

διελέλυντο. Either 1) 'the truce of a year had expired, having continued till the Pythian games;' which is said in the same manner as *μεχρὶ τοῦδε ὡρίσθω ὑμῶν ἡ βραδυτής*, i. 71 med., lit. 'let your sluggishness, having continued so long, here have an end.' The meaning is that the truce, which should have come to an end at the beginning of spring, had by a tacit understanding been prolonged until the Pythian games; the interval was an *ἀνακωχὴ ἄσπονδος*, like that between the Athenians and Corinthians in v. 32 fin.

Or 2) the emphasis may fall on *διελέλυντο*, lit. 'the truce of a year had expired until the Pythian games;' in other words, not the truce but a state of affairs in which the truce was no longer in force (indicated by the pluperfect) continued until the Pythian games. In this case the silence of Thucydides must be held to imply what he does not actually say—that there was no renewal of the war, although preparations may have been making during the interval for the expedition to Amphipolis.

2. 1. The word *ἐκεχειρία* (cp. c. 2 init.), which follows, refers either to the period during which the truce with the Peloponnesians was informally protracted, or to the sacred truce observed during the festival. The purification of Delos would be naturally connected with the celebration of the Pythian games.

οὕτως ὡς ἕκαστος ὥρμητο, i. e. each man went to Adramyttium when and how he pleased; there was no regular new settlement.

2. 2. *καὶ προσλαβὼν αὐτόθεν ὁπλίτας τῶν φρουρῶν κατέπλευσεν ἐς τὸν Κολοφωνίων λιμένα, τῶν Τορωναίων ἀπέχοντα οὐ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως.*

No mention is found elsewhere of this 'harbour of the Colophonians.' But Strabo (vii. p. 330), Photius, and others, speak of a *κωφὸς λιμήν* near Toronè, as Xen. Hell. ii. 4. 31 speaks of one at or near the Piraeus. And a 'landlocked harbour' (Leake, North Greece, iii. p. 119), just south of Toronè, is still called Kufó. Hence Pluygers (Cobet. Nov. Lect. p. 381) conjectures Κωφόν, and Leake Κωφῶν, for Κολοφωνίων. For the meaning of *κωφὸς λιμήν*, a harbour so completely protected that the sound of the waves was not heard in it, cp. Plut. Mor. p. 778 C, Wyttenb. vol. iv. part I. p. 122, *ὥσπερ ἐν ἀκλύστῳ λιμένι καὶ κωφῷ*. The emendation is probable but by no means necessary. For we cannot be certain that there was not near Toronè a harbour which for some unknown reason was called the 'harbour of the Colophonians.'

3. 2. *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι φθάνουσιν οἵ τε ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἑλόντες τὴν Τορώνην καὶ ὁ πεζὸς ἐπισπόμενος αὐτοβοεὶ κατὰ τὸ διῃρημένον τείχους τοῦ παλαιοῦ ξυνεσπεσών.*

αὐτοβοεί, 'dashing in immediately together with the enemy' (*ξυνεσπεσών*) on the retreat of Pasitelidas, a variation of the common phrase *αὐτοβοεὶ ἑλεῖν*, used to avoid tautology, *ἑλόντες* having just preceded.

4. 4. *καὶ καταστάντες ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν ἐπολέμουν.*

Either 1) 'and there taking up a position carried on war from the two forts;' or 2)* connecting *καταστάντες* with *ἐπολέμουν*, 'carried on a continual war from the two forts.'

5. 2. *τούτοις οὖν ὁ Φαίαξ ἐντυχὼν τοῖς κομιζομένοις.*

Either 1) 'who were returning home,' or 2) 'being those who were on their way,' the article referring to the preceding words *τοῖς ἐκ Μεσσήνης ἐποίκοις ἐκπεπτωκόσιν*. Cp. note on iv. 33. 2. 5. 2.

Βρασίδας δὲ πυνθανόμενος ταῦτα ἀντεκάθητο καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῷ Κερδυλίῳ. 6. 3.

ἐπὶ τῷ Κερδυλίῳ goes with *ἀντεκάθητο*, not with *καὶ αὐτός*, or *καί* would be inappropriate. For Cleon was not stationed upon Cerdylium. Cp. c. 8 init. *καταβὰς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου.*

οὐ βουλόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κᾶθημένους βαρύνεσθαι. 7. 2.

Cp. note on i. 2. 5 ; and iv. 63. 1.

καὶ ἐχρήσατο τῷ τρόπῳ, ᾧπερ καὶ ἐς τὴν Πύλον εὐτυχήσας ἐπίστευσέ τι φρονεῖν. 7. 3.

ᾧπερ is to be taken both with *εὐτυχήσας* and with *ἐπίστευσε*.

καὶ τὴν μείζω παρασκευὴν περιέμενεν, οὐχ ὡς τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ, ἢν ἀναγκάζηται, περισχήσων, ἀλλ' ὡς κύκλῳ περιστὰς βίᾳ αἱρήσων τὴν πόλιν. 7. 3.

'Not under the idea that he would by the help of his reinforcements get the better without risk, should he be compelled to fight'—that was not his meaning, 'but he was going to surround and storm the city.'

ὥστε καί, μηχανὰς ὅτι οὐ κατῆλθεν ἔχων, ἁμαρτεῖν ἐδόκει· ἑλεῖν γὰρ ἂν τὴν πόλιν διὰ τὸ ἔρημον. 7. 5.

1) *κατά* in *κατῆλθεν* has been taken in the sense of *κατά* in *κατάγειν*, 'when he landed in Chalcidice.' But even if this meaning of the word were allowable it would still be strange that Cleon should not have brought siege-engines from Athens. And the meaning required by the context is not 'landed,' but 2) 'came to the town.' Whether the word will bear this meaning is uncertain.

Bekker adopts the correction *οὐκ ἀνῆλθε*, i. e. 'that he did not come up from the sea,' but *ἀνα-* gives an unnecessary degree of precision, since *ἀνῆλθεν* is subordinate to *ἔχων*. We require 'he had not brought siege-engines,' not 'when he came up to the city,' but simply 'when he came to the city.' Better *οὐκ ἦλθεν*, though the departure from the text is slightly greater.

8. 3. εἰ γὰρ δείξειε τοῖς ἐναντίοις τό τε πλῆθος καὶ τὴν ὅπλισιν ἀναγκαίαν οὖσαν τῶν μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ, οὐκ ἂν ἡγεῖτο μᾶλλον περιγενέσθαι ἢ ἄνευ προόψεώς τε αὐτῶν καὶ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσεως.

'He did not think he would be more likely to succeed than if they did not observe him'='he thought he would be more likely to succeed if they did not observe him.' In the latter words καὶ μὴ . . . καταφρονήσεως there is a confusion of two ideas—'if they did not despise him on real grounds,' and 'if they despised him on unreal grounds,' between ἄνευ καταφρονήσεως ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, and μετὰ καταφρονήσεως μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος. The two clauses ἢ ἄνευ . . . καταφρονήσεως taken together are a somewhat clumsy way of expressing εἰ μὴ προίδοιεν, καὶ εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος καταφρονήσειαν. The negative in the second clause is pleonastic, as often where a negative has preceded. For the meaning cp. iv. 126 med. ὅσα μὲν τῷ ὄντι ἀσθενῆ ὄντα τῶν πολεμίων δόκησιν ἔχει ἰσχύος, διδαχὴ ἀληθὴς προσγενομένη περὶ αὐτῶν ἐθάρσυνε μᾶλλον τοὺς ἀμυνομένους.

9. 2. τὴν δὲ ἐπιχείρησιν ᾧ τρόπῳ διανοοῦμαι ποιεῖσθαι διδάξω, ἵνα μὴ τό τε κατ' ὀλίγον καὶ μὴ ἅπαντας κινδυνεύειν ἐνδεὲς φαινόμενον ἀτολμίαν παράσχῃ.

τέ is slightly misplaced, and there is only a verbal opposition between κατ' ὀλίγον and μὴ ἅπαντας, as in i. 36. 3 (see note), τοῖς τε ξυμπᾶσι καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον.

Four of the best MSS. read τῷ τε κατ' ὀλίγον. Poppo would read μή τῳ τὸ κατ' ὀλίγον, which is adopted by Classen.

9. 7. σὺ δέ, Κλεαρίδα, ὕστερον, . . . αἰφνιδίως τὰς πύλας ἀνοίξας ἐπεκθεῖν καὶ ἐπείγεσθαι ὡς τάχιστα ξυμμῖξαι.

Infinitive for imperative; not found elsewhere in Thucydides, except perhaps in vi. 34. 9, παραστῆναι πάντι, (see note,) but not uncommon in other writers.

9. 9. καὶ τῇδε ὑμῖν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἢ ἀγαθοῖς γενομένοις ἐλευθερίαν τε ὑπάρχειν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμάχοις κεκλῆσθαι, ἢ Ἀθηναίων τε δούλοις, ἣν τὰ ἄριστα ἄνευ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ θανατώσεως πράξητε, καὶ δουλείαν χαλεπωτέραν ἢ πρὶν εἴχετε, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἕλλησι κωλυταῖς γενέσθαι ἐλευθερώσεως.

δουλείαν is a cognate accusative after δούλοις or after the verbal

idea δούλοις κεκλῆσθαι:—'you will be called slaves, and slaves endured during a slavery more cruel.' Cp. Plato, Rep. 579 D, ἔστιν ἄρα . . . ὁ τῷ ὄντι τύραννος τῷ ὄντι δοῦλος τὰς μεγίστας θωπείας καὶ δουλείας καὶ κόλαξ τῶν πονηροτάτων. τέ after Ἀθηναίων corresponds to δέ in τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς Ἕλλησιν. 'You will be called slaves of the Athenians, but more than this, you will be hinderers,' etc. Cp. note on i. 11. 1. 8. 9.

τῷ δὲ Κλέωνι, φανεροῦ γενομένου αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κερδυλίου καταβάντος, καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπιφανεῖ οὔσῃ ἔξωθεν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς θυομένου, καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος, ἀγγέλλεται (προὐκεχωρήκει γὰρ τότε κατὰ τὴν θέαν), ὅτι ἥ τε στρατιὰ ἅπασα κ.τ.λ. 10. 2.

τῷ Κλέωνι is governed by ἀγγέλλεται only, not by φανεροῦ γενομένου. καὶ ταῦτα πράσσοντος, either 1)* the ceremonies of the sacrifice, or 2) the preparations for the sally: cp. supra, τήν τε ἔξοδον παρεσκευάζετο αὐτός κ.τ.λ. In the first case ταῦτα πράσσοντος contrasts the sacrifice with the more warlike preparations. πράσσοντος may be parallel either 1)* to φανεροῦ γενομένου, to which καταβάντος and θυομένου are subordinate, or 2) to καταβάντος and θυομένου, the word thus becoming subordinate to φανεροῦ γενομένου. But then ταῦτα πράσσοντος, if we are to escape tautology, must refer, not to the sacrifice, but to the preparations for the sally.

σημαίνειν τε ἅμα ἐκέλευεν ἀναχώρησιν καὶ παρήγγειλε τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν, ἐπὶ τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας, ὥσπερ μόνον οἷόν τ' ἦν, ὑπάγειν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἠιόνος. 10. 3.

τοῖς ἀπιοῦσιν. We should expect ἀπιοῦσιν, but the article refers to ἀναχώρησιν. There is however a slight inaccuracy in the expression, for at the time of giving the order the retreat had not yet begun. Lit. 'he bade them sound a retreat, giving at the same time a special order to those who were the retreating force that they should withdraw upon their left wing in the direction of Eion.' Cp. τοῖς κομιζομένοις v. 5. 2; iv. 33. 2, and notes.

ὡς δ' αὐτῷ ἐδόκει σχολὴ γίγνεσθαι. 10. 4.

1)* 'As there appeared to him to be delay.' For this sense cp. viii. 95 med. σχολῇ πληρουμένων, and Aesch. Agam. 1059,—

σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει.

Or 2) 'As he appeared to have plenty of time' (a resumption of

10. 4. *οἰόμενος φθήσεσθαι ἀπελθών* above), and therefore did not mind exposing his unshielded side to the enemy.

10. 9. *καὶ ὁ μὲν Κλέων ὡς τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διενοεῖτο μένειν, εὐθὺς φεύγων κ.τ.λ.*

Cp. c. 7. med. *ἐς μάχην μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ἤλπισέν οἱ ἐπεξιέναι οὐδένα, κατὰ θέαν δὲ μᾶλλον ἔφη ἀναβαίνειν τοῦ χωρίου.*

10. 9. *οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ συστραφέντες ὁπλῖται ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον κ.τ.λ.*

That *αὐτοῦ* is 1) a pronoun, scil. *Κλέωνος*, and not 2)* as Classen supposes, a local adverb, is rendered probable by the opposition of *ὁ μὲν Κλέων* and *οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁπλῖται.*

11. 1. *καὶ τὴν ἀποικίαν ὡς οἰκιστῇ προσέθεσαν καταβαλόντες τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα καὶ ἀφανίσαντες εἴ τι μνημόσυνόν που ἔμελλεν αὐτοῦ τῆς οἰκίσεως περιέσεσθαι, νομίσαντες τὸν μὲν Βρασίδαν σωτῆρά τε σφῶν γεγενῆσθαι καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἅμα τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξυμμαχίαν φόβῳ τῶν Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύοντες, τὸν δὲ Ἄγνωνα κατὰ τὸ πολέμιον τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυμφόρως οὐδ' ἂν ἡδέως τὰς τιμὰς ἔχειν.*

τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα, either 1)* the public buildings which Hagnon had erected, or 2) the shrine which was dedicated to him as to a founder. *ὁμοίως ἡδέως*, either 1)* so agreeably to them, or 2) so agreeably to himself, as formerly.

If the second interpretation of *τὰ Ἀγνώνεια οἰκοδομήματα* and *ἡδέως* (Müller-Strübing, p. 718) be correct, Hagnon must be supposed to have died before this time. He is last mentioned in ii. 95 fin. He cannot then be identified with the Hagnon of v. 19 fin., 24 med., or with Hagnon the father of Theramenes (viii. 68 fin.), who is said by Lysias, c. Eratosth. (xii.) 66, to have been one of the *πρόβουλοι* appointed after the Sicilian disaster.

For the idea cp. the dying speech of the Plataeans, in which they urge that the battlefield of Plataea will no longer be 'agreeable' to the heroes interred there if inhabited by the Thebans (iii. 58).

13. 1. *νομίσαντες οὐδένα καιρὸν ἔτι εἶναι, τῶν τε Ἀθηναίων ἥσσῃ ἀπεληλυθότων, καὶ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων αὐτῶν ὄντων δρᾶν τι ὃν κἀκεῖνος ἐπενόει.*

They had two motives for returning. The Athenians had gone home defeated, and they were themselves incapable of executing what Brasidas on his part had designed: *κἀκεῖνος*, i. e. Brasidas,

as contrasted with the Lacedaemonians who succeeded him. The Greek and English idioms here differ. In Greek the word *καί* commonly adheres to the standard of comparison (cp. *ὥσπερ καί*), in English the corresponding word adheres to the person or thing compared. Cp. for a use of *καί* in a similar position the note on iv. 62. 4. **13.** 1.

ξυνέβαινε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους αὐτοῖς τὰς τριακονταέτεις σπονδὰς ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ εἶναι, καὶ ἄλλας οὐκ ἤθελον σπένδεσθαι οἱ Ἀργεῖοι, εἰ μή τις αὐτοῖς τὴν Κυνουρίαν γῆν ἀποδώσει· ὥστ' ἀδύνατα εἶναι ἐφαίνετο Ἀργείοις καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ἅμα πολεμεῖν. **14.** 4.

'So that they felt the impossibility of fighting with the Argives and Athenians combined;' a compressed way of saying, 'so that they would have to fight with the Argives and Athenians combined, which appeared impossible.'

καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον' τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, ἐπιθυμίᾳ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἐκ τῆς νήσου κομίσασθαι· ἦσαν γὰρ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται αὐτῶν πρῶτοί τε καὶ ὁμοίως σφίσι ξυγγενεῖς. **15.** 1.

I. e. the Spartans among them were all of the purest Spartan blood. *ὁμοίως ξυγγενεῖς*, 1) not one more than the other, but equally, related to the first men of the state; or 2) *ὁμοίως* may='correspondingly;' 'they were of the first rank, and, as being of the first rank, were related to the governing body.' These words clearly imply that there were degrees of rank among the Spartans. But owing to our ignorance of the social state of Sparta the expression is obscure to us, and some of the words may be corrupt. The difficulty is considerably increased by the circumstance that the 120 Spartans thus described were taken by lot (iv. 8 fin. *διεβίβαζον ἐς τὴν νῆσον τοὺς ὁπλίτας ἀποκληρώσαντες ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν λόχων*), as we must suppose therefore only out of others who were equally Spartans of the first blood. Either the persons described were not *ξυγγενεῖς* in any strict sense of the term, or the body to which they belonged must have been small, and its members must have constantly intermarried.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει ἧσσα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐγεγένητο, καὶ ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ Βρασίδας, οἵπερ ἀμφοτέρωθεν μάλιστα ἠναντιοῦντο τῇ εἰρήνῃ, **16.** 1.

16. 1. ὁ μὲν διὰ τὸ εὐτυχεῖν τε καὶ τιμᾶσθαι ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δὲ γενομένης ἡσυχίας καταφανέστερος νομίζων ἂν εἶναι κακουργῶν καὶ ἀπιστότερος διαβάλλων, τότε δὲ [οἱ ἐν] ἑκατέρᾳ τῇ πόλει σπεύδοντες τὰ μάλιστα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, Πλειστοάναξ τε ὁ Παυσανίου, βασιλεὺς Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, πλεῖστα τῶν τότε εὖ φερόμενος ἐν στρατηγίαις, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον προεθυμοῦντο κ.τ.λ.

The words *οἱ ἐν* after *τότε δέ* are only found in one fair (F.) and three inferior MSS. (Reg. Lugd. Gr.). They seem to be required if the sense is that which is usually given. There is however some difficulty in the Greek, *σπεύδοντες τὴν ἡγεμονίαν*, which more naturally means 'striving after the supremacy *for*,' than 'striving after the supremacy *in*, their respective states.' The word *σπεύδειν* in the absolute sense of 'striving after' without a dative following, occurs rarely if ever in prose. But even if this sense could be supported by examples, the words seem hardly applicable to Pleistoanax and Nicias, who were not ambitious of increasing their own power in the state, but only of keeping themselves and the state out of trouble, while in either sense they are appropriate to Cleon and Brasidas. The words *οἱ ἐν* therefore, independently of the want of MS. authority in their favour, are better omitted. *τότε δὲ... ἡγεμονίαν* will then be referred to Cleon and Brasidas, not to Pleistoanax and Nicias. The apodosis of the whole sentence will begin at *Πλειστοάναξ τε*.

ἐτεθνήκει Κλέων τε καὶ Βρασίδας... διαβάλλων. The motives here attributed to Cleon and Brasidas by Thucydides are of course not such as they were conscious of to themselves; they only show the light in which their career was regarded by an opponent.

There is no redeeming feature in Thucydides' portrait of Cleon. 'He was the most violent of the citizens, and exercised the greatest influence,' iii. 36 fin.; iv. 21. He proposes the massacre of the Mityleneans, and is the instigator of the impossible terms offered to the Lacedaemonians after the affair of Pylos. 'He is laughed at in the assembly.' 'His success would be a good thing, but his death a better,' iv. 28 fin. 'His own soldiers disparaged him in comparison with the Lacedaemonian commander,' v. 7 init.

For the motives of Cleon as described by Thucydides cp. Aristoph. Knights, 801,—

ΑΛ. οὐχ ἵνα γ' ἄρξῃ, μὰ Δί', Ἀρκαδίας προνοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἵνα μᾶλλον 16. 1.
σὺ μὲν ἁρπάζῃς καὶ δωροδοκῇς παρὰ τῶν πόλεων· ὁ δὲ δῆμος
ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῆς ὁμίχλης ἃ πανουργεῖς μὴ καθορᾷ σου.

Also 864,—

ΑΛ. ὅπερ γὰρ οἱ τὰς ἐγχέλεις θηρώμενοι πέπονθας.
ὅταν μὲν ἡ λίμνη καταστῇ, λαμβάνουσιν οὐδέν·
ἐὰν δ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω τὸν βόρβορον κυκῶσιν,
αἱροῦσι. καὶ σὺ λαμβάνεις, ἢν τὴν πόλιν ταράττῃς.

And for the feelings with which his appointment as general in 425 was regarded by his opponents cp. Aristophanes speaking by the mouth of the Clouds, 581,—

εἶτα τὸν θεοῖσιν ἐχθρὸν βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγόνα
ἡνίχ' ἥρεῖσθε στρατηγόν, τὰς ὀφρῦς συνήγομεν
κἀποιοῦμεν δεινά· βροντὴ δ' ἐρράγη δι' ἀστραπῆς·
ἡ σελήνη δ' ἐξέλειπε τὰς ὁδούς· ὁ δ' ἥλιος
τὴν θρυαλλίδ' εἰς ἑαυτὸν εὐθέως ξυνελκύσας
οὐ φανεῖν ἔφασκεν ὑμῖν, εἰ στρατηγήσει Κλέων.

A comic aspect of the turn of events here described is given in Aristophanes, Peace, 267–284, where the servant of the War-god, finding that his master, who is intending to pound the cities of Hellas, has not got a pestle, goes to borrow one, first at Athens, then at Lacedaemon. Both are missing,—

ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ. οὗτος. ΚΥ. τί ἐστιν; ΠΟ. οὐ φέρεις; ΚΥ. τὸ δεῖνα γάρ,
ἀπόλωλ' Ἀθηναίοισιν ἀλετρίβανος,
ὁ βυρσοπώλης, ὃς ἐκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα.
ΤΡΥΓΑΙΟΣ. εὖ γ', ὦ πότνια δέσποιν' Ἀθηναία, ποιῶν
ἀπόλωλ' ἐκεῖνος κἀν δέοντι τῇ πόλει . . .
ΚΥΔΟΙΜΟΣ. ὤμοι τάλας, οἴμοι γε κἄτ' οἴμοι μάλα.
ΠΟ. τί ἐστι; μῶν οὐκ αὖ φέρεις; ΚΥ. ἀπόλωλε γὰρ
καὶ τοῖς Δακεδαιμονίοισιν ἀλετρίβανος.
ΠΟ. πῶς, ὦ πανοῦργ'; ΚΥ. ἐς τἀπὶ Θράκης χωρία
χρήσαντες ἑτέροις αὐτὸν εἶτ' ἀπώλεσαν.

Νικίας μὲν βουλόμενος, ἐν ᾧ ἀπαθὴς ἦν καὶ ἠξιοῦτο, διασώσασθαι τὴν 16. 1.
εὐτυχίαν, καὶ ἔς τε τὸ αὐτίκα πόνων πεπαῦσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας παῦσαι, καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι χρόνῳ καταλιπεῖν ὄνομα, ὡς οὐδὲν σφήλας τὴν πόλιν διεγένετο.

16. 1. We can hardly suppose that Thucydides wrote these words without intending silently to recall to the reader's mind the singular contrast between the hopes of mortals and their final destinies, or without a recollection of the old Greek saying, that 'no man could be called happy before he died.' He who desires only peace may be the author of war; he who aims only at the safety of the state may, by the irony of fortune, be the prime mover in its destruction.

Cp. note on vi. 23. 3, and, for a possible allusion of a similar kind, on iv. 25. 6.

16. 2. *εἰ δὲ μή, ἀργυρέᾳ ἐυλάκᾳ ἐυλάξειν.*

I. e. 1) they would reap no harvest, however costly might be the implements of their husbandry. Cp. Suet. Aug. 25, 'minima commoda non minimo sectantes discrimine similes aiebat esse aureo hamo piscantibus cujus abrupti damnum nulla captura pensari posset.' Or 2) as the Schol. explains, 'bread would be as dear as if a silver ploughshare had been employed.'

16. 3. *καὶ ἥμισυ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ τότε τοῦ Διὸς οἰκοῦντα φόβῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων.*

τοῦ ἱεροῦ, the genitive after *ἥμισυ τῆς οἰκίας*, as though the sentence ran *τὸ ἥμισυ τῆς οἰκίας τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἦν*, 'half the house which he occupied belonged to the temple.'

17. 2. *καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔαρ ἤδη παρασκευή τε προεπανεσείσθη ἀπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τῶν ξυνόδων ἅμα, πολλὰς δικαιώσεις πρὸς ἐνεγκόντων ἀλλήλοις, ξυνεχωρεῖτο, ὥστε ἃ ἑκάτεροι πολέμῳ ἔσχον ἀποδόντας τὴν εἰρήνην ποιεῖσθαι . . . τότε δὴ παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ξυμμάχους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ποιοῦνται τὴν ξύμβασιν.*

τέ after *παρασκευή* corresponds to *καί* before *ἐπειδή*. The final result (*τότε δή*) was due first of all to the threatening attitude of the Lacedaemonians; secondly, to the circumstance that the commissioners of both parties were just then finding, after many disputes, a possible basis of agreement. *ἅμα* thus goes with *καὶ ἐπειδή*, not with *πολλάς*, 'many claims at once.'

18. The fifty years' peace is based, not like the treaty which preceded it, upon the principle of *uti possidetis*, but on that of compensa-

tion. As in the preliminary treaty, the right of access to the Delphic oracle is maintained for all Hellenes; and a clause is inserted guaranteeing to the Delphians their independence. (Cp. i. 112 fin.) Great concessions are made by Sparta to Athens, chiefly in return for the Spartan captives. Her recent acquisitions in Thrace are to be surrendered, though clauses are inserted in the treaty providing for the independence and the protection of the cities thus surrendered, so long as they pay to Athens the tribute originally fixed by Aristides, and permitting individuals, if alarmed for their own safety, to emigrate. It is not clear from the words of the treaty whether these provisions extend to Amphipolis or not. It may be remarked, though the difference of wording is perhaps accidental, that the word ἀποδιδόναι is applied to Amphipolis, and παραδιδόναι to the other cities. They fall into three classes: *a*) the states which had revolted to Lacedaemon, Argilus, Stageirus, etc.—these had a claim for protection on the Lacedaemonians; and *b*) certain other states which appear to have remained faithful to Athens, Mecyberna, Sanè (iv. 109 fin.), and Singus, had a similar claim upon the Athenians. The latter may have been expressly mentioned, because they were in some peculiar danger from their neighbours. (Cp. v. 39 init., where the Olynthians take Mecyberna.) Köhler (Zur Geschichte des Delisch-Attischen Bundes, p. 143) argues that Mecyberna and Singus must have revolted from Athens at the beginning of the war, from the fact that their names do not occur in the tribute lists after 431 B.C. But we cannot venture to draw this inference. For Mecyberna certainly, and Sanè, which goes with Singus, probably (i. e. if it be the town mentioned iv. 109 fin. and not Sanè in Pallenè) continued loyal. And it is possible that the names may have been omitted for some other reason. *c*) The revolted cities which had been already recovered, such as Mendè and Toronè, or were now besieged (Scionè) by the Athenians, are left at their mercy. Why Sermylè is included in this class, we do not know. It appears to have remained faithful to Athens when Potidaea revolted (i. 65 med.) But it may have shown symptoms of disaffection at a more recent period. Cp. note on iv. 129. For the protection of the Peloponnesian and Chalcidian garrison shut up in Scionè (iv. 123 fin.) a special clause is inserted. The

18.

18. recent acquisitions of the Athenians are given back to their former owners, except of Nisaea, which is allowed to balance Plataea and Panactum. There is no provision forbidding the sea to Lacedaemonian ships of war such as occurs in the truce.

The result was far from being favourable to the interests of the Athenians. They gave up the Spartan captives, whose detention would have secured them against invasion (iv. 41 init.). The Lacedaemonians, if they could only recover Pylos and the prisoners, were ready to promise anything, and to perform nothing. They successfully evaded their engagement to restore Amphipolis (v. 21. 35), and gave up Panactum only when it had been levelled with the ground by the Boeotians (c. 42).

18. 5. *ὅσας δὲ πόλεις* **παρέδοσαν** *Λακεδαιμόνιοι Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξέστω ἀπιέναι ὅποι ἂν βούλωνται, αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντας· τὰς δὲ πόλεις φερούσας τὸν φόρον τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου αὐτονόμους εἶναι.*

παρέδοσαν. The aorist is used as a kind of future perfect, taking for granted that the stipulation will be carried into effect.

τὸν ἐπ' Ἀριστείδου φόρον. According to Thucydides the tribute was first fixed at 460 talents (i. 96). But at the beginning of the war it had already reached the sum of 600 talents (ii. 13 med.), not probably by an increase of the rate imposed upon the allies, but from the extension of the tribute to new cities and by the commutation of ships for money. No general increase appears in the tribute lists. They show on the contrary (Köhler, Del.-Att. Bund., p. 127, 134 foll.) that the tribute, partially at least, was lowered in 450 and 446, and restored to its former amount, or in a few cases raised, about 437.

The Orators (Andoc. De Pace, (iii.) 9, Aesch. De F. L. (ii.) 186, Pseudo-Andoc. in Alcib. 11.) affirm the tribute to have been raised from 600 to 1200 talents. Andocides and Aeschines say that more than 1200 talents came in yearly during the peace of Nicias; the Pseudo-Andocides says that Alcibiades persuaded the Athenians to depart from the just assessment of Aristides and to double the amount imposed upon each of the allies. (Aristides, the rhetorician of the 2nd century, A.D., xlvi. 149, and the Scholia on him, also ascribe a great increase to Alcibiades, although their authority is not good

for much). The testimony of Andocides, who was a contemporary, 18. 5.
is of considerable weight, and the statement is not improbable in itself. It is argued by Mr. Grote (part II. ch. xlvii. note, ad init.), that Thucydides could not have failed to mention the doubling of the tribute if it had really taken place, especially when he speaks of the alteration of the tribute into a customs' duty of five per cent. in the last years of the war (vii. 28 fin.). But how dangerous it is to argue from the silence of an ancient author is shown by the fact, recorded in a recently discovered inscription, that in the year 425 B.C. the tribute imposed on the islands was doubled (Köhler, p. 147 foll., Kirchhoff, C. I. A. no. 37). Only the part of the inscription relating to the islands is preserved with any completeness, but the statement of the Orators, the probabilities of the case, and the other fragments of the same tribute list (Köhler, p. 205 foll.) justify us in supposing that the increase of the tribute extended to all the allies. And a part of the same inscription now in fragments records the passing of a general measure about the tribute in the same year, although its scope cannot be made out with certainty.

As the inscription belongs to the archonship of Stratocles, 425 B.C., the raising of the tribute is prior to the peace of Nicias (421), and to the appearance of Alcibiades as a political leader (420), described by Thucydides (v. 43). The inscription therefore only partly confirms the statement of the Orators. Plutarch is also convicted of inaccuracy (Aristides, xxiv), *Περικλέους δ' ἀποθανόντος ἐπιτείνοντες οἱ δημαγωγοὶ κατὰ μικρὸν εἰς χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων ταλάντων κεφάλαιον ἀνήγαγον.*

The tribute lists were of two kinds. In one there is affixed to the name of each town a very small sum, which is probably the one-sixtieth portion of the tribute, dedicated as an offering to Athenè (the words *τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῇ θεῷ μνᾶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ταλάν[του]* are found upon one of these lists (Köhler, p. 78). Of the second class a single inscription remains, that of 425. In this the sums are larger, and the inscription appears to give the rate at which each city was assessed (*φόρος ἐτάχθη* occurs on this, Köhler, p. 71, cp. p. 103 foll.)

The date of the several inscriptions was for a long time uncertain.

18. 5. Most of them are headed by words like the following, [ἐπ]ὶ τῆς τρί[της ἀρχῆς], ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς τετά[ρτ]ης, ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης καὶ δεκάτη[ς] ἀρχῆς. But it was not known in what year the series of ἀρχαί commenced, until an inscription (first published in 1865, Köhler, p. 78, Kirchhoff, C. I. A. no. 260) was found which contains the words ἦρχε δὲ Ἀθηναίοις Ἀριστίων, and ἐπὶ τῆς τετάρτης καὶ τρ[ιακοστῆς ἀρχῆς]. Aristion was archon in 421, and therefore the series begins with the year 454, Ol. 81. 3.

18. 9. ὀμνύντων δὲ τὸν ἐπιχώριον ὅρκον ἑκάτεροι τὸν μέγιστον ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως.

ἐξ has been needlessly altered by Ullrich and Classen into ἑπτακαίδεκα (ιζ') because this is the number of the subscribers to the treaty. ἐξ ἑκάστης πόλεως, each of the cities on either side swearing in the form of their own most binding oaths. Either ἐξ may be taken with τὸν μέγιστον, equivalent to ἐν, or τινές may be supplied.

20. 1. αὗται αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο τελευτῶντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἅμα ἦρι, ἐκ Διονυσίων εὐθὺς τῶν ἀστικῶν, αὐτόδεκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἡ ἐσβολὴ ἡ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦδε ἐγένετο.

The date of the treaty (cp. c. 19 init.) was Elaphebolion 25, i. e. about the end of March or the beginning of April. παρενεγκουσῶν, either 1)=διενεγκουσῶν, 'with a difference of a few days;' or 2) taking παρά in the sense of 'beyond,' 'with an excess of a few days.' The latter explanation accords better *a*) with the precise words of the Greek, αὐτοδέκα ἐτῶν διελθόντων καὶ ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων παρενεγκουσῶν, *b*) with the natural meaning of παρά in composition, *c*) with the use of the word in v. 26 med. εὑρήσει τις τοσαῦτα ἔτη λογιζόμενος κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους καὶ ἡμέρας οὐ πολλὰς παρενεγκούσας, where Thucydides is speaking of the duration of the whole war. For he probably reckons the beginning of the war from the attack on Plataea, (i. e. 'the beginning of spring,' Elaphebolion, March—April, 431, cp. ii. 2 init.), and if, as Plutarch (Lys. xv) informs us, the ships and Long Walls were surrendered on the 16th of Munychion (April—May), 404, it is clear that the 'few days' did not fall short of, but somewhat exceeded, the twenty-seven years.

It might indeed be argued from the present passage that the commencement of the war is reckoned not from the attack on Plataea, but from the first invasion of Attica. But the difference is then too great to be described by *ἡμερῶν ὀλίγων*. For the invasion did not take place until eighty days after the attack on Plataea. **20. 1.**

σκοπείτω δέ τις κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, καὶ μὴ τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα σημαινόντων πιστεύσας μᾶλλον. οὐ γὰρ ἀκριβές ἐστιν, οἷς καὶ ἀρχομένοις καὶ μεσοῦσι, καὶ ὅπως ἔτυχέ τῳ, ἐπεγένετό τι. κατὰ θέρη δὲ καὶ χειμῶνας ἀριθμῶν, ὥσπερ γέγραπται, εὑρήσει, ἐξ ἡμισείας ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν δύναμιν ἔχοντος, δέκα μὲν θέρη, ἴσους δὲ χειμῶνας τῷ πρώτῳ πολέμῳ τῷδε γεγενημένους. **20. 2.**

τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν 1) may be governed by *κατά*, but the preposition is then too far from its case; 2) better with *σκοπείτω*, the construction being varied, *σκοπείτω κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους, σκοπείτω τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν*. The sentence would have run more regularly *καὶ μὴ σκοπείτω τὴν ἀπαρίθμησιν τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν ἑκασταχοῦ ἢ ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς σημαινόντων ἐς τὰ προγεγενημένα. τῶν ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινὸς σημαινόντων*, is the genitive after *ὀνομάτων*. *σημαινόντων* (unnecessarily placed by Poppo after *προγεγενημένα*) is to be construed both with *ἀρχόντων* and with *ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινός*: *ἢ ἀρχόντων=ἢ ἀρχόντων σημαινόντων*. *ἑκασταχοῦ* qualifies *σημαινόντων* not *ἀρχόντων ἢ ἀπὸ τιμῆς τινός*. The prominent place of *ἀρχόντων* in the sentence brings out the contrast between the two ways of reckoning, by *χρόνοι* and by *ἄρχοντες*.

ὥσπερ γέγραπται, 'according to the plan which I have adopted.' *ἑκατέρου*, scil. *τοῦ τε θέρους καὶ τοῦ χειμῶνος*, lit. 1) 'each of the two having in half measure the value of a year,' i. e. having the value of a half year; or 2) taking *τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* with *ἐξ ἡμισείας*, each receiving its value for the half of the year.

This passage proves that the summers and winters of Thucydides are each of them periods of six months. Nor could we possibly suppose that Thucydides would divide the year into unequal periods without further explanation. It is true that the winter months during which navigation was closed are reckoned as four in the speech of Nicias, vi. 21 fin. *ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥᾴδιον ἐλθεῖν*. But there Thucydides is speaking of the natural

20. 2. division of the year, here of a conventional division, adopted for purposes of chronology. If his winter were of four months' duration only, he would have had to reckon the summer as commencing not later than the first of March, unless he ended it later than the first of November.

21. 3. *αὐτὸς μέν, πάλιν πεμπόντων τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ κελευόντων μάλιστα μὲν καὶ τὸ χωρίον παραδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ μή, ὁπόσοι Πελοποννησίων ἔνεισιν*

22. 1. *ἐξαγαγεῖν, κατὰ τάχος ἐπορεύετο. οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι ἐν τῇ Λακεδαίμονι αὐτοὶ ἔτυχον ὄντες κ.τ.λ.*

1) The exact force of *αὐτός* may be traced as follows, 'he came to plead the cause of others, but he was himself sent back;' or more precisely, 'he came to propose that the Chalcidian cities should not be surrendered, but he was himself sent back to execute the surrender.'

Or 2) *αὐτὸς μέν* may be emphatically opposed to *οἱ δὲ ξύμμαχοι*. 'He was himself sent back, but the allies who were present at Lacedaemon carried on the opposition to the treaty.'

22. 2. *αὐτοὶ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο, νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον Ἀμπελίδου καὶ Λίχου ἐλθόντων ἐπισπένδεσθαι, νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων οὐ δεινοὺς εἶναι, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Πελοπόννησον μάλιστ' ἂν ἡσυχάζειν· πρὸς γὰρ ἂν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, εἰ ἐξῆν, χωρεῖν.*

νομίσαντες αὐτοὺς . . . εἶναι. These words are a resumption of the previous clause, *νομίζοντες ἥκιστα ἂν σφίσι τούς τε Ἀργείους, νομίζοντες* (pres.) representing the state of mind in which the Lacedaemonians acted, *νομίσαντες* (aor.) the conclusion which led to this state of mind.

πρὸς γὰρ ἂν . . . χωρεῖν. Either 1) after *ξυμμαχίαν ἐποιοῦντο*. 'The Lacedaemonians made an alliance with Athens, for they knew that the other states of Peloponnesus would if they could have gone over to the Athenians.'

Or 2)* *γάρ* may be explained by a suppressed clause inferred from *ἡσυχάζειν ἄν*, 'the states of Peloponnesus would not have kept quiet otherwise, for if it had been in their power (which it would no longer be when the treaty was made,) they would have been going over to the Athenians.'

The new agreement was a defensive alliance made between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians, and was confined to one or two points. The clause which is repeated here from the previous treaty, empowering the two contracting parties, of themselves and without the consent of their allies, to add to or take away from either treaty, naturally created a panic among the Peloponnesians (v. 29), whose independence was threatened by it. The allies or tributaries of Athens were not in a position to make a similar complaint, for most of them had suffered already what the Lacedaemonian allies dreaded, nor had those of them who were independent anything to fear from Lacedaemon. The provision respecting the revolt of the slaves applies to Lacedaemon only. This indicates that the Athenians were in no such danger from their slaves as the Lacedaemonians were from the Helots. The older treaty remained in force, and, in accordance with its provisions, the prisoners from Sphacteria were now restored. **23.**

καὶ τὸ θέρος ἦρχε τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη ὁ πόλεμος ξυνεχῶς γενόμενος γέγραπται. **24. 2.**

ταῦτα δὲ τὰ δέκα ἔτη. The antecedent is implied in *τοῦ ἑνδεκάτου ἔτους.* The words are the accusative of duration after *γενόμενος.*

οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι καὶ τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ πόλεών τινες διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα, καὶ εὐθὺς ἄλλη ταραχὴ καθίστατο τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα. **25. 1.**

ἄλλη refers to what has gone before. Either 1) a new disturbance of the peace at once arose in addition to the previous efforts of the Corinthians to set aside the treaty, or 2)* a disturbance at once arose in consequence of the efforts of the Corinthians to set aside the treaty. *ἄλλη* is then used pleonastically, (cp. Soph. Ajax, 516,—

καὶ μητέρ' ἄλλη μοῖρα τὸν φύσαντά τε
καθεῖλεν, Ἅιδου θανασίμους οἰκητόρας·)

and merely implies a change in the situation.

According to 1) *διεκίνουν τὰ πεπραγμένα* refers to the previous attitude of the Corinthians, *ταραχή* to the events recorded in c. 27.

25. 1. But there is not enough in the narrative of Thucydides to justify this distinction. The whole sentence must refer to the intrigue of the Corinthians with the Argives, distinguishing only the temper in which they began from the overt acts in which they ended.

25. 3. *καὶ ἐπὶ ἓξ ἔτη μὲν καὶ δέκα μῆνας ἀπέσχοντο μὴ ἐπὶ τὴν ἑκατέρων γῆν στρατεῦσαι, ἔξωθεν δὲ μετ' ἀνακωχῆς οὐ βεβαίου ἔβλαπτον ἀλλήλους τὰ μάλιστα· ἔπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἀναγκασθέντες λῦσαι τὰς μετὰ τὰ δέκα ἔτη σπονδὰς αὖθις ἐς πόλεμον φανερὸν κατέστησαν.*

The first war began in the spring of 431, and the peace ten years afterwards in 421, at the same time of the year within a few days. The peace of 421 continued six years and ten months, and was terminated by the resolution of the Lacedaemonians to renew the war, after the appearance of the Syracusans and Alcibiades at Sparta, vi. 93. This resolution was formed during the winter, some time after the first campaign in Sicily was over, i. e. early in the year 414, and at this point Thucydides fixes the limits of the peace, not at the actual descent of the Athenians upon the Peloponnesus in the following summer, vi. 105. Cp. note on i. 57. 6. § 5. As the six years and ten months are continuous with the ten years of the first war, it is clear that they are reckoned from the peace, not from the alliance. Thucydides seems however at the beginning of the chapter to regard the two as practically contemporaneous: *μετὰ δὲ τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ τὴν ξυμμαχίαν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, αἳ ἐγένοντο μετὰ τὸν δεκαετῆ πόλεμον κ.τ.λ.*

26. 2. *καὶ τὴν διὰ μέσου ξύμβασιν εἴ τις μὴ ἀξιώσει πόλεμον νομίζειν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δικαιώσει. τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις ὡς διῄρηται ἀθρείτω, καὶ εὑρήσει οὐκ εἰκὸς ὂν εἰρήνην αὐτὴν κριθῆναι, ἐν ᾗ οὔτε ἀπέδοσαν πάντα οὔτ' ἀπεδέξαντο, ἃ ξυνέθεντο, ἔξω τε τούτων πρὸς τὸν Μαντινικὸν καὶ Ἐπιδαύριον πόλεμον καὶ ἐς ἄλλα ἀμφοτέροις ἁμαρτήματα ἐγένοντο, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ξύμμαχοι οὐδὲν ἧσσον πολέμιοι ἦσαν, Βοιωτοί τε ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον ἦγον.*

διῄρηται, scil. *ἡ διὰ μέσου ξύμβασις*. *διαιρεῖν* here takes the meaning of 'defining,' from the notion either of dividing or analysing a thing in itself, or of separating it from other things.

τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις κ.τ.λ. 1) The particle which should have answered to *τέ* is lost in the sentence, which takes a different turn,

the irregularity being concealed by a connection of sound with καὶ εὑρήσει. Or τέ may have the meaning 'too,' 'let him consider it too with reference to facts, and not merely with reference to names such as peace and war.' See note on i. 9. 3. § 3. **26. 2.**

This is better than 2) taking τοῖς τε γὰρ ἔργοις with ἔξω τε τούτων, 'let him consider what the facts of the case were, etc.:' 'besides this there was a Mantinean and Epidaurian war, and the Chalcidians and Boeotians did not recognise the peace.' For all this is a part of the 'facts of the case.'

ἐκεχειρίαν δεχήμερον, a truce for ten days, or more precisely a truce which could not expire until ten days' notice had been given.

καὶ ξυνέβη μοι φεύγειν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ ἔτη εἴκοσι μετὰ τὴν ἐς Ἀμφίπολιν στρατηγίαν, καὶ γενομένῳ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ οὐχ ἧσσον τοῖς Πελοποννησίων διὰ τὴν φυγήν, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τι αὐτῶν μᾶλλον αἰσθεσθαι. **26. 5.**

It is remarkable that Thucydides speaks of his exile only as affording him a means of obtaining information from both sides; from any other point of view it was in his eyes a matter hardly concerning either himself or his readers. Hence he introduces the circumstance of his banishment out of its historical place. He does not expressly say, though there is no reason to doubt, that he was banished for his failure to relieve Amphipolis, perhaps because he did not choose to discuss a matter in which he was personally interested. For his grand impartiality extends to himself as well as to others.

The actual statement respecting the cause of his banishment rests only on the evidence of the two Lives of Thucydides usually prefixed to his history. One of them is anonymous; the other, called by the name of Marcellinus, is a work of unknown date and authority, and probably made up of different writings. Marcellinus also furnishes the sole evidence for the statement that the influence of Cleon led to the condemnation of Thucydides, § 46, ἐφυγαδεύθη ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων, διαβάλλοντος τοῦ Κλέωνος. This latter assertion, though probable, is not much confirmed by so late an authority; nor is such a motive needed to account in a man like Thucydides for a severe judgment on Cleon.

26. 5. Was the loss of Amphipolis due to the negligence of Thucydides? Bishop Thirlwall thinks that he did all that was possible under the circumstances. Mr. Grote is of opinion that he should himself have 'changed the circumstances.' The activity of Brasidas, the capitulation of Acanthus, and the fall of Toronè, must have been known to him, and he ought not to have been ignorant of the necessity for defending the bridge over the Strymon leading to Amphipolis. At this critical moment he should not have been at Thasos, which, being an island, was in no danger from Brasidas. Mr. Grote concludes by remarking, what none will be disposed to deny, that posterity has greatly benefited by his banishment or voluntary exile.

We may observe *a*) that Thucydides certainly showed no want of energy or ability in relieving Eion when the situation of affairs was made known to him. This is a presumption that he was not guilty of any gross carelessness with regard to Amphipolis. *b*) But whether he knew, or ought to have known, of the recent proceedings of Brasidas and the danger of Amphipolis, turns on the question how long he had been at Thasos, or in the region of Chalcidice. He may have sailed straight from Athens to Thasos, and have just arrived there at the very time when the news from Amphipolis reached him. He may have gone from Amphipolis to Thasos for some necessary purpose, as for example to raise troops against Brasidas, cp. iv. 105 med. *μὴ ἀφικνουμένου αὐτοῦ (τοῦ Θουκυδίδους) τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἀμφιπολιτῶν, ἐλπίσαν ἐκ θαλάσσης ξυμμαχικὸν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Θράκης ἀγείραντα αὐτὸν περιποιήσειν σφᾶς οὐκέτι προσχωροῖ*; or to put down disaffection. Or we may suppose him to have been lingering with the Athenian fleet in the neighbourhood of his own home and property. But for none of these suppositions can a particle of evidence be adduced. *c*) And it must be remembered that Eucles and not Thucydides was in charge of Amphipolis at the time.

Bishop Thirlwall naturally desires to acquit the great historian. Mr. Grote in condemning him shows what may be called the bias of impartiality, or perhaps a too great tenderness to the faults of the Athenian people. But unless we knew how long he had been at Thasos and why he went there—and neither Thucydides himself

nor any other writer gives the necessary information on either of these points—we can neither acquit nor condemn him. **26.** 5.

If it be argued that his silence is suspicious, it must be remembered that he had the facts at his disposal, and could have given to posterity any version of them that he pleased.

ἀποδεῖξαι δὲ ἄνδρας ὀλίγους ἀρχὴν αὐτοκράτορας. **27.** 2.

Either 1)* 'having full powers in their office;' cp. for the acc. *ἀρχήν*, note on v. 9. 9: or 2) *ἀρχήν* may be taken in the sense of 'from the first.'

οἵ τε Ἀργεῖοι ἄριστα ἔσχον τοῖς πᾶσιν οὗ ξυναράμενοι τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ **28.** 2. *πολέμου, ἀμφοτέροις δὲ μᾶλλον ἔνσπονδοι ὄντες ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι.*

ἐκκαρπωσάμενοι, 1)* *ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων*, or 2) *ἐκ τῆς εἰρήνης* understood in *ἀμφοτέροις ἔνσπονδοι ὄντες*. Cp. the satirical reference to the Argives in Aristoph. Peace, 476 (acted in 421 B.C.)—

κατεγέλων τῶν ταλαιπώρουμένων
καὶ ταῦτα διχόθεν μισθοφοροῦντες ἄλφιτα.

And cp. ii. 67 init., iv. 42 med.

ὥστε ἄσμενοι πρὸς τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐτράποντο πόλιν τε μεγάλην νομίζοντες **29.** 1, *... νομίσαντες πλέον τι εἰδότας μεταστῆναι αὐτούς.* 2.

The present expresses the constant feeling; the aorist the feeling or opinion at a particular moment: cp. note on c. 22. 2.

οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι ... τὴν ξυνθήκην προφέροντες, ἐν ᾗ εἴρητο, ἃ ἔχοντες ἐς τὸν **31.** 5. *Ἀττικὸν πόλεμον καθίσταντό τινες, ταῦτα ἔχοντας καὶ ἐξελθεῖν κ.τ.λ.*

This agreement is nowhere else mentioned. We can only infer that it was made, probably at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war, between the members of the Peloponnesian alliance.

ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι εὐθὺς μετ' ἐκείνους, καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ Θράκης Χαλκιδῆς, **31.** 6. *Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι. Βοιωτοὶ δὲ καὶ Μεγαρῆς τὸ αὐτὸ λέγοντες ἡσύχαζον, περιορώμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, καὶ νομίζοντες σφίσι τὴν Ἀργείων δημοκρατίαν αὐτοῖς ὀλιγαρχουμένοις ἧσσον ξύμφορον εἶναι τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτείας.*

The word *περιορᾶσθαι* has two principal meanings, 1)* 'to look carefully at,' and 2) 'to overlook,' and we have to determine by the

31. 6. context which of these is more suitable to this passage. Now it is very natural 1)* that the Lacedaemonians should watch carefully the proceedings of the Boeotians and Megarians, but very unlikely 2) that they would neglect or overlook them. *περιορᾶσθαι*, like *ὁρᾶσθαι*, may be passive as well as middle. The meaning of 'watching carefully,' which is common in the middle voice, is here transferred to the passive. Another meaning 3) which has been given to *περιορώμενοι*, 'being left to themselves' (Grote), is inconsistent with the usage of the word, for *περιορᾶσθαι* in the passive is not used absolutely in the sense of 'let alone,' though *περιορᾶν* in the active and in connection with other words='to overlook,' or 'not to notice' an act, i.e. 'to permit' it. A more satisfactory rendering 4) would be obtained by taking *περιορώμενοι* in an active sense, 'watching the turn of affairs,' if we were justified in omitting *ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων* (Dobree and Classen). But there is no trace of any variation in the MSS., and we have no right to improve the text without regard to their authority.

ἡσύχαζον, i.e. 'did nothing,' 'remained as they were,' refusing to come into the treaty with the Athenians, but forming no closer connection with the Peloponnesian malcontents.

32. 1. *περὶ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου Σκιωναίους μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκπολιορκήσαντες ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν.*

It hence appears that the removal of the women and children spoken of in iv. 123 fin. was not complete.

32. 1. *ἐνθυμούμενοι τάς τε ἐν ταῖς μάχαις ξυμφορὰς καὶ τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς θεοῦ χρήσαντος.*

There is a slight irregularity in this sentence owing to the misplacement of *τέ*, which should have followed *ἐνθυμούμενοι*, *τέ* then answering to *καί* in the succeeding clause.

32. 5. *τὰς δεχημέρους ἐπισπονδάς.*

The preposition *ἐπι-*, 1) may refer to the ever-renewable character of the ten days' 'truce upon truce' between the Athenians and Boeotians, (cp. note on 26. 2); or 2) may imply that it was made

as a supplement to the first treaty between the Athenians and Lacedaemonians. Cp. v. 22 med. *τοὺς Ἀργείους ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἤθελον . . . ἐπισπένδεσθαι.* **32.** 5.

καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῶν **Νεοδαμωδῶν** *ἐς Λέπρεον κατέστησαν, κείμενον ἐπὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς καὶ τῆς Ἠλείας, ὄντες ἤδη διάφοροι Ἠλείοις.* **34.** 1.

The *νεοδαμώδεις* appear to have been an enfranchised class at Sparta, of whom from this time forward (Arnold) mention frequently occurs. They are distinguished here from the newly-enfranchised Helots, but further than this nothing is certainly known about them, although much has been conjectured.

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ θέρους καὶ Θύσσον τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἄθῳ **Δικτιδιῆς** *εἷλον, Ἀθηναίων οὖσαν ξύμμαχον.* **35.** 1.

The Dictidians are nowhere else mentioned, but it is unnecessary to alter the reading to Διῆς with some commentators, or to Χαλκιδῆς, as Poppo suggests. The Dians were still allies of Athens, c. 82 init.

ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔφοροι ἕτεροι καὶ οὐκ ἐφ' ὧν αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο ἄρχοντες ἤδη, καί τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ἐναντίοι **σπονδαῖς.** **36.** 1.

For the absence of the article see note on i. 53. 2.

καὶ πειρᾶσθαι **Βοιωτούς,** *Ἀργείων γενομένους πρῶτον αὐτοὺς ξυμμάχους,* **36.** 1. *αὖθις μετὰ* **Βοιωτῶν** *Ἀργείους Λακεδαιμονίοις ποιῆσαι ξυμμάχους.*

There is a certain formality and precision in the repetition of Βοιωτῶν where we should expect *ἑαυτῶν*, such as occurs in the treaty, v. 18. 5, *ἢν δὲ* **Ἀθηναῖοι** *πείθωσι τὰς πόλεις, βουλομένας ταύτας ἐξέστω ξυμμάχους ποιεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς* **Ἀθηναίοις.**

ἐλέσθαι *γὰρ Λακεδαιμονίους πρὸ τῆς* **Ἀθηναίων ἔχθρας** *καὶ διαλύσεως* **36.** 1. *τῶν σπονδῶν Ἀργείους σφίσι φίλους καὶ ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι.*

There is here a confusion between two ideas: 'The Lacedaemonians cared more for the Argive alliance than they cared for,' or 'feared, the enmity of Athens, and the dissolution of the treaty:' and, 'They preferred the Argive alliance to the friendship of Athens and the maintenance of the treaty.' Cp. for the same

36. 1. sentiment in a generalized form i. 36 init. *γνώτω τὸ μὲν δεδιὸς αὐτοῦ, ἰσχὺν ἔχον, τοὺς ἐναντίους μᾶλλον φοβῆσον, τὸ δὲ θαρσοῦν μὴ δεξαμένου ἀσθενὲς ὂν πρὸς ἰσχύοντας τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀδεέστερον ἐσόμενον.* Classen takes *πρό* in the sense of 'before.' 'They would have liked to have the Argives for their friends before they declared war against the Athenians.' But this explanation seems to force the meaning of *ἑλέσθαι.*

36. 1. *τὸ γὰρ Ἄργος ἀεὶ ἠπίσταντο ἐπιθυμοῦντας* τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους καλῶς *σφίσι φίλιον γενέσθαι, ἡγούμενοι τὸν ἔξω Πελοποννήσου πόλεμον ῥᾴω ἂν εἶναι. τὸ μέντοι Πάνακτον ἐδέοντο* Βοιωτοὺς ὅπως παραδώσουσι Λακεδαιμονίοις *κ.τ.λ.*

καλῶς, not 'on a favourable opportunity' (Stahl and Classen), but 'on satisfactory terms.'

ἡγούμενοι, the reading of all the MSS., must be corrected into *ἡγουμένους.* The word was apparently mistaken for the nominative to *ἠπίσταντο.*

The accusative, Βοιωτούς, is unusual after *ἐδέοντο. ἐδέοντο* Βοιωτοὺς *ὅπως=ἐδέοντο ὅπως* Βοιωτοί. Cp. note on iii. 51. 2.

38. 3. *οὐ γὰρ εἶπον αὐτοῖς οἱ βοιωτάρχαι τὰ ἐκ τῆς Λακεδαίμονος, ὅτι τῶν τε ἐφόρων Κλεόβουλος καὶ Ξενάρης καὶ οἱ φίλοι παραινοῦσιν Ἀργείων πρῶτον καὶ Κορινθίων γενομένους ξυμμάχους ὕστερον μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων γίγνεσθαι.*

Lit. 'afterwards to become their allies in company with the Lacedaemonians,' i. e. the Boeotians after first forming an alliance with the Argives and Corinthians, were afterwards to form an alliance with the Lacedaemonians as well, in which the Argives and Corinthians would be included.

39. 2. *ἐγίγνοντο γὰρ ἀεὶ λόγοι τοῖς τε Ἀθηναίοις καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις περὶ ὧν εἶχον ἀλλήλων.*

τέ, i. e. both Athenians and Lacedaemonians, sometimes one and sometimes the other, introducing fresh points of difference.

39. 3. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ εἰδότες μέν, ὅτι ἀδικήσουσιν Ἀθηναίους, εἰρημένον ἄνευ ἀλλήλων μήτε σπένδεσθαί τῳ μήτε πολεμεῖν, βουλόμενοι δὲ τὸ Πάνακτον παραλαβεῖν ὡς τὴν Πύλον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ κομιούμενοι κ.τ.λ.*

This provision is not found either in the treaty or in the alliance, but it may be understood, as Bishop Thirlwall remarks, in the last clause of the latter (v. 23. 6), or in the provision that neither party should conclude a war without the consent of the other (v. 23. 1, 2). Or it may have formed part of a separate agreement, which Thucydides has not given. 39. 3.

It may be asked how the Lacedaemonians could expect to obtain Pylos in return for Panactum at a time when they were flagrantly violating the treaty by a separate alliance with Boeotia. The answer is that they expected the alliance to remain a secret until they had gained the advantage. Cp. c. 42 fin. λεγομένων δὲ τούτων οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν, νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων τοῦ τε Πανάκτου τῇ καθαιρέσει, ὃ ἔδει ὀρθὸν παραδοῦναι, καὶ πυνθανόμενοι ὅτι καὶ Βοιωτοῖς ἰδίᾳ ξυμμαχίαν πεποίηνται. Yet the alliance was no secret to the Argives, c. 40 init.

καὶ τὸ Πάνακτον εὐθὺς καθῃρεῖτο. 39. 3.

ὡς . . . τὸ Πάνακτον ᾔσθοντο καθαιρούμενον. 40. 1.

Cp. τὸ μὲν Πάνακτον . . . καθῃρημένον εὗρον, c. 42 init., when the work was completed.

ὅπῃ ἂν ξυγχωρῇ. 40. 3.

'In any way in which it could be agreed upon.' The impersonal sense, though not found elsewhere in any undisputed passage, is justified by the analogy of ἐγχωρεῖν.

ἔπειτα δ' οὐκ ἐώντων Λακεδαιμονίων μεμνῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' εἰ βούλονται σπένδεσθαι ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἕτοιμοι εἶναι κ.τ.λ. 41. 2.

ἑτοῖμοι εἶναι is dependent on some words such as ἐπειδὴ ἔλεγον, implied in οὐκ ἐώντων.

νομίζοντες καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδιδόναι. See note on English text. 42. 1.

οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι δεινὰ ἐποίουν, νομίζοντες ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων. 42. 2.

'They made a great noise' or 'fuss' about it; cp. Herod. iii. 14. 6, τῶν ἄλλων Αἰγυπτίων τῶν περικατημένων αὐτὸν κλαιόντων καὶ δεινὰ ποιεύντων. Thucydides nowhere else uses the expression,

42. 2. but in two other places (i. 102 fin., vi. 60 fin.) *δεινὸν ποιεῖσθαι*, 'to consider it monstrous.'

43. 2. *Ἀλκιβιάδης ὁ Κλεινίου, ἀνὴρ ἡλικίᾳ μὲν ἔτι τότε ὢν νέος ὡς ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει.*

The exact age of Alcibiades is uncertain. But the statement of Cornelius Nepos, Alcib. c. 10, that he was about forty years old at the time of his death, must be rejected. According to Plutarch, Alcib. xxxviii, xxxix, cp. Isocrates, De Bigis, (xvi) 50, he perished during the tyranny of the Thirty in 404; and Xenophon tells us (Hell. ii. 1. 25) that he had warned the Athenians of their danger before the battle of Aegospotami in the preceding year. So that had the statement of Cornelius Nepos been correct he would have been twenty-four years old at this time, B.C. 420. There would be nothing improbable in the age thus ascribed to him, if it were reconcileable with the statement in the Symposium of Plato, 219 E, 220, that he served in the campaign of Potidaea (432-429) at least nine years previously, when, if he was only twenty-four in the year 420, he would have been too young for military service.

43. 3. *ἀλλ' ἵνα Ἀργείους σφίσι σπεισάμενοι ἐξέλωσι.*

ἐξέλωσι, 1)* 'overthrow' or 'destroy,' 2) 'get rid of,' 'put out of the way.'

44. 3. *ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων πρέσβεις . . . Φιλοχαρίδας καὶ Λέων καὶ Ἔνδιος, δείσαντες κ.τ.λ.*

δείσαντες refers to the Lacedaemonians in general, who are implied in the Lacedaemonian ambassadors, cp. v. 61 med. *καὶ πείσαντες* (scil. the Athenians) *ἐκ τῶν λόγων τοὺς ξυμμάχους, εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐπὶ Ὀρχομενὸν τὸν Ἀρκαδικὸν πάντες πλὴν Ἀργείων.*

45. 2. *τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους πείθει, πίστιν αὐτοῖς δούς, ἢν μὴ ὁμολογήσωσιν ἐν τῷ δήμῳ αὐτοκράτορες ἥκειν, Πύλον τε αὐτοῖς ἀποδώσειν (πείσειν γὰρ αὐτὸς Ἀθηναίους ὥσπερ καὶ νῦν ἀντιλέγειν), καὶ τἆλλα ξυναλλάξειν.*

The infinitives *πείσειν, ἀντιλέγειν*, are dependent on *ἔφη*, implied in *πείθει* which precedes.

46. 1. *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὁ Νικίας, καίπερ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν*

ἠπατημένων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος περὶ τοῦ μὴ αὐτοκράτορας ὁμολογῆσαι **46.** 1.
ἥκειν, ὅμως τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔφη χρῆναι φίλους μᾶλλον γίγνεσθαι κ.τ.λ.

The clause τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων αὐτῶν ἠπατημένων is subordinate to καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξηπατημένος. καί emphasizes αὐτός. The force of αὐτῶν and αὐτός is slightly different. When the Lacedaemonians, who had the nearest interest in the matter, and were least likely to be deceived, themselves fell into the snare, Nicias too (καὶ αὐτός) was deceived even more completely than they were (ἐξηπατημένος, cp. iii. 63 med., where προδοῦναι is repeated in the more emphatic form καταπροδοῦναι). Alcibiades told a direct falsehood to the Lacedaemonians, and through them deceived Nicias.

εἰπεῖν τε ἐκέλευον ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς, εἰ ἐβούλοντο ἀδικεῖν, ἤδη ἂν Ἀργείους **46.** 3.
ξυμμάχους πεποιῆσθαι, ὡς παρεῖναί γ' αὐτοὺς αὐτοῦ τούτου ἕνεκα.

Two constructions are confused: the clause beginning with ὅτι καὶ σφεῖς proceeds as if εἰπεῖν ἐκέλευον σφᾶς had preceded.

The hundred years' alliance between Athens, Argos, Elis, and **47.**
Mantinea, and their allies, is defensive only. All the confederates are to act together. The other provisions relate to the conditions on which assistance is to be given to any state which is attacked, and to the formalities necessary for the ratification of the treaty. We may remark, with Mr. Grote, that Mantinea and Elis, no less than Argos and Athens, are spoken of as imperial states, the meaning being that the towns which Mantinea had acquired (v. 29 init.) and Lepreum, which was claimed by Elis (v. 31), are recognised as their allies and subjects (ξύμμαχοι ὧν ἄρχουσι).

A fragment of a marble tablet containing small portions of twenty-six lines of this treaty was discovered in 1877 on the Acropolis, and has been published by Kirchhoff (Hermes, xii. p. 368 ff.) He notes thirty-one variations between the text of Bekker and the inscription. But of these only seven occur in the inscription itself, the rest are but variations from Kirchhoff's conjectural restoration. It should be observed however that the inscription appears to have been written στοιχηδόν, i. e. in equal lines, and that each letter fills up the same space; hence it can in some places be restored with tolerable certainty.

47. The seven variations between the existing part of the inscription and the text of Thucydides are as follows. In § 1 the inscription inserts *πρὸς ἀλλήλους* after *Ἠλεῖοι*. In § 3 the inscription has [*Μα*]*ντινέας καὶ Ἠλ*[*είους*], and *Μαντινέας καί* for *καὶ Μαντινέας*, showing that words were transposed; and similarly in § 4, *τὴν Ἀργείων ἢ* for *ἢ τὴν Ἀργείων*. At the end of § 4 the inscription has *ἐάν* for *ἤν*. In § 7 it has *-νη τῇ σ-*, showing that some other word than *τὴν ἡγεμονίαν* followed *μεταπεμψαμένη*, and also *-ις ταῖς* [*πόλεσι*], showing that some other word than *δόξῃ* preceded *ταῖς*. These differences are very slight. On the other hand it may be remarked that they occur in a fragment which amounts only to about a twelfth of the whole treaty.

Assuming for the moment the correctness of Kirchhoff's conjectures, we may compare the text of Thucydides with the treaty as restored by him. Of thirty-one variations (see Classen, Intr. to Bk. viii. p. xxiv), thirteen are merely orthographical (*ἐάν* for *ἤν* or *θάλατταν* for *θάλασσαν*). In three cases the order of the names, 'Eleans, Mantineans, Argives,' is reversed. In four cases the inscription inserts or repeats, probably for the sake of clearness, words which do not occur in our text. On the other hand our text inserts *ταῖς πόλεσιν* after *δοκῇ* in § 4. In eight cases the variations occur in places where the restoration has little or no ground on which to rest. If we set these aside, the variations reduce themselves to two more or less probable conjectures, *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* for *ἐς τὴν γῆν* (§ 3), and *ὧν ἄρχουσι* for *ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσι* (§ 5). The importance of these variations, even if they could be substantiated, is reduced by the fact that *ὧν ἄρχουσιν* and *ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν* are apparently used as equivalents for *ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν* and *ἐς τὴν γῆν* in other parts of the treaty (§§ 1, 4).

The uncertainty of the whole subject is greatly increased by the circumstance, *a*) that a very small fragment of the inscription remains, containing in all not more than seventy words or parts of words out of several hundred; *b*) that the letters required by the missing portions of the tablet appear to be, in three lines out of the twenty-six, greatly in excess of the number found in the text of Thucydides; *c*) that the restoration of the inscription is in many places so uncertain that no inference can be drawn from it.

It must be admitted, either that several words (though we cannot tell what they are) should be added to the text of Thucydides, or that the lost portion of the treaty was not regularly written, or in some other way different from the existing portion. 47.

So far from the inscription tending to overthrow the text of Thucydides (and from this point of view Schöne, Hermes, xii. p. 476, thinks that 'its importance cannot be estimated highly enough') no conclusion can be drawn either way from such a mere fragment. The verbal differences are very slight, and they may have come from Thucydides himself. Nor do slight inaccuracies in the copying of a treaty afford any real ground of argument as to the text of other parts of the history.

ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐᾶν ἔχοντας διέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς τῆς σφετέρας 47. 5.
αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὧν ἂν ἄρχωσιν ἑκάτεροι, μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν.

Not as Classen supposes, because the sea was the domain of Athens, but because the provision against allowing troops to pass by land would have been useless if they had been allowed to pass by sea. Cp. note on c. 56. 2, where the duty of Athens to protect her allies from attack by sea is not based upon this clause.

τοῖς δὲ βοηθοῦσιν ἡ πόλις ἡ πέμπουσα παρεχέτω μέχρι μὲν τριάκοντα 47. 6.
ἡμερῶν σῖτον, ἐπὴν ἔλθῃ ἐς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἐπαγγείλασαν βοηθεῖν, καὶ ἀπιοῦσι
κατὰ ταὐτά.

ἀπιοῦσι, i. e. besides the provisions for the thirty days after their arrival, they were to receive provisions for their journey homeward, (not necessarily for thirty days).

τρεῖς ὀβόλους Αἰγιναίους . . . δραχμὴν Αἰγιναίαν. 47. 6.

Cp. note on iii. 70. 4.

καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑπὸ Ἠλείων εἴρχθησαν, ὥστε μὴ θύειν, μηδ' 49. 1.
ἀγωνίζεσθαι, οὐκ ἐκτίνοντες τὴν δίκην αὐτοῖς, ἣν ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιακῷ νόμῳ
Ἠλεῖοι κατεδικάσαντο αὐτῶν, φάσκοντες **σφᾶς** *ἐπὶ Φύρκον τε τεῖχος ὅπλα*
ἐπενεγκεῖν καὶ ἐς Λέπρεον αὐτῶν ὁπλίτας ἐν ταῖς Ὀλυμπιακαῖς σπονδαῖς ἐσ-
πέμψαι.

σφᾶς reverts to the more remote subject of the whole sentence, *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* (so Classen). It may be regarded as the remnant of

49. 1. the Herodotean usage of *σφέας*, etc. for *αὐτούς*, which is not altogether extinct in Thucydides (cp. iv. 113, *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι . . . οἱ μέν τινες ὀλίγοι διαφθείρονται κ.τ.λ. κατέφυγον δὲ καὶ τῶν Τορωναίων ἐς* **αὐτοὺς** *ὅσοι ἦσαν* **σφίσιν** *ἐπιτήδειοι*).

The use of it in these two places may have arisen partly out of a desire to avoid the repetition of *αὐτούς*. Cp., for a similar tendency, notes on iii. 45. 4, vii. 69. 2.

49. 4. *οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι* **ὑπελάμβανον** *οὐ χρεὼν εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἐπαγγεῖλαι ἔτι ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, εἰ ἀδικεῖν γε ἤδη ἐνόμιζον αὐτούς· ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς νομίζοντας τοῦτο* **δρᾶσαι**, *καὶ ὅπλα οὐδαμόσε ἔτι αὐτοῖς* **ἐπενεγκεῖν**.

ἐπενεγκεῖν, scil. *αὐτοί*, referring to the Lacedaemonians, as *δρᾶσαι* to the Eleans. Both are dependent on *ὑπελάμβανον*.

50. 3. *ὅμως δὲ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι δεδιότες, μὴ βίᾳ θύσωσι, ξὺν ὅπλοις τῶν νεωτέρων φυλακὴν εἶχον· ἦλθον δὲ* **αὐτοῖς** *καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ Μαντινῆς, χίλιοι ἑκατέρων, καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἱππῆς, οἳ ἐν Ἄργει ὑπέμενον τὴν ἑορτήν.*

The expression *ἦλθον αὐτοῖς* ('came to their support'), applied to the Athenian *ἱππεῖς*, would be misleading according to the ordinary interpretation, 1) which supposes that, instead of coming to Olympia, the troops waited at Argos in case they should be wanted. But Argos was seventy or eighty miles distant from Olympia. It is therefore more likely 2)* that they remained at Argos only until the time of the feast and then came on to Olympia, as indeed is expressly said in the word *ἦλθον*.

οἳ ὑπέμενον = 'who had been waiting,' the imperfect expresses duration without specification of time, and is therefore capable of being referred to the time preceding *ἦλθον*, or, in the language of old grammarians, is 'put for the pluperfect.' Cp. ii. 23 init. *ὄντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς περὶ* **Πελοπόννησον**, **ἅσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο**, 'which they had been preparing.'

50. 4. *ὥστε πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἐπεφόβηντο* **πάντες**, *καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι. οἱ μέντοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἡσύχασάν τε, καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ* **αὐτοῖς** *οὕτω διῆλθεν.*

αὐτοῖς refers to the same subject as *πάντες*, 'and so they had no disturbance at the feast,' not to the Lacedaemonians.

The old grudge was not forgotten by the Lacedaemonians; cp. Xen. Hell. iii. 2. 21.

ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῆς αἰτίας τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τῷ τε Ἀλκιβιάδῃ καὶ τοῖς 53.
Ἀργείοις προσλαβεῖν, ἣν δύνωνται, τῆς τε Κορίνθου ἕνεκα ἡσυχίας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Αἰγίνης βραχυτέραν ἔσεσθαι τὴν βοήθειαν ἢ Σκύλλαιον περιπλεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. παρεσκευάζοντο οὖν οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐς τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον διὰ τοῦ θύματος τὴν ἔσπραξιν ἐσβαλοῦντες.

ἕνεκα and ἔσεσθαι are parallel in sense, but with ἕνεκα, ἐδόκει προσλαβεῖν is to be supplied; with ἔσεσθαι, ἐδόκει only. Cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 6.

αὐτοί, of their own accord, i. e. independently of the influence of Alcibiades.

Ἀργεῖοι δ', ἀναχωρησάντων αὐτῶν, τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ Καρνείου μηνὸς ἐξελθόντες 54. 3.
τετράδι φθίνοντος, καὶ ἄγοντες τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην πάντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐσέβαλλον ἐς τὴν Ἐπιδαυρίαν καὶ ἐδῄουν.

The Argives, instead of keeping the month Carnea (Metageitnion or August—September) pretended that they were continuing to keep the 27th day of the previous month, on which the expedition started.

See note in Grote, part II. ch. lvi. init. It appears from Xen. Hell. iv. 7. 2. 3, v. 1. 29, that on a subsequent occasion the Argives tried to arrest a Spartan invasion by sending heralds to Agesipolis, warning him that it was the time of a sacred truce, though in reality it was not, and that he did not venture to disregard the warning, until he had obtained the sanction of the oracles at Olympia and Delphi.

καὶ καθ' ὃν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι ἦσαν, ἐς Μαντίνειαν 55. 1.
πρεσβεῖαι ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων ξυνῆλθον, Ἀθηναίων παρακαλεσάντων.

The conference was summoned by the Athenians, but the remark of Euphamidas, the Corinthian envoy, which follows, gave it a turn opposed to the Athenian interests.

καὶ Ἀθηναίων αὐτοῖς χίλιοι ἐβοήθησαν ὁπλῖται, καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδης στρατηγός· 55. 4.
πυθόμενοι δὲ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι, καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει, ἀπῆλθον.

The meaning given in the English text agrees best with the context. But it requires that, in the same chapter, ἐκστρατεῦσαι

55. 4. should be used in the sense of 'making,' and *ἐξεστρατεῦσθαι*, of 'having terminated, an expedition.' Either 1) the latter meaning is to be attributed solely to the perfect tense: or 2) the verb *ἐκστρατεύειν*, like *ἐξανθεῖν*, *ἐξάδειν*, *ἐκπνεῖν*, cp. also *ἀπολοφύρεσθαι*, has the double sense of 'acting' and 'ceasing to act.' The ordinary meaning of *ἐκστρατεύεσθαι* is clearly out of place. For the hostile movement of the Lacedaemonians could not possibly be a reason why the Argives had no need of the Athenians (*καὶ ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτι αὐτῶν ἔδει*).

56. 2. *Ἀργεῖοι δ' ἐλθόντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους, ἐπεκάλουν, ὅτι, γεγραμμένον ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς διὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν ἑκάστους μὴ ἐᾶν πολεμίους διϊέναι, ἐάσειαν κατὰ θάλασσαν παραπλεῦσαι.*

κατὰ θάλασσαν. The sea, or at any rate the sea opposite to Attica, is here regarded as Athenian territory, and the Athenians are held responsible for allowing ships of war to pass through it. It is observable that the Argives do not appeal to the words of the treaty which forbade the members of the confederacy to allow the transport of troops by sea for a hostile purpose, v. 47. 5, *ὅπλα δὲ μὴ ἐᾶν ἔχοντας διϊέναι ἐπὶ πολέμῳ διὰ τῆς γῆς σφετέρας αὐτῶν . . . μηδὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν*, perhaps because the other way of raising the question was more flattering to the Athenians as lords of the sea.

56. 3. *Ἀθηναῖοι δέ, Ἀλκιβιάδου πείσαντος, τῇ μὲν Λακωνικῇ στήλῃ ὑπέγραψαν, ὅτι οὐκ ἐνέμειναν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τοῖς ὅρκοις.*

The effect of these diplomatic manœuvres on the minds of Athenian wives may be seen from Aristoph. Lysistr. (411 B.C.) 512,—

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ. *εἶτ' ἀλγοῦσαι τἄνδοθεν ὑμᾶς ἐπανηρόμεθ' ἂν γελάσασαι,*
τί βεβούλευται περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν ἐν τῇ στήλῃ παραγράψαι
ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τήμερον ὑμῖν; τί δέ σοι τοῦτ'; ἦ δ' ὃς ἂν ἀνήρ,
οὐ σιγήσει; κἀγὼ 'σίγων. ΓΥΝΗ. Α. *ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγώ ποτ' ἐσίγων.*
ΛΥ. *ἕτερόν τι πονηρότερον δήπου βούλευμ' ἐπεπύσμεθ' ἂν ὑμῶν·*
εἶτ' ἠρόμεθ' ἄν· πῶς ταῦτ', ὦνερ, διαπράττεσθ' ὧδ' ἀνοήτως;
ὁ δέ μ' εὐθὺς ὑποβλέψας ἂν ἔφασκ', εἰ μὴ τὸν στήμονα νήσω,
ὀτοτύξεσθαι μακρὰ τὴν κεφαλήν· πόλεμος δ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει.

58. 1. *Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προαισθόμενοι τό τε πρῶτον τὴν παρασκευὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων,*

καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐς τὸν Φλιοῦντα βουλόμενοι τοῖς ἄλλοις προσμῖξαι ἐχώρουν, τότε δὴ ἐξεστράτευσαν καὶ αὐτοί. 58. 1.

τό τε πρῶτον answers to καὶ ἐπειδή, with which αἰσθόμενοι must be supplied from προαισθόμενοι. The Argives received the first intimation of the intention of the Lacedaemonians from the preparations of their allies; afterwards their purpose was more distinctly revealed by the march of the troops to Phlius. τότε δή refers only to the clause beginning καὶ ἐπειδή. The sentence would have run more regularly, Ἀργεῖοι δὲ προῃσθοντό τε . . . καὶ ἐπειδὴ κ.τ.λ.

ἐν ᾧ Λακεδαιμόνιοί τε πανστρατιᾷ ἦσαν, καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Βοιωτοὶ καὶ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Σικυώνιοι καὶ Πελληνῆς καὶ Φλιάσιοι καὶ Μεγαρῆς, καὶ οὗτοι πάντες λογάδες ἀφ' ἑκάστων κ.τ.λ. 60. 3.

But cp. c. 57 fin. Φλιάσιοι δὲ πανστρατιᾷ, ὅτι ἐν τῇ ἐκείνων ἦν τὸ στράτευμα.

τόν τε Θράσυλλον ἀναχωρήσαντες ἐν τῷ Χαράδρῳ, οὗπερ τὰς ἀπὸ στρατείας δίκας, πρὶν ἐσιέναι, κρίνουσιν, ἤρξαντο λεύειν. 60. 6.

We remark that nothing is said here of Alciphron, the other Argive who went to Agis, perhaps because he was not one of the generals; see c. 59 fin.

ὅμως γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς ὤκνουν λῦσαι πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. 61. 1.

ὅμως, either 1)* although they were dissatisfied with the treaty, or 2) although the Athenians had come to their aid.

καὶ ἔλεγον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, Ἀλκιβιάδου πρεσβευτοῦ παρόντος, ἐν τε τοῖς Ἀργείοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις ταῦτα, ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθῶς αἱ σπονδαὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων καὶ γένοιντο, καὶ νῦν . . . ἅπτεσθαι χρῆναι τοῦ πολέμου. 61. 2.

ταῦτα is to be explained by the clause which follows, ὅτι οὐκ κ.τ.λ. The correction ταὐτά has not a sufficient antecedent in the words κατηνάγκασαν δεόμενοι, supra.

καί='even,' or 'at all,' and need not be connected with the καὶ following. 'They had no business to make a treaty at all without the consent of the other allies.' Cp. i. 15. 2 and note, πάντες δὲ ἦσαν ὅσοι καὶ ἐγένοντο, πρὸς ὁμόρους τοὺς σφετέρους ἑκάστοις.

The 'robust sophistry' of Alcibiades is plainly visible in this

61. 2. matter. 'It was no question of breaking the treaty, for the treaty ought never to have been made.'

61. 4. *βουλόμενοι ἄλλως τε προσγενέσθαι σφίσι καὶ ὅμηροι ἐκ τῆς Ἀρκαδίας ἦσαν αὐτόθι ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων κείμενοι.*

The omission of *ὅτι* before *καὶ ὅμηροι* gives emphasis and liveliness. Here, as in i. 110. 2 and elsewhere, Thucydides, beginning to speak in the person of others, suddenly changes to his own. Poppo compares some examples from Latin historians, Livy xliii. 19, Tac. Ann. i. 62, Hist. i. 76, 'penes Othonem manebant, non partium studio, sed erat grande momentum in nomine urbis.'

63. 2. *δέκα μυριάσι δραχμῶν.*

Cp. note on iii. 70. 4.

65. 2. *δηλῶν τῆς ἐξ Ἄργους ἐπαιτίου ἀναχωρήσεως τὴν παροῦσαν ἄκαιρον προθυμίαν ἀνάληψιν* **βουλομένην** *εἶναι.*

βουλομένην is altered for the worse by Classen against the authority of the MSS. into *βουλόμενον*, scil. Agis. Cp. iii. 14 fin. *γίγνεσθε δὲ ἀνδρος οἱουσπερ ὑμᾶς . . . τὸ ἡμέτερον δέος* **βούλεται.**

65. 3. *ὁ δὲ εἴτε καὶ διὰ τὸ ἐπιβόημα, εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν ἐξαίφνης, πάλιν τὸ στράτευμα κατὰ τάχος, πρὶν ξυμμῖξαι, ἀπῆγε.*

The received mode of rendering the passage, 1)* 'because some new thought struck him,' is not free from objection. The words *κατὰ τὸ αὐτό* are cumbrous, and ill suited to express the meaning, 'his previous purpose.' For the pleonasm, however, cp. Herod. viii. 4, *παρὰ δόξαν τὰ πρήγματα ἀπέβαινε ἢ ὡς αὐτοὶ κατεδόκεον.*) But as they are found in all the MSS. we are not justified in omitting them if a reasonable meaning can be elicited from them. And 2) a further alternative may be intended. 'Some other motive may have influenced him, or the same idea may have occurred to him independently,' *εἴτε καὶ αὐτῷ ἄλλο τι* (*δόξαν*), *ἢ κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ δόξαν.*

65. 5. *εἶτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀναχωροῦντες ἐκεῖνοι ἀπέκρυψαν κ.τ.λ.*

Scil. *αὐτούς*='passed out of their sight,' said in the same way as *φεύγειν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος τῶν λόγων ἀποκρύψαντα γῆν*, Plato, Protag. 338 A. Cp. Virg. Aen. iii. 291, Phaeacum abscondimus arces.

οἵ τε Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος πρὸς τὸ Ἡράκλειον πάλιν ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ στρατόπεδον ἰόντες ὁρῶσι δι' ὀλίγου τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν τάξει τε ἤδη πάντας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ λόφου προεληλυθότας. μάλιστα δὴ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐς ὃ ἐμέμνηντο, ἐν τούτῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐξεπλάγησαν. διὰ βραχείας γὰρ μελλήσεως ἡ παρασκευὴ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο κ.τ.λ. 66. 1.

It is useless to ask, with some commentators, why the Lacedaemonians, who had originally designed to draw the Argives into the plain, should have been dismayed by their actual appearance. Thucydides says that such was the fact; and it is clear from his narrative that, wherever they expected to find them, it was not at that moment or in that place. Agis had supposed that they would descend into the plain to prevent the diversion of the stream, but they had not done so; hence the Spartans were naturally surprised to find them in the plain at all. To meet such an imaginary difficulty it is unnecessary, with Campe and Meineke, to alter *ἐξεπλάγησαν* into *ἐξεφάνησαν* (the Lacedaemonians appeared in their true character), in itself a somewhat forced and feeble expression.

βασιλέως γὰρ ἄγοντος ὑπ' ἐκείνου πάντα ἄρχεται. 66. 3.

I. e. notwithstanding the limitations imposed upon him when at home, he is supreme in the field.

ἀριθμὸν δὲ γράψαι . . . οὐκ ἂν ἐδυνάμην ἀκριβῶς. 68. 2.

The use of *ἄν* has been explained by the ellipse of some such words as *εἰ ἤθελον, εἰ ἐπειρώμην*. But such ellipses are only grammatical explanations, and are seldom present to the mind. It is better to regard the words *ἐδυνάμην ἄν* as an example of the tendency to soften the force of the indicative mood, especially with the first person.

λόχοι μὲν γὰρ ἐμάχοντο ἑπτὰ ἄνευ Σκιριτῶν, ὄντων ἑξακοσίων, ἐν δὲ ἑκάστῳ λόχῳ πεντηκοστύες ἦσαν τέσσαρες, καὶ ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστύϊ ἐνωμοτίαι τέσσαρες. τῆς τε ἐνωμοτίας ἐμάχοντο ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ ζυγῷ τέσσαρες· ἐπὶ δὲ βάθος ἐτάξαντο μὲν οὐ πάντες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ὡς λοχαγὸς ἕκαστος ἐβούλετο, ἐπὶ πᾶν δέ κατέστησαν ἐπὶ ὀκτώ. παρὰ δὲ ἅπαν πλὴν Σκιριτῶν τετρακόσιοι καὶ δυοῖν δέοντες πεντήκοντα ἄνδρες ἡ πρώτη τάξις ἦν. 68. 3.

A curious result would seem to follow from this passage. For if the number of *ἐνωμοτίαι* in the *λόχος* was fixed, and if on this

68. 3. occasion there were four men in the front rank of each *ἐνωμοτία*, it is clear *a*) that the λοχαγός could only deepen one part of the line at the expense of another, *b*) that he could only do so at all by breaking up the *ἐνωμοτίαι*, that is, by posting the rear rank of one *ἐνωμοτία* behind another.

Mr. Grote is of opinion that the λοχαγός had the power of altering the number of *ἐνωμοτίαι* in the λόχος before the battle began. But 1) it is impossible to suppose that Thucydides in the same description, without any hint of a change, refers *a*) to the normal arrangement of the troops as they marched out of Sparta, *b*) to their disposition on the field of battle. And 2) how could the λοχαγός have had the power of varying the number of *ἐνωμοτίαι* in a λόχος, if, as Thucydides tells us, the front rank in the field numbered 448, and there were always four men in the front rank of an enomoty?

The array of the Spartan army appears to have varied at different times. The form of the enomoty on this occasion does not agree with the statement of Xenophon, Hell. vi. 4. 12, that at the battle of Leuctra the enomoty consisted of thirty-six men, three in the first rank by twelve deep. Moreover Xenophon (De Rep. Lac. 11. 4) makes mention of the *μόρα*, commanded by the *πολεμαρχός*, and containing four λόχοι, as the largest division of the Spartan army. Thucydides, though he describes the *πολεμαρχός* as superior to the λοχαγός (c. 66. med., cp. however, c. 71 fin.), makes no mention of the *μόρα*.

69. 1. **Ἀργείοις δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς τε παλαιᾶς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ποτὲ ἰσομοιρίας.**

The first in the Homeric and Heroic ages, the second in the times before the Persian war, not forgotten at Argos, when the Argives fought with the Lacedaemonians about the debatable Cynurian land. Herod. i. 82, vii. 148, 149; Thuc. v. 41.

69. 2. **Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ κάθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ μετὰ τῶν πολεμικῶν νόμων ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ὧν ἠπίσταντο τὴν παρακέλευσιν τῆς μνήμης ἀγαθοῖς οὖσιν ἐποιοῦντο.**

'They encouraged one another as individuals, and in the martial strains which they sang in common.'

'Αργεῖοι μὲν καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἐντόνως καὶ ὀργῇ χωροῦντες, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ βραδέως καὶ ὑπὸ αὐλητῶν πολλῶν νόμου ἐγκαθεστώτων, οὐ τοῦ θείου χάριν, ἀλλ' ἵνα ὁμαλῶς μετὰ ῥυθμοῦ βαίνοντες προέλθοιεν, καὶ μὴ διασπασθείη αὐτοῖς ἡ τάξις. 70.

Cp. the well-known lines of Milton:—

'Anon they move
In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood
Of flutes and soft recorders: such as raised
To highth of noblest temper heroes old
Arming to battle; and instead of rage
Deliberate valour breathed, firm, and unmov'd
With dread of death to flight or foul retreat.'

Paradise Lost, i. 549.

τὰ στρατόπεδα ποιεῖ μὲν καὶ ἅπαντα τοῦτο. ἐπὶ τὰ δεξιὰ κέρατα αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ξυνόδοις μᾶλλον ἐξωθεῖται, καὶ περίσχουσι κατὰ τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων εὐώνυμον ἀμφότεροι τῷ δεξιῷ, διὰ τὸ φοβουμένους προστέλλειν τὰ γυμνὰ ἕκαστον ὡς μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ ἐν δεξιᾷ παρατεταγμένου ἀσπίδι, καὶ νομίζειν τὴν πυκνότητα τῆς ξυγκλήσεως εὐσκεπαστότατον εἶναι· καὶ ἡγεῖται μὲν τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης ὁ πρωτοστάτης τοῦ δεξιοῦ κέρως, προθυμούμενος ἐξαλλάσσειν ἀεὶ τῶν ἐναντίων τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γύμνωσιν, ἕπονται δὲ διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν φόβον καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. 71. 1.

ἡγεῖται τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης, 'is the beginning of the disorder,' lit. 'of the cause of blame.' Every one is pushing to the right, because he is trying to protect his right or unshielded side. The movement begins with the man on the extreme right in the front rank. He tries to get more and more to the right of the enemy so as to keep his shield between himself and them. The next soldier tries to get under cover of his neighbour's shield, and so on, along the line. Now the army of Agis was sufficient to outflank both the left and right extremity of the enemy's line. But it was so disposed that, while the Spartan right far more than outflanked the enemy's left, their left wing was liable itself to be outflanked by the enemy's right. To remedy this defect the Sciritae on the left wing of the Spartan army moved further to the left. The vacant space should then have been filled up by troops taken from the right wing. But, they refusing to come, the gap which had been made remained

71. 1. and could no longer be closed. Mr. Grote reminds us that Agis could not deprive the Sciritae of their post of honour at the extremity of the left wing.

72. 1. *καὶ κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἐπὶ τοὺς Σκιρίτας ὡς οὐ παρῆλθον οἱ λόχοι, πάλιν αὖ σφίσι προσμίξαι, μὴ δυνηθῆναι ἔτι μηδὲ τούτους ξυγκλῆσαι.*

σφίσι, the Lacedaemonian portion of the line under Agis. Cp. *ἐξαγαγόντας ἀπὸ σφῶν*, c. 71 fin. *μηδὲ τούτους ξυγκλῆσαι*, 1) 'even to close up the line,' i.e. to bring together the Sciritae and the Lacedaemonians who were on the other side of the opening, Agis being the subject and *τούτους* the object of *ξυγκλῆσαι*, and the latter referring inaccurately both to *σφίσι* and the Sciritae; or better 2)* taking *τούτους* as the subject of *ξυγκλῆσαι*, 'but neither could these close up the opening,' scil. the Sciritae, opposed to the two *λόχοι* who should have done so.

72. 2. *ἀλλὰ μάλιστα δὴ κατὰ πάντα τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλασσωθέντες τότε τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ ἔδειξαν οὐχ ἧσσον περιγενόμενοι.*

'The utter inferiority of the Lacedaemonians in military tactics showed,' 1) 'that they gained the victory by their courage in spite of this deficiency' (*οὐχ ἧσσον*), or 2)* 'that they won by sheer courage,' i. e. by courage rather than by skill or tactics; *οὐχ ἧσσον* = *μᾶλλον*, and is to be closely connected with *τῇ ἀνδρείᾳ*.

μάλιστα δή is to be taken both with *ἐλασσωθέντες* and with *ἔδειξαν*, 'being signally inferior in every way in military skill, they signally showed that they won nevertheless by their courage,' or 'that they won by sheer courage.' *τότε* may be taken either with *ἐλασσωθέντες* or with *ἔδειξαν*, 'being then beaten in tactics,' or 'they then showed,' etc.; or with both, 'on this occasion being signally beaten in tactics they signally showed.'

72. 4. *ἔτρεψαν οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας τοὺς πολλοὺς ὑπομείναντας, ἀλλ', ὡς ἐπῄεσαν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, εὐθὺς ἐνδόντας, καὶ ἔστιν οὓς καὶ καταπατηθέντας, τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν.*

τοῦ μὴ φθῆναι, either 1) after *ἐνδόντας*, 'that the overtaking troops (*τὴν ἐγκατάληψιν*) might not prevent' or 'be beforehand with them;' or 2)* after *καταπατηθέντας*, 'because they could not escape being overtaken.' The genitive in the latter case may be explained by the

notion of cause or reason. Cp. Soph. O. T. 1478,— 72. 4.

καί σε τῆσδε τῆς ὁδοῦ
δαίμων ἄμεινον ἢ 'μὲ φρουρήσας τύχοι.

The alteration of τοῦ into τῷ, though slight, is not necessary.

ὡς δὲ ταύτῃ ἐνεδεδώκει τὸ τῶν 'Αργείων καὶ ξυμμάχων στράτευμα, παρεῤ- 73. 1.
ῥήγνυντο ἤδη ἅμα καὶ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα.

'They were broken away towards both sides,' i. e. the centre of the Argive line was separated from the right which had gone forwards in pursuit and from the left which had not yet been forced back. Cp. iv. 96 fin. καὶ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἤδη, ὑπό τε τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων ἐφεπομένων καὶ παραῤῥηγνύντων φυγὴ καθειστήκει παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ τῶν 'Αθηναίων, where similarly the Athenian left are broken away from their own victorious right. In vi. 70 med. (ὡσαμένων δὲ τῶν 'Αργείων πρῶτον τὸ εὐώνυμον κέρας τῶν Συρακοσίων, καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τῶν 'Αθηναίων τὸ κατὰ σφᾶς αὐτούς, παρεῤῥήγνυτο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἐς φυγὴν κατέστη), παρεῤῥήγνυτο must have a slightly different meaning, 'broke away by degrees,' cp. παραμβλύνειν, παραπείθειν, παρατρώγειν, παραφθορά. Lit. 'broke away each man from the side of the next man,' the converse of παρατάσσειν.

οἱ δὲ Μαντινῆς καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι καὶ τῶν 'Αργείων οἱ λογάδες . . . ἐς φυγὴν 73. 3.
ἐτράποντο. καὶ τῶν μὲν Μαντινέων καὶ πλείους διεφθάρησαν, τῶν δὲ 'Αργείων λογάδων τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη.

Either 1)* the order of the clauses is inverted; πλείους is said by anticipation, and contrasts the greater loss of the Mantineans with the smaller loss of the Argives implied in τὸ πολὺ ἐσώθη. 'And moreover there perished of the Mantineans a greater number than of the Argives.' καί is then to be taken, not with πλείους, but with διεφθάρησαν, 'there was loss as well as flight.'

Or 2) more simply, καὶ πλείους='even more than those who escaped,' and corresponds to τὸ πολὺ τῶν 'Αργείων, 'a greater number of the Mantineans were slain, but most of the chosen Argives escaped.'

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι προθέμενοι τῶν πολεμίων νεκρῶν τὰ ὅπλα τροπαῖον 74. 2.
εὐθὺς ἵστασαν, καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον.

προθέμενοι κ.τ.λ. Not 'stationing themselves in front of the enemy's dead,' which would have been expressed πρὸ τῶν πολεμίων

74. 2. *νεκρῶν θέμενοι τὰ ὅπλα*—but 'making a display of the shields, spears, etc. of the dead,' i. e. of the best of them. The conquerors afterwards rifled the dead more completely, *ἐσκύλευον*.

74. 3. *Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ οἱ μὲν ξύμμαχοι οὐκ ἐταλαιπώρησαν, ὥστε καὶ ἀξιόλογόν τι ἀπογενέσθαι· αὐτῶν δὲ χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν τὴν ἀλήθειαν πυθέσθαι, ἐλέγοντο δὲ περὶ τριακοσίους ἀποθανεῖν.*

αὐτῶν is governed by *περὶ τριακοσίους*: *χαλεπὸν μὲν ἦν . . . πυθέσθαι* being a variation of the construction originally intended.

75. 3. *τυχῇ μὲν ὡς ἐδόκουν κακιζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.*

See note on English text.

76. 1. *τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου χειμῶνος ἀρχομένου εὐθὺς οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἦγαγον, ἐξεστράτευσαν.*

The Carnea were celebrated in Metageitnion, i. e. Aug.—Sept. But the words *ἐπειδὴ τὰ Κάρνεια ἦγαγον*, 'now that the Carnea were over,' are not intended as a mark of time, but have reference to the advantage taken of the Carnea by the enemies of Sparta (c. 74 fin.). They therefore prove nothing about the time at which Thucydides' winter begins; see note on v. 20. 2.

76. 3. *δύο λόγω φέρων ἐς τὸ Ἄργος, τὸν μέν, καθ' ὅ τι εἰ βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ', ὡς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν.*

We must supply after *καθ' ὅ τι*, *πολεμήσουσι*; after *ὡς*, *εἰρήνην ἄξουσι*.

77. 79. These two treaties imposed by the victorious Lacedaemonians upon Argos mark the final dissolution of the alliance between Argos and the discontented members of the Peloponnesian league, and also of the alliance between Argos, Athens, Elis, and Mantinea.

By the terms of the first treaty the Argives are to restore their hostages and to evacuate Epidauria. The quarrel with Epidaurus, which had given the Athenians a pretext for interference (v. 53), is to be amicably settled.

A note of hostility to the Athenians is now first openly expressed (§§ 2, 8), not unnaturally, since the captives were recovered and the Athenians had taken part in the battle of Mantinea.

The independence of the cities of Peloponnesus, 'small and great,' is proclaimed, probably to avoid the suspicion which had been engendered by the former treaty between Lacedaemon and Athens, c. 29, and on the other hand to prevent larger states, like Elis or Mantinea, increasing their power by the subjugation of smaller ones; cp. note on v. 47. 77. 79.

All Peloponnesians are to unite against enemies from without (obviously against Athens, cp. c. 52, 61 init., 75 fin.)

The allies of Lacedaemon without the Peloponnesus, i.e. Boeotia, Megara, and probably the Chalcidian cities, which had not been given up to the Athenians, are to stand on an equal footing with the rest of the allies, and to retain their present territory.

Before the second treaty was concluded the Argives expressly renounced their alliance with Athens.

The second treaty establishes an alliance offensive and defensive for fifty years between Lacedaemon and Argos, to which the rest of the Peloponnesus and the allies of either party without the Peloponnesus (no longer including the Athenians) are admitted on condition of submitting their disputes to a fair arbitration. The guarantees for the independence of the Peloponnesian cities, and for the integrity of the possessions of the rest (*τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες*) are repeated, and new provisions are introduced for the settlement of differences. It may be observed that in the second treaty, § 3, which corresponds to § 6 of the earlier treaty, the power of apportioning military burdens is transferred from the Peloponnesians generally to the Lacedaemonians and Argives.

Still the original treaty of peace between Athens and Lacedaemon is supposed to be in force. Cp. vi. 105, vii. 18.

περὶ δὲ τῶ σιῶ σύματος εἶμεν λῆν τοῖς Ἐπιδαυρίοις ὅρκον, δόμεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὀμόσαι. 77. 4.

The readings are in great confusion; the words which seem to underlie them all are *σύματος ἔμεν* or *ἐῖμεν* (of which there are traces in *-αιμεν*) *λῆν*, *εἶμεν* being the Doric for *εἶναι*. The parallelism with *δόμεν* affords some ground for thinking that the word *λῆν* or *λῆν* is a form of *λαμβάνειν* or *λαβεῖν*. This gives a good sense, but there is unfortunately no authority for such a form. We must therefore

77. 4. suppose either 1) that the word is corrupt, or 2)* that it is the infinitive of the verb λάω = ἐθέλω, 'we will (λῆν) that there be an oath to the Epidaurians,' i. e. 'that the Epidaurians be allowed to take an oath.' With λῆν some notion such as 'we say' has to be supplied from δοκεῖ at the beginning of the chapter. αὐτούς, scil. the Argives. Cp. for εἶμεν ὅρκον v. 18 fin. ἔστω δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις κατὰ ταὐτὰ ὅρκος πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, and for λῆν, Aristoph. Lysistr. 1161,—

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ. τί δ' οὐ διαλλάγητε; φέρε, τί τοὐμποδών;
ΛΑΚΩΝΕΣ. ἁμές γε λῶμες, αἴ τις ἁμὶν τοὔγκυκλον
λῇ τοῦτ' ἀποδόμεν. ΛΥ. ποῖον, ὦ τᾶν; ΛΑ. τὴν Πύλον.
ἅσπερ πάλαι δεόμεθα.

77. 7. ὅσοι δ' ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσῳ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἐσσοῦνται ἐν τῷπερ καὶ τοὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοί ἐντι, τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες.

τὰν αὐτῶν ἔχοντες. These words mean that the *status quo* shall be maintained. They seem to imply an undertaking that Amphipolis and the other Chalcidian cities shall not be given up to the Athenians. Both now and afterwards (c. 80 med.) we must suppose the Lacedaemonians to disregard the clause in their treaty with Athens (v. 18. 5) which provided that these cities should not be counted as allies of either party. τοὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τοὶ τῶν Ἀργείων ξύμμαχοι, as the context shows, refers to the other allies of the Lacedaemonians and Argives, namely, to those within the Peloponnesus. In the corresponding passage in the second treaty (c. 79. 2) the allies without the Peloponnesus are to be in the same position as the Argives and Lacedaemonians themselves: though it is difficult to see what may have been the difference intended.

77. 8. ἐπιδείξαντας δὲ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις ξυμβαλέσθαι, αἴ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ· αἰ δέ τι δοκῇ τοῖς ξυμμάχοις, οἴκαδ' ἀπιάλλην.

Either 1) 'the Argives shall communicate the treaty to their allies and make an agreement with them if they, the allies, are willing, but if the allies want anything more the Argives shall send them home for instructions.' This, however, is not a condition which a victorious power like Lacedaemon would be likely to allow, and

the word ἀπιάλλειν seems to imply, not a friendly 'sending home for instructions,' but a dismissal. 77. 8.

Better 2)* referring αὐτοῖς to the Argives or to the Argives and Lacedaemonians, 'they shall, if they think fit, communicate the treaty to their allies and come to an understanding with them; but if the allies have any different opinion on the matter they shall send them away home.'

3) The translation may be further varied by taking ἐπιδείξαντας, not ξυμβαλέσθαι, as the emphatic word, 'they shall communicate the treaty to their allies before they conclude it,' or by rendering αἴ κα αὐτοῖς δοκῇ, 'in case the allies are willing to come into it.' τοῖς ξυμμάχοις clearly means the former allies of Argos, the Athenians, Eleans, and Mantineans, who would naturally be opposed to the present treaty, and yet could hardly be left unmentioned. The Athenians are to have the opportunity of consenting, but, if they do not, they are to be dismissed.

ἐπιδείξαντας, though in grammar referring, like ἀλεξέμεναι above, to the Lacedaemonians and Argives, has in sense a more particular reference to the Argives. We naturally suspect that this clause was aimed principally at Alcibiades, who at this very time was the representative of Athens in Argos.

αἰ δέ τι δοκῇ, scil. ἄλλο. A few MSS. read ἄλλο or καὶ ἄλλο.

αἰ δέ τινι τᾶν πολίων ᾖ ἀμφίλογα, ἢ τᾶν ἐντὸς ἢ τᾶν ἐκτὸς Πελοποννάσω, 79. 4.
αἴτε περὶ ὅρων αἴτε περὶ ἄλλου τινός, διακριθῆμεν. αἰ δέ τις τῶν ξυμμάχων
πόλις πόλει ἐρίζοι, ἐς πόλιν ἐλθεῖν, ἄντινα ἴσαν ἀμφοῖν ταῖς πολίεσσι δοκοίη.
τοῖς δὲ ἔταις κατὰ πάτρια δικάζεσθαι.

The difference between the two clauses αἰ δέ τινι . . . αἰ δέ τις lies *a*) in the words ᾖ ἀμφίλογα and ἐρίζοι, the one denoting a mere difference of opinion, the other a downright quarrel; *b*) in the use of the subjunctive and optative moods respectively, the one denoting the nearer, the other the more remote alternative:—'if there be a difference of opinion, it shall be determined' (i. e. by the cities themselves), 'and if the difference become a quarrel, it shall be referred to arbitration.'

τοῖς ἔταις, dative after the passive δικάζεσθαι, which appears to be here used impersonally.

79. 4. *ἕται* are private citizens (*πολῖται, δημόται*, Hesychius); this meaning of the word is confirmed by a very ancient inscription at Olympia, recording a treaty between the Eleans and the Heraeans, Boeckh, C. I. G. vol. i. no. 11. § 4; Newton, Essays, p. 104, *αἴτε ἕτας αἴτε τελέστα αἴτε δᾶμος ἐντί.*

The meaning of the clause is, either 1) that citizens of each state shall be judged by their own laws in their own state: this provision would protect those states over which a sort of quasi-sovereignty had been claimed, as by Elis over Lepreum, by Argos over Epidaurus, by Mantinea over some lesser Arcadian towns: or 2) 'justice shall be administered among citizens of the same city according to their ancestral customs,' i. e. whether oligarchy or democracy is in the ascendant, in all judicial matters the weaker party shall be protected. Or 3) applying the clause to disputes between citizens of two different cities, 'they are to be determined,' either *a*) 'according to general Hellenic law,' or *b*) 'according to ancient agreement between the two cities in question.' There would be special need for such a provision in the case mentioned under 1).

80. 1. *αἱ μὲν σπονδαὶ καὶ ἡ ξυμμαχία αὕτη ἐγεγένητο· καὶ ὁπόσα ἀλλήλων πολέμῳ ἢ εἴ τι ἄλλο εἶχον, διελύσαντο.*

εἶχον is taken in two senses. Whatever were the places belonging to one another which they had gained by war (*εἶχον*) they restored, and any other complaint which they had to bring (*εἶχον*), they settled with one another. *διελύσαντο* in strictness belongs only to *εἴ τι ἄλλο εἶχον*: some word such as *ἀπέδοσαν* having to be supplied with *ὅποσα πολέμῳ εἶχον.*

80. 3. *ὁ δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ ἀγῶνά τινα πρόφασιν γυμνικὸν ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ποιήσας, ὡς ἐξῆλθε τὸ ἄλλο φρουρικόν, ἀπέκλῃσε τὰς πύλας. καὶ ὕστερον Ἐπιδαυρίοις ἀνανεωσάμενοι τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀπέδοσαν τὸ τείχισμα.*

πρόφασιν, scil. an excuse to induce the allies to go out. Demosthenes seems to have acted partly from bravado, partly because he preferred to give up the fortress to the Epidaurians, rather than leave it in the possession of the confederate troops, which included those of Argos, now in alliance with Sparta. By the terms of the

first treaty (c. 77 init.) the Argives equally with the Athenians were bound to evacuate the fortress, but this may have been unknown to Demosthenes. The treaty referred to is probably that made at the general peace (v. 18), which, after the many vicissitudes of Athenian and Lacedaemonian politics, might well need to be renewed in any particular which was henceforth intended to be observed. The Epidaurians are mentioned by name in the armistice (iv. 119), but are only included, without being named, among the allies of the Lacedaemonians in the treaty. 80. 3.

καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, χίλιοι ἑκάτεροι, ξυστρατεύσαντες, τά τ' ἐν Σικυῶνι ἐς ὀλίγους μᾶλλον κατέστησαν αὐτοὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐλθόντες, καὶ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ξυναμφότεροι ἤδη καὶ τὸν ἐν Ἄργει δῆμον κατέλυσαν. 81. 2.

Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ Ἀργεῖοι, nominative to κατέλυσαν, being the whole under which the part, οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, is subsumed and to which the sentence returns in μετ' ἐκεῖνα ξυναμφότεροι. μᾶλλον=μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

οἱ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἕως μὲν αὐτοὺς μετεπέμποντο οἱ φίλοι, οὐκ ἦλθον ἐκ πλείονος, ἀναβαλόμενοι δὲ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐβοήθουν. 82. 3.

ἐκ πλείονος, scil. χρόνου, 'did not come for a long time,' not with μετεπέμποντο, 'while their friends were sending for them for a long time:' which the order of the words forbids. The thought 'but they did come at last,' is implied in ἀναβαλόμενοι δέ, answering to ἕως μέν κ.τ.λ.

κατέκλησαν δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ Μακεδονίας Ἀθηναῖοι Περδίκκαν, ἐπικαλοῦντες τήν τε πρὸς Ἀργείους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους γενομένην ξυνωμοσίαν, καὶ ὅτι παρασκευασαμένων αὐτῶν στρατιὰν ἄγειν ἐπὶ Χαλκιδέας τοὺς ἐπὶ Θράκης καὶ Ἀμφίπολιν Νικίου τοῦ Νικηράτου στρατηγοῦντος ἔψευστο τὴν ξυμμαχίαν, καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ μάλιστα διελύθη ἐκείνου ἀπάραντος· πολέμιος οὖν ἦν. 83. 4.

Μακεδονίας, a genitive expressing place. The construction is harsh, but is assisted by the word Περδίκκαν following, and may be compared with the loose use of the genitive of a country, followed by a substantive expressing something in the country. ii. 18 init. ὁ δὲ στρατὸς τῶν Πελοποννησίων προϊὼν ἀφίκετο τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην πρῶτον: iv. 78 fin. ὁ ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ Μακεδονίας πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς

83. 4. πόλισμα κεῖται: cp. also viii. 96 med. εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι νενικηκότες εὐθὺς σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔρημον ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν.

Nothing is known of the expedition in which Perdiccas deserted the Athenians, except what may be gathered from this passage. The word ἀπάραντος, 'having quitted' some place where he ought to have remained in order to fulfil the terms of his alliance, seems to imply that Perdiccas failed in an engagement to meet the Athenians, who must therefore be supposed to have actually started from Athens, perhaps even to have arrived in Thrace, and not to have behaved as they had done twelve years before to Sitalces, when they failed in sending an expedition to join him, ii. 101 init.

For a possible trace of the employment of Nicias during this year see Inscription quoted in the Appendix.

84. 1. καὶ ἐπὶ Μῆλον τὴν νῆσον Ἀθηναῖοι ἐστράτευσαν.

An attempt had been made by Nicias to reduce Melos in the summer of 426. The attempt according to Thucydides (iii. 91 init.) was unsuccessful. Yet in the tribute list of the following year, 425, we find the Melians assessed at fifteen talents, the same sum with the Naxians, Andrians, and Eretrians. See Köhler, Geschichte des Delisch-Attischen Bundes, pp. 70, 146, 148. It is difficult to reconcile these two statements, unless we suppose that previously to the conquest of Melos an assessment was made of the revenue which the Athenians intended to take from it.

In the same list the Dorian island of Thera is rated at five talents. Thucydides tells us that Melos and Thera were the only Cyclades not subject to Athens at the beginning of the war (ii. 9 fin.), but he nowhere mentions the conquest or submission of Thera. (Cp. Kirchhoff, Tributpflichtigkeit der Ath. Kleruchen, p. 11. Abhandl. der Berl. Acad. 1873.)

86. ἡ μὲν ἐπιείκεια τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους οὐ ψέγεται, τὰ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου παρόντα ἤδη καὶ οὐ μέλλοντα διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ φαίνεται. ὁρῶμεν γὰρ αὐτούς τε κριτὰς ἥκοντας ὑμᾶς τῶν λεχθησομένων, καὶ τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς περιγενομένοις μὲν τῷ δικαίῳ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ μὴ ἐνδοῦσι, πόλεμον ἡμῖν φέρουσαν, πεισθεῖσι δὲ δουλείαν.

διαφέροντα αὐτοῦ, τὴν τελευτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ, scil. τοῦ διδάσκειν καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἀλλήλους.

οὐθ' ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦμεν . . . οἴεσθαι πείσειν, τὰ δυνατὰ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἑκάτεροι 89.
ἀληθῶς φρονοῦμεν διαπράσσεσθαι, ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας ὅτι δίκαια
μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ
προὔχοντες πράσσουσι καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσιν.

διαπράσσεσθαι, though grammatically joined with ὑμᾶς, derives a new subject from ἑκάτεροι, not 'you' only, but 'you and we,' cp. ἐπισταμένους πρὸς εἰδότας.

δίκαια κρίνεται. These words seem to mean that things are only measured by the rule of justice, *ceteris paribus;* but whether the emphasis is 1) on δίκαια, or 2) on κρίνεται, is uncertain: whether the meaning is 1) 'things are regarded under the aspect of justice,' i. e. determined to be just or unjust,—or 2) 'justice is estimated,' i. e. justice enters into the decision,—only when the pressure of necessity is equal: κρίνεται is nearly equivalent to νομίζεται.

ἢ μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε, χρήσιμον (ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ὑμεῖς οὕτω παρὰ 90.
τὸ δίκαιον τὸ ξυμφέρον λέγειν ὑπέθεσθε,) μὴ καταλύειν ὑμᾶς τὸ κοινὸν
ἀγαθόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἀεὶ ἐν κινδύνῳ γιγνομένῳ εἶναι τὰ εἰκότα [καὶ] δίκαια,
καί τι καὶ ἐντὸς τοῦ ἀκριβοῦς πείσοντά τινα ὠφεληθῆναι.

ἢ μὲν δὴ νομίζομέν γε is supported against ἡ μὲν δή by some good MSS. and by the canon of the 'more difficult reading.' The MS. correction ἡμεῖς, adopted by Bekker, is unnecessary, and is rendered less probable by the occurrence of the same word ἡμεῖς at the beginning of the preceding and following chapters. The best MSS. read τὰ εἰκότα δίκαια without καί. According to either reading the sense is probably the same, δίκαια being the predicate. If καί be taken as the simple copula, 'that they should have what is equitable and just,' the parallelism of the words with the following clause καί τι καὶ ἐντός κ.τ.λ. is lost.

The reading πείσοντα has been doubted. It may be easily altered with two bad MSS. (Ar. Chr.) into πείσαντα. But the alteration is unnecessary. The future may express the consciousness of the Melians that they were certain to fall short of the strict rule laid down by the Athenians. ὠφεληθῆναι may refer by anticipation to the advantage which the weaker party may fairly claim when the time comes for them to advance their plea: 'although he may be destined to fail in making out a strict case, he should be profited.'

90. Arnold argues against taking *δίκαια* as the predicate, that the Athenians have not denied the justice of the Melian plea—they have only said that justice has nothing to do with the present question; and if so, how could the Melians plead with advantage that strict justice ought not to be enforced? But the true point of the passage is that justice, which is interpreted to mean the non-enforcement of strict justice, is expedient, both for the Athenians and the Melians. The Athenians say to the Melians, 'Do not argue on grounds of justice, confine yourselves to expediency.' The Melians reply, 'Well then, adopting your own language, we will convert our argument from justice into an argument from expediency: and we say that it is expedient both for us and you that you should remit something of the strict claim of justice.'

Yet it is also true that the Melians, while trying to accommodate themselves to the Athenian point of view, fall back several times in the course of their argument into an assertion of the claims of right against might.

90. *καὶ πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐχ ἧσσον τοῦτο, ὅσῳ καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ τιμωρίᾳ σφαλέντες ἂν τοῖς ἄλλοις παράδειγμα γένοισθε.*

1)* *ἐπί*='on condition of,' 'you cannot fall without incurring the heaviest vengeance, and becoming an example to mankind.'

Or 2), we may take *παράδειγμα* as referring to the precedent which the Athenians would afford to others by their treatment of the Melians, and *ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ* as meaning 'for the infliction of punishment.' 'And your own conduct will afford a precedent which will justify others in inflicting the heaviest vengeance upon you when you fall' (*σφαλέντες*), or 'when your turn comes.' But the intransitive *παράδειγμα γένοισθε* is weak if taken in this sense.

91. 1. *οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἄλλων, ὥσπερ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὗτοι δεινοὶ τοῖς νικηθεῖσιν, (ἔστι δὲ οὐ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών) κ.τ.λ.*

Probably an anticipation on the part of Thucydides of the actual event. Cp. Xen. Hell. ii. 2. 19, *ἐπεὶ δ' ἦκον, ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾗ ἀντέλεγον Κορίνθιοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι μάλιστα, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, μὴ σπένδεσθαι Ἀθηναίοις, ἀλλ' ἐξαιρεῖν.* (20). *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ οὐκ ἔφασαν πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα ἀνδραποδιεῖν, μέγα ἀγαθὸν εἰργασμένην ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις*

κινδύνοις γενομένοις τῇ Ἑλλάδι. For the words which follow see note on English text. **91. 1.**

ἀλλ' ἢν οἱ ὑπήκοοί που τῶν ἀρξάντων αὐτοὶ ἐπιθέμενοι κρατήσωσι. **91. 1.**

αὐτοί is emphatic: either 1)* 'if they too' (who might be least expected to do so), or 2) 'if they themselves without the help of others turn upon them.' πού, indef., either 1)* 'perchance,' or 2) 'our subject states anywhere.'

οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς βλάπτει ἡ ἔχθρα ὑμῶν, ὅσον ἡ φιλία μὲν ἀσθενείας, τὸ δὲ μῖσος δυνάμεως παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀρχομένοις δηλούμενον. **95.**

This is a condensed sentence in which the reason of the statement is included in the statement itself, and the reason for both clauses is included in the second. It would have run more easily in two sentences, ὅσον ἡ φιλία—ἡ μὲν γὰρ φιλία ἀσθενείας κ.τ.λ.

With ἡ φιλία supply ἀσθενείας παράδειγμα ὂν βλάπτει, with τὸ μῖσος, παράδειγμά ἐστι.

σκοποῦσι δ' ὑμῶν οὕτως οἱ ὑπήκοοι τὸ εἰκός, ὥστε τούς τε μὴ προσήκοντας, καὶ ὅσοι ἄποικοι ὄντες οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀποστάντες τινὲς κεχείρωνται, ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ τιθέασιν; **96.**

The verb κεχείρωνται does not apply strictly to ἄποικοι, but only to τινές, and under the influence of ἀποστάντες is used instead of a more general verb, such as ἄρχονται.

The Melians reply 'that the relations of great and small states vary greatly, and the rule which applies to them in different cases varies also. The small state may be wholly unconnected with the larger; or it may be a revolted subject.'

ὥστε ἔξω καὶ τοῦ πλέονων ἄρξαι καὶ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἡμῖν διὰ τὸ καταστραφῆναι ἂν παράσχοιτε, ἄλλως τε καὶ νησιῶται ναυκρατόρων, καὶ ἀσθενέστεροι ἑτέρων ὄντες, εἰ μὴ περιγένοισθε. **97.**

ναυκρατόρων is governed by περιγένοισθε in the sense of 'survive in spite of us,' nearly equivalent to 'if you are not subdued by us.' The verb has been used in the same sense just above, κατὰ δύναμιν δὲ τοὺς μὲν περιγίγνεσθαι κ.τ.λ., but here takes a genitive by association with its other meaning 'overcome.'

The Athenians argue that 'the impression created by the inde-

97. pendence of the Melians will be all the more dangerous to Athenian interests, just because they are insignificant islanders.'

98. ἐν δ' ἐκείνῳ οὐ νομίζετε ἀσφάλειαν; δεῖ γὰρ αὖ καὶ ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς τῶν δικαίων λόγων ἡμᾶς ἐκβιβάσαντες τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ξυμφόρῳ ὑπακούειν πείθετε, καὶ ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡμῖν χρήσιμον διδάσκοντας, εἰ τυγχάνει καὶ ὑμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ξυμβαῖνον, πειρᾶσθαι πείθειν. ὅσοι γὰρ νῦν μηδετέροις ξυμμαχοῦσι, πῶς οὐ πολεμώσεσθε αὐτούς, ὅταν ἐς τάδε βλέψαντες ἡγήσωνταί ποτε ὑμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἥξειν;

ἐν δὲ ἐκείνῳ, either 1) 'in the considerations just laid before you (cc. 94, 96), implying that you should allow states with which you have no concern to be independent;' or 2) 'in not making enemies of neutrals,' the idea to which ἐν ἐκείνῳ refers being gathered from ὅσοι γάρ κ.τ.λ. which follows.

ἀσφάλειαν, 'a security,' or rather the avoidance of a danger, which is likewise indicated in ὅσοι γάρ κ.τ.λ.

ἐκβιβάσαντες. The authority of several of the best MSS. which read ἐκβιάσαντες (in this sense a late word) is outweighed by the idiomatic force and appropriateness of ἐκβιβάσαντες, as in vi. 64 init. εἰ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους ἐκβιβάζοιεν, where there is the same difference of reading.

98. κἂν τούτῳ τί ἄλλο ἢ τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχοντας πολεμίους μεγαλύνετε, τοὺς δὲ μηδὲ μελλήσοντας γενέσθαι ἄκοντας ἐπάγεσθε;

μελλήσοντας, the aor. μελλήσαντας, 'who were not even thinking of being your enemies,' would be easier; but the future tense harmonizes better with the incomplete action expressed by the present, ἐπάγεσθε, and is more forcible, 'you are tending to make enemies of those who are never even about to think of being your enemies,' i. e. who are never even likely to be your enemies (unless you make them).

99. οὐ γὰρ νομίζομεν ἡμῖν τούτους δεινοτέρους, ὅσοι ἠπειρῶταί που ὄντες τῷ ἐλευθέρῳ πολλὴν τὴν διαμέλλησιν τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς φυλακῆς ποιήσονται, ἀλλὰ τοὺς νησιώτας τέ που ἀνάρκτους, ὥσπερ ὑμᾶς, καὶ τοὺς ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ παροξυνομένους.

τοὺς νησιώτας τε . . . καὶ τοὺς ἤδη κ.τ.λ. τέ goes with the whole clause,

not with *νησιώτας* only. For the distinction implied in the latter 99.
part of the sentence is not between islanders and inhabitants of the mainland, but between *ἀνάρκτους* and *τοὺς ἤδη τῆς ἀρχῆς τῷ ἀναγκαίῳ παροξυνομένους*, between the independent islanders, who were always expecting to be subjugated, and the discontented subjects of Athens, whether islanders or inhabitants of the mainland. For the last class cp. vi. 10 fin. *εἰ Χαλκιδῆς γε οἱ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἔτη τοσαῦτα ἀφεστῶτες ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἔτι ἀχείρωτοί εἰσι, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς κατὰ τὰς ἠπείρους ἐνδοιαστῶς ἀκροῶνται.*

οὐ γὰρ περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας ὁ ἀγὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου ὑμῖν μὴ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν, 101.
περὶ δὲ σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἡ βουλὴ πρὸς τοὺς κρείσσονας πολλῷ μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι.

περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας and *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἴσου* both follow *ὁ ἀγών*, *περὶ ἀνδραγαθίας* being slightly the more emphatic. 'For you are not fighting to show your courage, on equal terms, in order to avoid disgrace, but you are advising for your preservation, and that you may not have to resist a greatly superior power.'

μὴ ἀνθίστασθαι is either 1)* the subject matter, or 2) the purpose or object of the deliberation: 1)* 'whether you shall abstain from resistance,' 2) 'that you may abstain from resistance.' The somewhat unnatural construction of the infinitive with *ἡ βουλή* is supported by the more natural construction of the infinitive in the corresponding clause, *μὴ αἰσχύνην ὀφλεῖν*, with *ὁ ἀγών*.

ἐλπὶς δὲ κινδύνῳ παραμύθιον οὖσα τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ περιουσίας χρωμένους 103. 1.
αὐτῇ, κἂν βλάψῃ, οὐ καθεῖλε· τοῖς δὲ ἐς ἅπαν τὸ ὑπάρχον ἀναῤῥιπτοῦσι
(δάπανος γὰρ φύσει) ἅμα τε γιγνώσκεται σφαλέντων, καὶ ἐν ὅτῳ ἔτι φυλάξεταί τις αὐτὴν γνωρισθεῖσαν, οὐκ ἐλλείπει. ὃ ὑμεῖς, ἀσθενεῖς τε καὶ ἐπὶ ῥοπῆς μιᾶς ὄντες, μὴ βούλεσθε παθεῖν.

ἀπὸ περιουσίας, 'out of their abundance,' i. e. having something else to depend upon, (cp. Dem. De Cor. (xviii.) 3, *οὗτος δ' ἐκ περιουσίας μου κατηγορεῖ*, 'my accuser can afford to lose').

τοῖς δ' ἐς ἅπαν κ.τ.λ. ἀναῤῥιπτοῦσι is used absolutely, 'to those who make their throw to the extent of all they have.'

ἐλλείπει means either 1)* 'does not fail so long as he might recognise and guard against her,' or 2) 'leaves him nothing in

103. 1. which he can guard against her now that she is recognised,' i. e. leaves him nothing to protect against her. For this active use of ἐλλείπω cp. Eur. El. 608,—

σὺ δ', ἐκ βαθρῶν γὰρ πᾶς ἀνῄρησαι φίλοις
οὐδ' ἐλλέλοιπας ἐλπίδ' ...

According to 1)* ἅμα is taken closely with σφαλέντων, 'in the moment of their fall;' and φυλάξεται γνωρισθεῖσαν=γνωρίσει καὶ φυλάξεταί τις: according to 2) the words ἅμα τε γιγνώσκεται answer to καὶ οὐκ ἐλλείπει following, and γνωρισθεῖσαν='now that she is known.' τέ—καί according to 1)* may be translated 'but;' or rather Thucydides coordinates two clauses which are really opposed, the second going back to an earlier period of time than the first.

ὃ ὑμεῖς κ.τ.λ. ἅ, though in form a simple relative, is in sense strongly adversative.

103. 2. ἐπειδὰν πιεζομένους αὐτοὺς ἐπιλίπωσιν αἱ φανεραὶ ἐλπίδες, ἐπὶ τὰς ἀφανεῖς καθίστανται, μαντικήν τε καὶ χρησμοὺς καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων λυμαίνεται.

καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μετ' ἐλπίδων=καὶ ὅσαι τοιαῦται ἐλπίδες. The repetition of ἐλπίδες, in the form μετ' ἐλπίδων, is an awkward evasion of tautology.

104. ὅμως δὲ πιστεύομεν τῇ μὲν τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου μὴ ἐλασσώσεσθαι, ὅτι ὅσιοι πρὸς οὐ δικαίους ἱστάμεθα κ.τ.λ.

'In respect of fortune, we trust that Heaven will not allow us to fall behind you,' τῇ μὲν τύχῃ is to be taken both with πιστεύομεν, and with ἐλασσώσεσθαι. Here, as in v. 112 med. τῇ μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούσῃ τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτὴν ... πιστεύοντες, τύχῃ is connected with τὸ θεῖον, as though in the uncertainty of fortune, on which Thucydides loves to dwell, the operation of the divine power might still be recognised.

105. 1. τῆς μὲν τοίνυν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐμενείας οὐδ' ἡμεῖς οἰόμεθα λελείψεσθαι.

'In good-will in regard of heaven, neither do we think that we shall be behind you,' is said for 'in regard of heaven, neither do we think that we shall be behind you in the good-will of heaven.'

εἰδότες καὶ ὑμᾶς ἂν καὶ ἄλλους, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἡμῖν γενομένους, 105. 2.
δρῶντας ἂν αὐτό.

δρῶντας ἂν αὐτό, scil. *ἄρχοντας ἂν οὗ ἂν κρατῶσι.*

ἡμεῖς δὲ κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἤδη καὶ μάλιστα πιστεύομεν τῷ ξυμφέροντι 106.
αὐτῶν Μηλίους ἀποίκους ὄντας μὴ βουλήσεσθαι προδόντας τοῖς μὲν
εὖνοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπίστους καταστῆναι, τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις ὠφελίμους.

ἤδη, either 'now you have come to the very point,' or, 'we already, for this very reason, most especially trust them,' i.e. we are already aware, without being told it, that they will follow their interest. *καί* emphasizes *μάλιστα*. *τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν* is either 1) an epexegesis of *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο*: or 2) we may separate *κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο* from *τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν*, and supply the antecedent from the previous chapter, 'we for this very reason,' i.e. because they are so selfish, 'confide in the interest of the Lacedaemonians.' Others 3) connect *τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν* with *μὴ βουλήσεσθαι*, 'we trust that by reason of their interest they will not be willing,' etc. But when there is a doubt in which of two constructions a word is to be taken, the nearer and more natural is to be preferred. We must therefore conclude that *τῷ ξυμφέροντι* follows *πιστεύομεν*.

The next words, *Μηλίους ἀποίκους ὄντας κ.τ.λ.*, may be taken either with *πιστεύομεν* or with *τῷ ξυμφέροντι αὐτῶν*. Either 1), 'we believe that they will not give up their colonists the Melians,' or 2)*, 'we rely upon their sense of interest which will forbid them to give up,' etc.

οὔκουν οἴεσθε τὸ ξυμφέρον μὲν μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἶναι, τὸ δὲ δίκαιον καὶ 107.
καλὸν μετὰ κινδύνου δρᾶσαι.

δρᾶσαι is the reading of nearly all the MSS.; supply *τινά*. The easier reading *δρᾶσθαι*, found in M^{12}, a MS. in the British Museum of uncertain value, is unnecessary.

ὅσῳ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῆς Πελοποννήσου ἐγγὺς κείμεθα, τῆς δὲ γνώμης 108.
τῷ ξυγγενεῖ πιστότεροι ἑτέρων ἐσμέν.

πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, 'for military action,' whether 1)* of the Melians on the mainland, or 2) of the Peloponnesians on the island, or 3) of both. *τῆς γνώμης*, either 1) genitive of relation with *πιστότεροι*; or 2) with *τῷ ξυγγενεῖ*, 'more trustworthy because our feelings are those of Dorians toward Dorians.'

110. 1. *οἱ δὲ καὶ ἄλλους ἂν ἔχοιεν πέμψαι.*

I. e. the Corinthians or other naval allies of Lacedaemon, ii. 9 med.

110. 2. *καὶ εἰ τοῦδε σφάλλοιντο, τράποιντ' ἂν καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων, ὅσους μὴ Βρασίδας ἐπῆλθε· καὶ οὐ περὶ τῆς μὴ προσηκούσης μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς οἰκειοτέρας ξυμμαχίδος τε καὶ γῆς ὁ πόνος ὑμῖν ἔσται.*

The opposition of *γῆ* to *ξυμμαχίς*, though in itself harsh, is made clearer by the correspondence of the words with the foregoing clause, *ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑμῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τῶν ξυμμάχων.* 'But about the land of your allies and your own territory, which are both far nearer to you.'

111. 1. *τούτων μὲν καὶ πεπειραμένοις ἄν τι γένοιτο καὶ ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς πώποτε πολιορκίας Ἀθηναῖοι δι' ἄλλων φόβον ἀπεχώρησαν.*

'Yes, and some of these things may come to pass in your case too, and if you should ever have experience of them, then you will know too well that the Athenians have never yet raised a siege through fear of others,' i. e. because they were attacked in some other quarter, as by the Corinthians during the blockade of Aegina (i. 105 med.), and by the Lacedaemonians during the blockade of Potidaea (ii. 70. init.), and Mitylene (iii. 16 init.). The meaning of the sentence is obscured by the awkward juxtaposition of *πεπειραμένοις* and *οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν*, which are not really parallel in time, the one referring to the coming of the assistance for which the Melians looked, the other to their subsequent experience of the endurance and persistency of the Athenians. The irony of *ἂν γένοιτο* increases the obscurity; *ἄν* affecting the meaning of *πεπειραμένοις* as well as of *γένοιτο*. *καί* emphasizes *πεπειραμένοις*. *οὐκ ἀνεπιστήμοσιν*=*εὖ εἰδόσιν*. *τούτων* refers to the invasion of Attica, or to the stirring up of a revolt among the allies, with which the Athenians have just been threatened by the Melians. The perfect participle, *πεπειραμένοις*, implies that the Melians were not to expect this assistance from Lacedaemon until they had had experience of it.

111. 3. *οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐπί γε τὴν ἐν τοῖς αἰσχροῖς καὶ προὔπτοις κινδύνοις πλεῖστα διαφθείρουσαν ἀνθρώπους αἰσχύνην τρέψεσθε.*

Compare i. 122 fin. *οὐ γὰρ δὴ πεφευγότες ταῦτα ἐπὶ τὴν πλείστους δὴ* 111. 3.
βλάψασαν καταφρόνησιν κεχωρήκατε.

πολλοῖς γὰρ προορωμένοις ἔτι, ἐς οἷα φέρονται, τὸ αἰσχρὸν καλούμενον 111. 3.
ὀνόματος ἐπαγωγοῦ δυνάμει ἐπεσπάσατο, ἡσσηθεῖσι τοῦ ῥήματος, ἔργῳ
ξυμφοραῖς ἀνηκέστοις ἑκόντας περιπεσεῖν.

πολλοῖς, ἡσσηθεῖσι, datives after *ἐπεσπάσατο*. *ἐπεσπάσατο*, scil. *τὸ περιπεσεῖν ἑκόντας*, lit. 'has drawn down upon them a fall into irremediable calamity which they bring upon themselves.'

σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ μεταστάντων ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε πολλάκις, ὅτι περὶ 111. 5.
πατρίδος βουλεύεσθε, ἣν μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ
μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἔσται.

Although the grammar of the last words is desperate, the reading in the text is probably genuine. The comparatively slight variations of the MSS. are sufficiently accounted for by the difficulty of the passage. With *ἔσται* may be supplied *βουλεύεσθαι* from *βουλεύεσθε*. There is a confusion between two modes of expression, *ἣν μίαν καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχοῦσάν τε καὶ μὴ κατορθώσασαν ἔσται βουλεύεσθαι*, and *ἧς μιᾶς πέρι καὶ ἐς μίαν βουλὴν τυχούσης τε καὶ μὴ κατορθωσάσης ἔσται (ὑμῖν) βουλεύεσθαι.*

The city is considered, first, as that which deliberates; secondly, as the subject of deliberation; 'which is your only city, and which, whether saved or lost, at one conference only, will have an opportunity of deliberating.' *ἐς μίαν βουλήν* may either be taken 1) as above, after *βουλεύεσθαι*, or 2)* after *τυχοῦσάν τε κ.τ.λ.*, 'of which the ruin or salvation depends upon the result of your deliberation.' The reading *ἴστε* for *ἔσται* somewhat improves the grammar, but it rests on weak MS. authority, and coming at the end of the sentence enfeebles the sense.

ἀλλὰ τῇ τε μέχρι τοῦδε σωζούσῃ τύχῃ ἐκ τοῦ θείου αὐτὴν καὶ τῇ ἀπὸ 112. 2.
τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τιμωρίᾳ πιστεύοντες πειρασόμεθα σώ-
ζεσθαι.

The desire to oppose the single idea *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων* to *ἐκ τοῦ θείου* has led to a formal distinction between *ἀνθρώπων* and *Λακεδαιμονίων*, 'from men, and in particular from Lacedaemonians.'

113. καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τύχῃ καὶ ἐλπίσι πλεῖστον δὴ παραβεβλημένοι καὶ πιστεύσαντες πλεῖστον καὶ σφαλήσεσθε.

The dative cases are taken after πιστεύσαντες, which is qualified by παραβεβλημένοι, 'trusting, in the most reckless manner, the Lacedaemonians and fortune and hope.' For the hyperbaton cp. iii. 68 init. αὖθις τὸ αὐτὸ ἕνα ἕκαστον παραγαγόντες καὶ ἐρωτῶντες.

115. 4. ἐσενεγκάμενοι σῖτόν τε καὶ ὅσα πλεῖστα ἐδύναντο χρήσιμα.

χρήμασιν, the reading of most MSS., gives no sense. χρήσιμα has therefore been restored out of one good (H.) and one inferior MS. (I). Cp. for the fate of the Melians, Aristoph. Birds, 186,—

τοὺς δ' αὖ θεοὺς ἀπολεῖτε λίμῳ Μηλίῳ,

although nothing is said by Thucydides of their being compelled to surrender by famine.

BOOK VI.

Thucydides, like Herodotus, retains the spirit of the older geographers and logographers, and at the beginning of his narrative of the Sicilian expedition describes Sicily as if it were an unknown country. That he may have borrowed from Antiochus of Syracuse is possible, but it is equally possible that his description is the result of his own travels or inquiries. The slight coincidences of language (see note on c. 3. 1 infra) or statement which are found in the fragments of Antiochus (Müller, i. p. 181), when compared with Thucydides, are by no means sufficient to support the hypothesis first suggested by Niebuhr, and confidently maintained by later writers, that the account of Sicily in Thucydides is derived from his contemporary. 1.

The great apparent antiquity of these Sicilian colonies, and the precision with which the dates are given are remarkable. Yet we must consider that Thucydides is speaking of times which, in his own language (i. 21), have 'passed into the region of romance.' We know nothing of the source whence he obtained his chronology, and cannot therefore determine whether it was the invention of a later age, or whether it had some real foundation in ancient and contemporary inscriptions, whether lists of magistrates, or documents of any other kind. In Thucydides, as in Herodotus, we must distinguish between the record of events which occurred in his own or in the preceding generation, and of those which he received by tradition from a distant antiquity.

Σικελίας γὰρ περίπλους μέν ἐστιν ὁλκάδι οὐ πολλῷ τινι ἔλασσον ἢ ὀκτὼ 1. 2.
ἡμερῶν, καὶ τοσαύτη οὖσα ἐν εἴκοσι σταδίων μάλιστα μέτρῳ τῆς θαλάσσης διείργεται τὸ μὴ ἤπειρος εἶναι.

Thucydides seems to think that there is a geographical incongruity in so large an island being separated from the mainland by so narrow a channel.

1. 2. *τὸ μὴ ἤπειρος οὖσα* is the reading of all the MSS. but one (H). *οὖσα* may certainly have crept in from *τοσαύτη οὖσα* in the preceding line. But it is not in itself indefensible; cp. note on i. 2. 5.

2. 1. *ᾠκίσθη δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἀρχαῖον, καὶ τοσάδε ἔθνη ἔσχε τὰ ξύμπαντα.*

ὧδε has no MS. authority. There are numerous various readings, *ἥδε, ἤδε, ᾗδε, ἤδη, ᾗδη*, and the mere variety of them seems to show a corruption of the text. Most of them give no sense; *ἤδε*, which has the greatest MS. authority, a poor one, and *ἤδη*, which has less authority, not a very good one. Upon the whole it seems better to accept the emendation *ὧδε*.

The subject of *ἔσχε* may be either *τοσάδε ἔθνη* (*ἔσχε τὴν Σικελίαν*), or better *ἡ Σικελία*, the subject of the preceding verb *ᾠκίσθη*.

2. 5. *τούς τε Σικανοὺς κρατοῦντες μάχῃ ἀπέστειλαν πρὸς τὰ μεσημβρινὰ καὶ ἑσπέρια αὐτῆς.*

ἀπέστειλαν, the reading of the MSS., has been altered by Bekker into *ἀνέστειλαν*, on the ground that the meaning of the word is unsuited to this passage. But it is much more likely that *ἀπέστειλαν* should be used with a different shade of meaning, 'send them off,' or 'drive them,' instead of simply 'send them,' (cp. iii. 89 fin. *αἴτιον δ' ἔγωγε νομίζω τοῦ τοιούτου, ᾗ ἰσχυρότατος ὁ σεισμὸς ἐγένετο, κατὰ τοῦτο ἀποστέλλειν τε τὴν θάλασσαν κ.τ.λ.*), than that all the MSS. should agree by mistake in a word which is employed in a somewhat unfamiliar sense.

2. 5. *καὶ τὰ κράτιστα τῆς γῆς ᾤκησαν ἔχοντες, ἐπεὶ διέβησαν, ἔτη ἐγγὺς τριακόσια, πρὶν Ἕλληνας ἐς Σικελίαν ἐλθεῖν.*

ἔχοντες, scil. *τὰ κράτιστα τῆς γῆς*. *ἔτη τριακόσια*, accusative of duration.

3. 1. *Ἀπόλλωνος ἀρχηγέτου βωμόν, ὅστις νῦν ἔξω τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν, ἱδρύσαντο.*

ὅστις for *ὅς* appears to be a remnant of poetical language which is occasionally found, as here, in prose without difference of meaning. It is common in Herodotus (Stein on iv. 8), cp. i. 167, *ἐκτήσαντο πόλιν γῆς τῆς Οἰνωτρίης ταύτην ἥτις νῦν Ὑέλη καλέεται*: ii. 151, *ἐν φρενὶ λαβόντες τό τε ποιηθὲν ἐκ Ψαμμητίχου καὶ τὸ χρηστήριον ὅ τι*

ἐκέχρητό σφι: vi. 13, ὁ δὲ Αἰάκης, παρ' ὅτεν τοὺς λόγους ἐδέκοντο οἱ Σάμιοι, παῖς μὲν ἦν Συλοσῶντος τοῦ Αἰάκεος, κ.τ.λ. Cp. also Antiochus, Fragm. 3, τὴν γῆν ταύτην, ἥτις νῦν Ἰταλία καλέεται, τὸ παλαιὸν εἶχον Οἰνωτροί. Hermann's account of the use of ὅστις for ὅς as explanatory (Praef. ad Soph. O. T. p. xi) is inapplicable to many places in Herodotus, and is not suited to this passage. Neither can the word be here defended as expressing 'purpose' or 'general character;' cp. note on iii. 16. 3; viii. 92. 6. 3. 1.

οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῆς Θάψου ἀναστάντες, Ὕβλωνος βασιλέως Σικελοῦ προδόντος τὴν χώραν καὶ καθηγησαμένου, Μεγαρέας ᾤκισαν τοὺς Ὑβλαίους κληθέντας. 4. 1.

ἀναστάντες, either 1)* 'being driven out' from Thapsus, or 2) 'breaking up their settlement.' The former is the more common meaning, and occurs a few lines below, but the latter is justified by another use of the word, 'breaking up an encampment,' and is in better keeping with the context, for nothing is said of the circumstances under which the settlers left Thapsus; the only reason assigned for their quitting the place is that they were guided by Hyblon to another.

προδόντος τὴν χώραν, either 1) 'giving up the country,' i. e. the territory of Thapsus, whether of his own choice, or because he was pushed out by his enemies; or 2)* betraying the country, i. e. the territory of Megara, to the Hellenic settlers, how or why is not said.

πρὶν δὲ ἀναστῆναι, ἔτεσιν ὕστερον ἑκατὸν ἢ αὐτοὺς οἰκῆσαι, Πάμιλλον πέμψαντες ἐς Σελινοῦντα κτίζουσιν. 4. 2.

αὐτούς, referring to the subject of the verb, is irregular. The irregularity is sufficiently defended here by the position of αὐτούς preceding the verb κτίζουσι to the subject of which it refers.

μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐξώρμησαν Ἐγεσταίων τε πρέσβεις παρόντες κ.τ.λ. 6. 2.
Cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 2.

ὥστε τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχητος καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἐγεσταίοισι ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμνήσκοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἐδέοντο σφίσι ναῦς πέμψαντας ἐπαμῦναι. 6. 2.

6. 2. *Λεοντίνων* is to be taken, not with *πολέμου*, but with *ξυμμαχίαν*. The Egestaeans reminded the Athenians that they had already interfered in the affairs of Sicily, which was a reason for their interfering again. It is nowhere stated that the Athenians had made an alliance with the Egestaeans, previous to that of vi. 8. But the words *τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔτι ξυμμάχους αὐτῶν,—μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων ἔτι ξυμμάχων,*— below probably include them, as well as the other Sicilian states mentioned as allies of the Leontines, and therefore of the Athenians, in iii. 86 med. The Egestaeans naturally call themselves allies of the Athenians, because they are willing to become so.

7. 2. *ἐλθόντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ναυσὶ τριάκοντα καὶ ἑξακοσίοις ὁπλίταις, οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, πανστρατιᾷ ἐξελθόντων, τοὺς ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς μίαν ἡμέραν ἐπολιόρκουν· ὑπὸ δὲ νύκτα, αὐλισαμένου τοῦ στρατεύματος ἄπωθεν, ἐκδιδράσκουσιν οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνεῶν.*

Either the MSS. agree in a mistake, arising out of the similar ending of *τῶν Ἀθηναίων* which precedes, and we should read *ἐξελθόντες*, or we must suppose that there is a rather abrupt change of construction. We may place a comma after *μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων* and *ἐξελθόντων*, and refer the latter word to both the Athenians and Argives. This explanation is supported by v. 33 init. *Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐστράτευσαν . . . ἐς Παῤῥασίους, Μαντινέων ὑπηκόους ὄντας, κατὰ στάσιν ἐπικαλεσαμένων σφᾶς.* Cp. also vii. 57. 11: vii. 76. 5, and notes.

There is a reference to the bloodless capture of Orneae in the Birds of Aristophanes (395–399), which was exhibited rather more than a year later, in the spring of 414,—

ὁ Κεραμεικὸς δέξεται νώ·
δημόσια γὰρ ἵνα ταφῶμεν
φήσομεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
μαχομένω τοῖς πολεμίοισιν
ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς.

8. 1. *ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα ἀσήμου ἀργυρίου, ὡς ἐς ἑξήκοντα ναῦς μηνὸς μισθόν.*

I. e. if the ships had a crew of 200 sailors, a drachma a day, or double the usual pay. Cp. note on viii. 29. 2.

8. 2. *ξυγκατοικίσαι δὲ καὶ Λεοντίνους, ἤν τι περιγίγνηται αὐτοῖς τοῦ πολέμου.*

Either 1)* 'if they had any spare time or means from the war,'

lit. 'if they had anything remaining over from the war;' or 2) 'if they gained any success in the war.' But this latter proviso seems hardly consistent with the sanguine temper which animated the Athenians at the time.

ἐκκλησία αὖθις ἐγίγνετο, καθ' ὅ τι χρὴ τὴν παρασκευὴν ταῖς ναυσὶ τάχιστα γίγνεσθαι. 8. 3.

καθ' ὅτι='as to the manner in which.'

αἱ ἠσυχαζόντων μὲν ὑμῶν ὀνόματι σπονδαὶ ἔσονται, οὕτω γὰρ ἐνθένδε τε ἄνδρες ἔπραξαν αὐτὰ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων. 10. 2.

Scil. Alcibiades, and the Lacedaemonian Ephors (v. 36 init.).

αὐτά=*τὰ περὶ τὰς σπονδάς.*

οἱ μὲν ἄντικρυς πολεμοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸ Λακεδαιμονίους ἔτι ἠσυχάζειν δεχημέροις σπονδαῖς καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέχονται. 10. 3.

οἱ μέν, scil. the Corinthians, v. 52 fin., 115 med. *οἱ δέ*, scil. the Boeotians, v. 26 med., and the Thracian Chalcidians, vi. 7 fin.

Σικελιῶται δ' ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἧσσον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, εἰ ἄρξειαν αὐτῶν Συρακόσιοι· ὅπερ οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι μάλιστα ἡμᾶς ἐκφοβοῦσι. νῦν μὲν γὰρ κἂν ἔλθοιεν ἴσως Λακεδαιμονίων ἕκαστοι χάριτι, ἐκείνως δ' οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν στρατεῦσαι. 11. 2. 3.

δοκοῦσιν, ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι, scil. *οὐ δεινοὶ εἶναι*, supplied from the words which immediately follow, *καὶ ἔτι ἂν ἧσσον δεινοὶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.* 'In their present condition they are not dangerous,' said, perhaps, with reference to the defensive policy adopted at the congress of Gela, iv. 65. Otherwise the sentence must be translated, 'looking at the present state of Sicily, the Sicilians would be even less dangerous than they are now if they were subjugated by Syracuse.' But the words *νῦν μὲν γὰρ . . . ἐκείνως δέ* clearly show that *ὥς γε νῦν ἔχουσι* is opposed to *εἰ ἄρξειαν κ.τ.λ.*

ᾧ γὰρ ἂν τρόπῳ τὴν ἡμετέραν μετὰ Πελοποννησίων ἀφέλωνται, εἰκὸς ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σφετέραν διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ καθαιρεθῆναι. 11. 3.

ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν, i.e. by the Peloponnesians. *διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ* refers to *ᾧ ἂν τρόπῳ*, that is to say, 'by combination.' 'By whatever process they combining with the Peloponnesians deprive us of our empire, by

11. 3. the same process may they expect their own to be overthrown, and by these same Peloponnesians combining with the Athenians. Whatever dangers threaten the Athenian empire from the union of Sparta and Syracuse would equally threaten a Syracusan empire from the union of Sparta and Athens. The union of course is in the one case voluntary, in the other involuntary: but the desire to make a point has led the speaker to overlook this distinction.

11. 4. *ἡμᾶς δ' ἂν οἱ ἐκεῖ Ἕλληνες μάλιστα μὲν ἐκπεπληγμένοι εἶεν εἰ μὴ ἀφικοίμεθα κ.τ.λ.*

'We shall not frighten them by going to Sicily as the Egestaeans would have us believe; they will fear us most if we keep away from them.'

11. 6. *χρὴ δὲ μὴ πρὸς τὰς τύχας τῶν ἐναντίων ἐπαίρεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰς διανοίας κρατήσαντας θαρσεῖν.*

Arnold compares Livy ix. 6, 'habere Samnites victoriam non praeclaram solum sed etiam perpetuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam sicut ante Gallos, sed quod multo bellicosius fuerit Romanam virtutem ferociamque.'

For the contrast of *διάνοια* and *τύχη* cp. note on i. 70. 6.

11. 7. *ὅπως πόλιν δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἐπιβουλεύουσαν ὀξέως φυλαξώμεθα.*

Nicias, who was himself suspected of sacrificing Athenian interests to Sparta, here strikes a note likely to elicit a response from the demus: *δι' ὀλιγαρχίας*, 'a state contriving our ruin,' either 1) 'by setting up an oligarchy,' or 2) 'in the way of oligarchy,' i. e. by the influence of the Spartan oligarchy over the aristocratical party at Athens (Plato, Protag. 342 B, C, Aristoph. Birds, 1280 foll.), or 3)* simply 'oligarchically,' 'like an oligarchy;' *δι' ὀλιγαρχίας*, like *δι' ὀργῆς*.

The first case would be illustrated by the Thirty, the second by the Four Hundred. The third would be more general.

12. 1. *καὶ μεμνῆσθαι χρὴ ἡμᾶς ὅτι νεωστὶ ἀπὸ νόσου μεγάλης καὶ πολέμου βραχύ τι λελωφήκαμεν, ὥστε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ηὐξῆσθαι· καὶ ταῦτα ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν δίκαιον ἐνθάδε εἶναι ἀναλοῦν καὶ μὴ ὑπὲρ ἀνδρῶν φυγάδων τῶνδε ἐπικουρίας δεομένων.*

δίκαιον is joined with *εἶναι*, the infinitive being dependent on some

general idea such as *νομίζειν* contained in *μεμνῆσθαι*. The separa- **12. 1.**
tion of the words gives force to *ἐνθάδε*.

The envoys are contemptuously called *φυγάδες*, because the Leontines, with whose cause they identify their own (vi. 6 med.), had been expelled from their city. C. 19 init. shows that some Leontines were present in the assembly.

οἷς τό τε ψεύσασθαι καλῶς χρήσιμον, καὶ τῷ τοῦ πέλας κινδύνῳ, αὑτῶν **12. 1.** *λόγους μόνον παρασχομένους, ἢ κατορθώσαντας χάριν μὴ ἀξίαν εἰδέναι, ἢ πταίσαντάς που τοὺς φίλους ξυναπολέσαι.*

καλῶς, successfully or plausibly; cp. *οἷς κόσμος καλῶς τοῦτο δρᾷν*, i. 5 med.: *ἀπὸ τῶν λόγῳ κάλως ἐπιτιμησάντων*, iii. 38 med.

The MSS. are divided between *αὐτούς* and *αὐτῶν*. *αὐτῶν* or *αὑτῶν*, 'of themselves,' or 'of their own,' is more euphonic. The force of *χρήσιμον* extends to *χάριν μὴ ἀξίαν εἰδέναι*, but is forgotten in the alternative *ἢ πταίσαντας . . . ξυναπολέσαι*. *ξυναπολέσθαι*, the MS. reading, is too harsh.

εἴ τέ τις ἄρχειν ἄσμενος αἱρεθεὶς παραινεῖ ὑμῖν ἐκπλεῖν, τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον **12. 2.** *σκοπῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ νεώτερος ἔτι ὢν ἐς τὸ ἄρχειν, ὅπως θαυμασθῇ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱπποτροφίας, διὰ δὲ πολυτέλειαν καὶ ὠφεληθῇ τι ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς, μηδὲ τούτῳ ἐμπαράσχητε τῷ τῆς πόλεως κινδύνῳ ἰδίᾳ ἐλλαμπρύνεσθαι.*

ἄλλως τε καί, the youth of Alcibiades increased his exultation at holding a command. The structure of the sentence is somewhat disorderly, the sense apparently requiring this clause to be connected with *ἄρχειν ἄσμενος αἱρεθείς* and not with *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν*.

ὅπως θαυμασθῇ μέν, the emphasis is on the second of the two clauses, *διὰ δὲ πολυτέλειαν κ.τ.λ.*, 'that he may be admired for his stud of horses, and at the same time, since they are a great expense, may make a little gain out of his command.'

καὶ ὠφεληθῇ κ.τ.λ. is anticipated in *τὸ ἑαυτοῦ μόνον σκοπῶν*.

νομίσας, εἰ ὀρρωδεῖς τὸ ἀναψηφίσαι, τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους μὴ μετὰ **14.** *τοσῶνδ' ἂν μαρτύρων αἰτίαν σχεῖν, τῆς δὲ πόλεως βουλευσαμένης ἰατρὸς ἂν γενέσθαι.*

τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους may be 1) the subject of *αἰτίαν σχεῖν*, 'to break the laws before so many witnesses will be no crime,' or 2) the

14. remote accusative, and the pronoun, either of the person or of the thing, may be supplied with σχεῖν, 'as to a violation of the law, you will incur no blame of the kind,' or 'that will incur no blame.' Whether the course proposed by Nicias was a breach of the law is uncertain. The words τὸ μὲν λύειν τοὺς νόμους, however taken, seem to imply that the law would be broken: the case of the Mitylenean decree, iii. 36, points in the other direction. At first sight the words τῆς πόλεως βουλευσαμένης are rather pointless; but some idea of danger or crisis is really implied in them; hence the Prytanis is exhorted to be the physician of the state. 'You will minister to the state when in the act of deciding.' The aorist refers to a point of time identical with that of the main verb, cp. note on iv. 112. 1. The addition κακῶς, found only in one or two MSS., is unnecessary.

15. 2. καὶ μάλιστα στρατηγῆσαί τε ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ ἐλπίζων Σικελίαν τε δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ Καρχηδόνα λήψεσθαι καὶ τὰ ἴδια ἅμα εὐτυχήσας χρήμασί τε καὶ δόξῃ ὠφελήσειν.

δι' αὐτοῦ, 1) scil. διὰ τοῦ στρατηγῆσαι, Alcibiades being the subject of λήψεσθαι; in this case the words δι' αὐτοῦ are principally connected in sense with the latter part of the sentence, τὰ ἴδια κ.τ.λ. 'by his office of general he would obtain money and glory,' or 2) αὐτοῦ= Alcibiades, and the Athenians are the subject of λήψεσθαι. A good contrast is thus afforded with τὰ ἴδια. Cp. note on viii. 12. 2, Ἐνδίῳ τε αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ ἔλεγε καλὸν εἶναι δι' ἐκείνου ἀποστῆσαί τε Ἰωνίαν κ.τ.λ.

15. 4. φοβηθέντες γὰρ αὐτοῦ οἱ πολλοὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τε κατὰ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα παρανομίας ἐς τὴν δίαιταν, καὶ τῆς διανοίας ὧν καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, ἐν ὅτῳ γίγνοιτο, ἔπρασσεν, ὡς τυραννίδος ἐπιθυμοῦντι πολέμιοι καθέστασαν.

1) 'The extreme lawlessness of his personal life and the greatness of the spirit which he showed in everything which he did on any occasion in which he was concerned,' καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον being the antecedent of ἐν ὅτῳ γίγνοιτο, or 2) καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον may be joined with ὧν, 'of the temper which he showed,' lit. 'in the things which he did taken singly,' i. e. 'in every single thing which he did;' ἐν ὅτῳ γίγνοιτο will then become an independent clause, 'whatever he was about.' The whole sentence will=τῆς διανοίας ἑκάστων ἃ, ἐν ὅτῳ

γίγνοιτο, ἔπρασσεν. Cp. the admirable description at the beginning of Alcib. i. p. 104, 105, though probably not Plato's, of Alcibiades and his aims. **15. 4.**

καὶ δημοσίᾳ κράτιστα διαθέντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστοι τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν αὐτοῦ ἀχθεσθέντες, καὶ ἄλλοις ἐπιτρέψαντες, οὐ διὰ μακροῦ ἔσφηλαν τὴν πόλιν. **15. 4.**

διαθέντα, the reading of all the MSS. but one, must be explained by an anacoluthon, or as the 'remoter object' of the following sentence. The dative, which is found in H. and adopted by Poppo in the text, is almost equally harsh.

Thucydides attributes the ruin of the state, not wholly to Alcibiades, but partly also to the citizens who took offence at his private character. His feeling about him is much the same as that expressed in the remarkable lines which Aristophanes puts into the mouth of Aeschylus, Aristoph. Frogs, 1431,—

οὐ χρὴ λέοντος σκύμνον ἐν πόλει τρέφειν,
[μάλιστα μὲν λέοντα μὴ 'ν πόλει τρέφειν,]
ἢν δ' ἐκτρέφῃ τις, τοῖς τρόποις ὑπηρετεῖν.

νόμῳ μὲν γὰρ τιμὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δρωμένου καὶ δύναμις ἅμα ὑπονοεῖται. **16. 2.**

'Public opinion holds such things to be a credit, and from what you actually do there arises in the mind an impression of power,' i. e. 'such displays, besides the value which the world puts upon them, have a real effect by creating a belief in the power of Athens.' νόμῳ and ἐκ τοῦ δρωμένου is a new disguise of the old opposition between λόγῳ and ἔργῳ.

καὶ οὐκ ἄχρηστος ἥδ' ἡ ἄνοια, ὃς ἂν τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσι μὴ ἑαυτὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὠφέλῃ. **16. 3.**

ἥδ' ἡ ἄνοια, the folly of the extravagance just before described. ἄνοια has the weaker MS. authority, the common reading being διάνοια, which gives but a feeble sense. Cp. c. 17 init. ἡ ἐμὴ νεότης καὶ ἄνοια παρὰ φύσιν δοκοῦσα εἶναι. For ἥδ' ἡ ἄνοια ὃς ἄν cp. note on ii. 44. 1.

οὐδέ γε ἄδικον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ μέγα φρονοῦντα μὴ ἴσον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κακῶς **16. 4.**

16. 3. *πράσσων πρὸς οὐδένα τῆς ξυμφορᾶς ἰσομοιρεῖ· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ δυστυχοῦντες οὐ προσαγορευόμεθα, ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τις ἀνεχέσθω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγούντων ὑπερφρονούμενος, ἢ τὰ ἴσα νέμων τὰ ὅμοια ἀνταξιούτω.*

Had the words run *ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοὺς δυστυχοῦντάς τις οὐ προσαγορεύει, ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ ἀνεχέσθω καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν εὐπραγούντων ὑπερφρονούμενος*, the connection with what follows would have been clearer. *τὰ ἴσα νέμων* is emphatic, 'let him claim equality only if he is willing to grant it.' In this singular passage Alcibiades expresses the Greek notion of *μεγαλοψυχία*, which did not exclude self-assertion. To the charge of haughtiness he replies that such haughtiness is natural to all men; when they are in prosperity, they look down upon those in adversity; when they are in adversity themselves, they expect to be looked down upon. And Alcibiades (*ὁ εὐπραγῶν*) is to the persons whom he is addressing as the well-to-do citizen is to those who are in adversity.

16. 6. *Πελοποννήσου γὰρ τὰ δυνατώτατα ξυστήσας ἄνευ μεγάλου ὑμῖν κινδύνου καὶ δαπάνης Λακεδαιμονίους ἐς μίαν ἡμέραν κατέστησα ἐν Μαντινείᾳ περὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ἀγωνίσασθαι· ἐξ οὗ, καὶ περιγενόμενοι τῇ μάχῃ, οὐδέπω καὶ νῦν βεβαίως θαρσοῦσι.*

ἐς μίαν ἡμέραν, 1)=*μίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ*, scil. *κατέστησα ἀγωνίσασθαι*. 'I caused them to stake all they had in one day;' or 2)* taking *ἐς* in a different sense, as in *ἐς μίαν βουλήν*, v. 111 fin. 'on the issue of a single day.'

καὶ νῦν, although three years have passed since the battle of Mantinea.

With this boast of Alcibiades may be contrasted the statement of Thucydides respecting the restoration of Lacedaemonian prestige after the battle of Mantinea: v. 75 med. *καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τότε ἐπιφερομένην αἰτίαν ἔς τε μαλακίαν διὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ξυμφορὰν καὶ ἐς τὴν ἄλλην ἀβουλίαν τε καὶ βραδυτῆτα ἑνὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπελύσαντο, τύχῃ μὲν ὡς ἐδόκουν κακιζόμενοι, γνώμῃ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔτι ὄντες.*

17. 1. *καὶ ταῦτα ἡ ἐμὴ νεότης καὶ ἄνοια παρὰ φύσιν δοκοῦσα εἶναι ἐς τὴν Πελοποννησίων δύναμιν λόγοις τε πρέπουσιν ὡμίλησε, καὶ ὀργῇ πίστιν παρασχομένη ἔπεισε. καὶ νῦν μὴ πεφόβησθε αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἕως ἐγώ τε ἔτι ἀκμάζω μετ' αὐτῆς καὶ ὁ Νικίας εὐτυχὴς δοκεῖ εἶναι, ἀποχρήσασθε τῇ ἑκατέρου ἡμῶν ὠφελίᾳ.*

Alcibiades ironically defends himself against 'the atrocious crime of being a young man.' 17. 1.

ταῦτα ὡμίλησε. ταῦτα is 1) an accusative cognate with *ὡμίλησε*, 'thus did my folly deal with the Peloponnesians;' like *τόδε ἀνδραγαθίζεται*, ii. 63 med. Others explain, not so well, 2) *ταῦτα ὁμιλήσας ἔπραξε*, 'This did my folly accomplish by intercourse with them.'

ὀργῇ πίστιν παρασχομένη, cp. iii. 82 med. *ὁ μὲν χαλεπαίνων πιστὸς ἀεί.*

μὴ πεφόβησθε is a conjectural emendation for *πεφοβῆσθαι*, which would be taken after *ἔπεισε*, 'has persuaded the Peloponnesians even now not to be afraid of it.' The pointlessness of *καὶ νῦν* and the feebleness of the opposition conveyed in *ἀλλά*, if placed at the beginning of the next sentence, justify so slight a change.

καὶ οὐδεὶς δι' αὐτὸ ὡς περὶ οἰκείας πατρίδος οὔτε τὰ περὶ τὸ σῶμα ὅπλοις ἐξήρτυται, οὔτε τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ νομίμοις καταskευαῖς· ὅ τι δὲ ἕκαστος ἢ ἐκ τοῦ λέγων πείθειν οἴεται ἢ στασιάζων ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαβών, ἄλλην γῆν, μὴ κατορθώσας, οἰκήσειν, ταῦτα ἑτοιμάζεται. 17. 3.

νομίμοις κατασκευαῖς, 'customary public works,' i. e. fortifications and the like.

ὅ τι is governed by *λαβών*. The whole clause *ἐκ τοῦ λέγων πείθειν* is parallel to *στασιάζων*. The obscurity of the latter part of the sentence arises from the principal idea being expressed by the participle and the subordinate idea by the verb. 'Whatever each man thinks that he can obtain from the common stock by persuasive speech or by factious violence, 1)* determining if he fail to take it away and settle elsewhere, that he provides for himself.' Or 2) not connecting *λαβών* in sense with *οἰκήσειν*, but only *μὴ κατορθώσας*, 'determining if he fail to settle elsewhere.' More simply, 'whatever a man thinks that he can obtain from the common stock,' 1)* 'and settle elsewhere with it if he fail,' or 2) 'having only, if he fail, to settle elsewhere.'

καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὁπλῖται οὕτ' ἐκείνοις ὅσοιπερ κομποῦνται, οὔτε οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες διεφάνησαν τοσοῦτοι ὄντες, ὅσους ἕκαστοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἠρίθμουν, ἀλλὰ μέγιστον δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐψευσμένη ἡ Ἑλλὰς μόλις ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ ἱκανῶς ὡπλίσθη. 17. 5.

17. 5. *οὐ διεφάνησαν*, 'did not stand out as being,' (*δια-*) or 'prove to be.' *ἐψευσμένη*, 1)* 'being deceived about,' or 2) 'having falsified' or 'exaggerated' the number of them. The emphasis may be laid, either on *ὡπλίσθη* or on *μόλις*. Either 'Hellas in this war, though with difficulty, was sufficiently provided with hoplites:' or 'Hellas in this war hardly had a sufficient number of hoplites, compared with other troops.' The words look like a reflection rather of Thucydides than of Alcibiades, who can hardly have used the expression *ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ* in a time nominally of peace.

18. 2. *τήν τε ἀρχὴν οὕτως ἐκτησάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς καὶ ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἦρξαν, παραγιγνόμενοι προθύμως τοῖς ἀεὶ ἢ βαρβάροις ἢ Ἕλλησιν ἐπικαλουμένοις· ἐπεί, εἴγε ἡσυχάζοιεν πάντες, ἢ φυλοκρινοῖεν οἷς χρεὼν βοηθεῖν, βραχὺ ἄν τι προσκτώμενοι αὐτῇ περὶ αὐτῆς ἂν ταύτης μᾶλλον κινδυνεύοιμεν.*

ἡσυχάζοιεν, although in the third person, does not refer to *ὅσοι δὴ ἄλλοι ἦρξαν*, but means, 'if everybody at Athens' (like Nicias, cp. c. 11 fin.) 'were to stay where they are, and to make distinctions of race,' *φυλοκρινοῖεν*, which has greater MS. authority than *φιλοκρινοῖεν*, 'make nice distinctions.' The reading *φυλοκρινοῖεν* is also confirmed by the language of the Athenians at Camarina, vi. 84, 85 init., where they show that they do not in fact make distinctions of race.

18. 2. *τὸν γὰρ προὔχοντα οὐ μόνον ἐπιόντα τις ἀμύνεται ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ ὅπως ἔπεισι προκαταλαμβάνει.*

For *μή* before *ὅπως* cp. *μὴ ἀπὸ ἀντιπάλου παρασκευῆς*, i. 91 fin.: *ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ προσηκόντων ἁμαρτάνουσι*, iii. 67 init. In all these passages the negative gains force from the peculiarity of its position.

18. 3. *καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπισκεπτέον ὑμῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἥσυχον, εἰ μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐς τὸ ὅμοιον μεταλήψεσθε.*

'You must not think of peace as others might, unless you are prepared to make a corresponding change in your policy.' For a similar use of *μεταλαμβάνειν* cp. i. 120 med. *τὸν πόλεμον ἀντὶ εἰρήνης μεταλαμβάνειν*, and note on vi. 87. 5, *καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαί ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μεταλάβετε.*

18. 4. *ἵνα Πελοποννησίων τε στορέσωμεν τὸ φρόνημα, εἰ δόξομεν ὑπεριδόντες*

τὴν ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἐπὶ Σικελίαν πλεῦσαι, καὶ ἅμα ἢ τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 18. 4.
τῶν ἐκεῖ προσγενομένων, πάσης τῷ εἰκότι ἄρξομεν, ἢ κακώσομέν γε Συρακοσίους.

τέ goes with καὶ ἅμα, notwithstanding the change of construction from a dependent to an independent clause.

τὸ δὲ ἀσφαλὲς καὶ μένειν, ἤν τι προχωρῇ, καὶ ἀπελθεῖν αἱ νῆες παρέξουσι· 18. 5.
ναυκράτορες γὰρ ἐσόμεθα καὶ ξυμπάντων Σικελιωτῶν.

All the MSS. here read παρέξουσιν· αὐτοκράτορες, also the Scholiast, who seems puzzled by the words. It is better to read with Valckenaer (on Herod. v. 36), παρέξουσι· ναυτοκράτορες or rather ναυκράτορες, the former word being a false form of the latter, occasionally found in some MSS., cp. v. 97, 109. The converse change, αὐτοκράτορας into ναυτοκράτορας, also occurs in good MSS. (Vat. H.) vi. 8 med.

προχωρῇ, 'if we meet with any success,' though read only in two inferior MSS., gives a better sense than προσχώρῃ, 'if any of the Sicilians join us;' which is here weak and unmeaning.

ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἅμα νέοι γεραιτέροις βουλεύοντες ἐς τάδε 18. 6.
ἦραν αὐτά.

This is the spirit of Pericles speaking by the mouth of Alcibiades. Cp. i. 144 fin. οἱ γοῦν πατέρες ἡμῶν . . . ἐς τάδε προήγαγον αὐτά.

καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἂν μὲν ἡσυχάζῃ, τρίψεσθαί τε αὐτὴν περὶ αὑτὴν ὥσπερ καὶ 18. 6.
ἄλλο τι κ.τ.λ.

A philosophical thesis on which Socrates in the Theaetetus, 153, enlarges with great fervour and eloquence.

πλὴν γὰρ Νάξου καὶ Κατάνης . . . ἄλλαι εἰσὶν ἑπτά. 20. 3.

Scil. Syracuse, Selinus, Gela, Agrigentum, Messenè, Himera, Camarina.

Συρακοσίοις δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ βαρβάρων τινῶν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φέρεται. 20. 4.

1)* ἀπ' ἀρχῆς φέρεται (scil. χρήματα) is the reading of a majority of MSS., ἀπ' ἀρχῆς meaning either 'from old times,' or 'as a token of subjection;' 2) ἀπαρχὴ φέρεται or εἰσφέρεται is another reading. But though the word ἀπαρχή occurs in the sense of a rent of the

20. 4. produce of the soil in Plato, Laws, vii. 806 D, it is doubtful whether it will bear the more general meaning of tribute.

21. 1. *πρὸς οὖν τοιαύτην δύναμιν οὐ ναυτικῆς καὶ φαύλου στρατιᾶς μόνον δεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πεζὸν πολὺν ξυμπλεῖν, εἴπερ βουλόμεθα ἄξιον τῆς διανοίας δρᾶν, καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ ἱππέων πολλῶν εἴργεσθαι τῆς γῆς κ.τ.λ.*

The infinitive *εἴργεσθαι* may depend, either 1) upon *βουλόμεθα*, or 2)* upon *δεῖ*. Either 1) 'if we intend to do justice to our designs and not let ourselves be confined to our lines by the enemy's horsemen,' etc. This however would be a reason for taking cavalry, not for taking infantry. Or 2)* *βούλεσθαι*, following *δεῖ*, may express indirectly a new thought, 'we must have infantry, and not allow ourselves to be kept within our lines by the enemy's cavalry,' i. e. 'and we must have cavalry.' But on the other hand *a*) the Athenians only took thirty horses (vi. 43 fin.), nor *b*) does Nicias in his estimate of the forces mention cavalry at all. *c*) It is not with cavalry, but with slingers and javelin men, that he proposes to resist the Syracusan cavalry. And *d*) in the words immediately following he seems to rely for cavalry solely on the Egestaeans and other Sicilian allies. 1) is on the whole the preferable explanation. We may however defend 2)*, if we suppose that we have here a reflection of Thucydides made after the event and put into the mouth of Nicias: cp. note on vi. 37. 2. A similar remark (*οἷς γ' ἐπίσταμαι οὔθ' ἵππους ἀκολουθήσοντας οὔθ' αὐτόθεν πορισθησομένους, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων*, vi. 37 init.) is made by the Syracusan Athenagoras, for which Thucydides must also be made responsible. The want of cavalry was a main cause of the delay which turned out to be the ruin of the Sicilian expedition.

21. 2. *γνόντας, ὅτι πολύ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν μέλλομεν πλεῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ στρατευσόμενοι, καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις ξύμμαχοι ἥλθετε ἐπί τινα, ὅθεν ῥᾴδιαι αἱ κομιδαὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλίας ὧν προσέδει, ἀλλὰ ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτήσοντες, ἐξ ἧς μηνῶν οὐδὲ τεσσάρων τῶν χειμερινῶν ἄγγελον ῥᾴδιον ἐλθεῖν.*

οὐκ is inserted before *ἐν τοῖς τῇδε ὑπηκόοις* in all the MSS. The insertion has probably arisen out of a misunderstanding of the previous clause and an intrusion of the general meaning of the

sentence. The MSS. vary between στρατευσάμενοι (five first-rate and three inferior MSS.) and στρατευσόμενοι, ἀπαρτήσαντες and ἀπαρτήσοντες (four first-rate and eight inferior MSS.). We shall do well to adopt the same tense in both cases, though either the future or the aorist is defensible; the latter as being the historical tense after μέλλομεν πλεῖν, though the future would be more idiomatic. See also note on English text. If however we read στρατευσόμενοι, ἀπαρτήσαντες, the latter may be made to depend on the former, being parallel to οὐκ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ. 21. 2.

ξύμμαχοι ἦλθετε ἐπί τινα follows ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ καί, and is a variation of στρατευσάμενοι = ξύμμαχοι ἐλθόντες, or of ὅτε ἐστρατεύσασθε.

The whole clause may be translated literally, 'You are not going to make an expedition such as you made among your subjects here, when you went as the allies of others to attack some one, in a region whence you had only to send and procure from a friendly land whatever you wanted.'

ἐκ τῆς φιλίας, from the adjoining friendly country. E. g. when the Athenians were attacking Mitylene they were among allies who could effectually aid them, such as the Methymnaeans or Chians.

ἐς ἀλλοτρίαν πᾶσαν ἀπαρτήσοντες, 'depending on an entirely strange land.' μηνῶν κ.τ.λ. Cp. note on v. 20. 2.

τὸν δὲ καὶ αὐτόθεν σῖτον ἐν ὁλκάσι, πυροὺς καὶ πεφρυγμένας κριθάς, ἄγειν. 22. 1.

The supplies taken out from Athens are contrasted by δέ with the supplies which would have to be procured by plunder or otherwise in Sicily itself.

αὐτόθεν is to be explained as a confusion of two notions, αὐτόθεν ἄγειν and ἄγειν τὸν αὐτόθι σῖτον, 'we must bring with us from home,' and, 'we must bring the corn which is at home.' Cp. infra c. 25 fin. τοξότων τῶν αὐτόθεν, and Plato, Republic, 567 E, τοὺς δὲ αὐτόθεν ἆρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειεν;

τὰ δὲ παρ' Ἐγεσταίων, ἃ λέγεται ἐκεῖ ἕτοιμα, νομίσατε καὶ λόγῳ ἂν μάλιστα ἕτοιμα εἶναι. 23. 2.

καὶ λόγῳ is an ironical repetition of λέγεται. 'For as to the supplies which are said to be awaiting us at Egesta, you had better

22. 2. assume that they do indeed await us in word,' or 'that they are only *said* to be awaiting us.'

23. 1. *ἦν γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἔλθωμεν ἐνθένδε μὴ ἀντίπαλον μόνον παρασκευασάμενοι, πλήν γε πρὸς τὸ μάχιμον αὐτῶν τὸ ὁπλιτικόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπερβάλλοντες τοῖς πᾶσι, μόλις οὕτως οἷοί τε ἐσόμεθα τῶν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὰ δὲ καὶ διασῶσαι.*

αὐτοί, 'if we ourselves, not depending on allies like the Egestaeans.'

Are the words *πλήν γε . . . ὁπλιτικόν* intended to be an assertion that the Athenians 1) would, or that they 2)* would not, equal the Syracusans or Sicilians (*εἰ ξυστῶσιν αἱ πόλεις*, c. 21 init.) in the numbers of their heavy armed? The connection seems to require the first, the Greek the second. Nicias has been insisting in the previous chapter on the number of hoplites which must be brought to Sicily, and then to say casually 2)* that 'of course we cannot hope to rival them in the number of their hoplites' is inconsistent with the preceding tone of thought. On the other hand it is hard to see 1) how the words can mean 'having equipped an army of our own, not only equal (although our hoplites will not of course be equal in number to their fighting men) but in every way superior,' *παρασκευασάμενοι* being repeated before *ὁπλιτικόν*. For the opposition thus made between *μαχιμόν* and *ὁπλιτικόν* is too indistinct to be admissible. Nor would there be any point in contrasting the number of the Athenian hoplites with the whole fighting population of Sicily.

It is better to suppose the words, though where they stand they may be rhetorically faulty, to be a qualification introduced somewhat out of place by Nicias, and in harmony with the general spirit of his speech. 'Except indeed as regards the number of hoplites which they can put into the field.' 'For in that respect equality is impossible' is the suppressed premise. While exhorting the Athenians, he is secretly discouraging them. 'You must do all you can to be a match for your opponents' is the general drift of the previous chapter, and yet he throws in by the way, 'but in the great arm of war you cannot be a match for them.' This explanation is in some degree confirmed by the parallel sentiment uttered from the Syracusan point of view, vi. 37 init. *οἷς γ' ἐπίσταμαι οὔθ' ἵππους ἀκολουθήσοντας . . . οὔθ' ὁπλίτας ἰσοπλήθεις τοῖς ἡμετέροις.*

ὅ τι ἐλάχιστα τῇ τύχῃ παραδοὺς ἐμαυτὸν βούλομαι ἐκπλεῖν, παρασκευῇ δὲ 23. 3.
ἀπὸ τῶν εἰκότων ἀσφαλὴς ἐκπλεῦσαι.

Nicias, who is to afford the greatest example of fortune in his own person, is the most anxious to place himself above the chances of fortune. But, as in the case of other doomed men, *τοὐνάντιον περιέστη αὐτῷ*, the greater the precaution, the greater the ruin. The irony of Greek tragedy, which is never weary of repeating 'that none can escape destiny,' though not obtruded on the reader, is present to the mind of Thucydides. Cp. note on v. 16. 1.

παρασκευῇ δέ κ.τ.λ. 'To go forth in all probability secured against danger by the greatness of our armament.' *ἐκπλεῦσαι* is merely a variation of *ἐκπλεῖν*, intended, without difference of meaning, to avoid tautology.

νομίζων τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τῷ πλήθει τῶν πραγμάτων ἢ ἀποτρέψειν ἤ, εἰ 24. 1.
ἀναγκάζοιτο στρατεύεσθαι, μάλιστα οὕτως ἀσφαλῶς ἐκπλεῦσαι.

Either 1) *ἤ* before *ἀποτρέψειν* is out of place and should have preceded *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους*, or 2) *τοὺς Ἀθηναίους* is the object of *ἀποτρέψειν* and the subject of *ἐκπλεῦσαι*, notwithstanding *ἀναγκάζοιτο* preceding. In either case the slight irregularity is not sufficient to justify the omission of *ἤ*, which is found in all the MSS.

ὁ δὲ ἄκων μὲν εἶπεν ὅτι καὶ μετὰ τῶν ξυναρχόντων καθ' ἡσυχίαν μᾶλλον 25. 2.
βουλεύσοιτο. ὅσα μέντοι ἤδη δοκεῖν αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.

The caution of Nicias still continues, and is graphically described by Thucydides. Cp. vii. 48. That the temper of Nicias in the conduct of the expedition was well understood by the Athenians at the time is shown by the jest in the Birds of Aristophanes, acted in the following year: 638,—

καὶ μὴν μὰ τὸν Δί' οὐχὶ νυστάζειν γ' ἔτι
ὥρα 'στὶν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ μελλονικιᾶν.

καὶ μετά, 'consult further with his colleagues,' or, 'not only by himself, but with his colleagues.'

τριήρεσι μὲν οὐκ ἔλασσον ἢ ἑκατὸν πλευστέα εἶναι (αὐτῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων 25. 2.
ἔσεσθαι ὁπλιταγωγοὺς ὅσαι ἂν δοκῶσι, καὶ ἄλλας ἐκ τῶν ξυμμάχων μεταπεμπτέας εἶναι) ὁπλίταις δέ κ.τ.λ.

25. 2. *αὐτῶν δ' Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ.*, 'and there might be as many troop-ships belonging to the Athenians themselves as they thought proper.' That these are included in the hundred triremes mentioned just above, and that *ἄλλας* refers to *τριήρεσι*, not to *ὁπλιταγωγούς*, is proved by c. 31 init., 43 init. *τούτων Ἀττικαὶ μὲν ἦσαν ἑκατόν, ὧν αἱ μὲν ἑξήκοντα ταχεῖαι, αἱ δ' ἄλλαι στρατιωτίδες, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ναυτικὸν Χίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμμάχων.*

26. 2. *ἔς τε ἡλικίας πλῆθος ἐπιγεγενημένης κ.τ.λ.*

'In respect of the new population which was now grown up.'

27. 1. *εἰσὶ δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐπιχώριον, ἡ τετράγωνος ἐργασία, πολλοὶ καὶ ἐν ἰδίοις προθύροις καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς.*

Cp. note on English text.

27. 1. *οἱ πλεῖστοι* (scil. *Ἑρμαι*) *περιεκόπησαν τὰ πρόσωπα.*

'All but one,' according to Andocides, that one being close to his father's house. Andoc. De Myst. (i.) 62, *καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὃν ὁρᾶτε πάντες, ὁ παρὰ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν, ὃν ἡ Αἰγηὶς ἀνέθηκεν, οὐ περιεκόπη, μόνος τῶν Ἑρμῶν τῶν Ἀθήνησιν.*

29. 3. *ὅ τε δῆμος μὴ μαλακίζηται, θεραπεύων, ὅτι δι' ἐκεῖνον οἵ τ' Ἀργεῖοι ξυνεστράτευον καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές κ.τ.λ.*

Cp. note on English text.

31. 1. *παρασκευὴ γὰρ αὕτη πρώτη ἐκπλεύσασα μιᾶς πόλεως δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ πολυτελεστάτη δὴ καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐγένετο. ἀριθμῷ δὲ νεῶν καὶ ὁπλιτῶν καὶ ἡ ἐς Ἐπίδαυρον μετὰ Περικλέους καὶ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐς Ποτίδαιαν μετὰ Ἄγνωνος οὐκ ἐλάσσων ἦν· τετράκις γὰρ χίλιοι ὁπλῖται κ.τ.λ.*

Either 1) *πρώτη* refers to the first Sicilian expedition as distinct from the second: or 2)* the form of expression is changed;—not *πολυτελεστάτη καὶ εὐπρεπεστάτη τῶν ἐς ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον*, but *οὕτω πολυτελὴς καὶ εὐπρεπὴς* should have followed. *δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ* is a dative of manner to be taken with *ἐκπλεύσασα*. The words *μιᾶς πόλεως* recall the confederacy against Persia, which is not an exception to the statement, because the fleet was not supplied by a single city. *πρώτη ἐκπλεύσασα κ.τ.λ.* will then mean, 'such as no single city ever before furnished.' *δυνάμει Ἑλληνικῇ* in the same way implies

that the writer is speaking only of Greek and not of barbarian armaments. 31. 1.

ἀριθμῷ δὲ νεῶν κ.τ.λ. Compare a similar turn of thought iii. 17 init. *καὶ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον, ὃν αἱ νῆες ἔπλεον, ἐν τοῖς πλείσταις δὴ νηες ἄμ' αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοὶ κάλλει ἐγενόντο, παραπλήσιαι δὲ καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἀρχομένου τοῦ πολέμου. τήν τε γὰρ Ἀττικὴν καὶ Εὔβοιαν καὶ Σαλαμῖνα ἑκατὸν ἐφύλασσον κ.τ.λ.*

οὗτος δὲ ὁ στόλος ὡς χρόνιός τε ἐσόμενος καὶ κατ' ἀμφότερα, οὗ ἂν 31. 3. *δέῃ, καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πεζῷ ἅμα ἐξαρτυθείς, τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν μεγάλαις δαπάναις τῶν τε τριηράρχων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐκπονηθὲν . . . τὸ δὲ πεζὸν καταλόγοις τε χρηστοῖς ἐκκριθέν κ.τ.λ.*

1) *κατ' ἀμφότερα*, scil. *ἐσόμενος*. 'But this expedition, being intended to be long away, and to act both by sea and land wherever necessary, was well provided both with sea and land forces,' etc. With the participle, since no finite verb follows, *ὡρμήθη* may be supplied from *ὡρμήθησαν* in the preceding clause. Or better 2)* *ἐξαρτυθείς* may be taken as parallel to *χρόνιος ἐσόμενος*, and connected with *κατ' ἀμφότερα*. The real predicate will then be found in the long clause into which the subject *οὗτος ὁ στόλος* is distributed, *τὸ μὲν ναυτικὸν . . . τὸ δὲ πεζόν κ.τ.λ.*

τοῦ μὲν δημοσίου δραχμὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ναύτῃ ἑκάστῳ διδόντος, καὶ 31. 3. *ναῦς παρασχόντος κενὰς ἑξήκοντα μὲν ταχείας, τεσσαράκοντα δὲ ὁπλιταγωγούς, καὶ ὑπηρεσίας ταύταις τὰς κρατίστας, τῶν δὲ τριηράρχων ἐπιφοράς τε πρὸς τῷ ἐκ δημοσίου μισθῷ διδόντων τοῖς θρανίταις τῶν ναυτῶν καὶ ταῖς ὑπηρεσίαις.*

The meaning of *ὑπηρεσίας* is uncertain. The context shows that it cannot be used in the same sense as three lines previously, where it means the entire crew; for here *αἱ ὑπηρεσίαι* are distinguished from the highest class of rowers, *θρανῖται*. It may be supposed to mean the lower benches of rowers, 'the crew' being put for 'the rest of the crew,' and some distinction between the payment of the *θρανῖται* and of the rest of the crew being implied. *ὑπηρεσίαι* has also been explained, 'petty officers,' as in the English text, or 'the soldiers' servants,' cp. *οἱ θεράποντες*, vii. 13 med., or the sailors, i. e. those who worked the ship, as distinct from the rowers (cp. Graser, De Vet. Re Navali, § 49); but there is no authority for any of these meanings.

31. 3. *τὸ δὲ πεζὸν καταλόγοις τε χρηστοῖς ἐκκριθέν κ.τ.λ.*

'Chosen by the help of good muster-rolls,' i. e. of muster-rolls made up for this service which contained none but good names.

31. 4. *ξυνέβη δὲ πρός τε σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἅμα ἔριν γενέσθαι, ᾧ τις ἕκαστος προσετάχθη, καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἐπίδειξιν μᾶλλον εἰκασθῆναι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξουσίας ἢ ἐπὶ πολεμίους παρασκευήν.*

Thucydides presents the expedition under two aspects, of which the connection is not obvious. For the hour it was to the Athenians themselves a game, or race, and to the Hellenic world a grand spectacle. The more serious purpose was left out of sight.

31. 5. *τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὅσα τε ἤδη προσετετελέκει καὶ ἃ ἔχοντας τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀπέστελλε κ.τ.λ.*

προσ- in *προσετετελέκει* is proleptic, 'what the city had already disbursed added to what she sent in the care of the generals.' There is no need to read *προετετελέκει* with Poppo.

31. 6. *καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἧσσον τόλμης τε θάμβει καὶ ὄψεως λαμπρότητι περιβόητος ἐγένετο ἢ στρατιᾶς πρὸς οὓς ἐπῄεσαν ὑπερβολῇ, καὶ ὅτι μέγιστος ἤδη διάπλους ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ ἐλπίδι τῶν μελλόντων πρὸς τὰ ὑπάρχοντα ἐπεχειρήθη.*

καὶ ἐπὶ μεγίστῃ κ.τ.λ., 'having the grandest hopes of future success, when they contemplated their present power,' i. e. their hopes were based on the actual resources which were before their eyes.

Thucydides is not reflecting, as Arnold supposes, upon the smallness of the actual power of the Athenians compared with the magnificence of the prospect; this would be inconsistent with *στρατιᾶς ὑπερβολῇ*: but on the adequacy, or more than adequacy, of the means to the end, and on the greatness of both.

32. 1. *ἐκπώμασι χρυσοῖς τε καὶ ἀργυροῖς οἵ τε ἐπιβάται καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες σπένδοντες.*

Not as in the English text, 'both officers and men,' but 'both the officers and the marines,' i. e. 'all who were not rowing.'

33. 3 *ὁρᾶτε ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κάλλιστα ἀμυνεῖσθε αὐτούς.*

ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, either 1) after ὁρᾶτε, 'keeping in view the facts of the case;' or 2)* after ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, 'in what way with your existing means you will best defend yourself against them.' 33. 3.

οὐ περὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ πρότερον ἔσται ὁ ἀγὼν ἢ τοῦ ἐκείνους περαιωθῆναι τὸν Ἰόνιον. 34. 4.

οὐ περὶ τῇ Σικελίᾳ, either 1) in the neighbourhood of Sicily; or 2)* for, or about Sicily. This latter meaning is uncommon with the dative in prose; but cp. Plato, Prot. 313 E, ὅρα, ὦ μακάριε, μὴ περὶ τοῖς φιλτάτοις κυβεύῃς τε καὶ κινδυνεύῃς: Antiph. De Caed. Herod. (v.) 6, ἀνάγκη δὲ κινδυνεύοντα περὶ αὐτῷ καί πού τι καὶ ἐξαμαρτεῖν.

τοῦ περαιωθῆναι is gen. after ὁ ἀγών.

εἰ δ' αὖ τῷ ταχυναυτοῦντι ἀθροωτέρῳ κουφίσαντες προσβάλοιεν, εἰ μὲν κώπαις χρήσαιντο, ἐπιθοίμεθ' ἂν κεκμηκόσιν· εἰ δὲ μὴ δοκοίη, ἔστι καὶ ὑποχωρῆσαι ἡμῖν ἐς Τάραντα. 34. 5.

εἰ δὲ μὴ δοκοίη is in form opposed to εἰ μὲν κώπαις χρήσαιντο, but in meaning to ἐπιθοίμεθ' ἄν. 'If they have to use their oars, they will be tired out, and we can attack them; or if we think better not,' either because they have a fair wind, or because they have any other advantage, 'we may retreat to Tarentum.'

οἱ δὲ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐφοδίων ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίᾳ περαιωθέντες ἀποροῖεν ἂν κατὰ χωρία ἔρημα, καὶ ἢ μένοντες πολιορκοῖντο ἄν, ἢ πειρώμενοι παραπλεῖν τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ἀπολίποιεν ἄν, καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων οὐκ ἂν βέβαια ἔχοντες, εἰ ὑποδέξοιντο, ἀθυμοῖεν. 34. 5.

The two alternatives suggested by Hermocrates are *a*) the fighting part of the Athenian fleet, if they wait for the rest, will be blockaded in some desolate place; or *b*) if they sail on they will have left their supplies behind them, and having no cities on which they can rely will be driven to despair. The sanguine orator does not stop to discuss how or where the Athenian fleet is to be blockaded by any force which the Sicilians could bring against it.

ὥστ' ἔγωγε τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ ἡγοῦμαι ἀποκληομένους αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀπᾶραι ἀπὸ Κερκύρας, ἀλλ' ἢ διαβουλευσαμένους καὶ κατασκοπαῖς χρωμένους, ὁπόσοί τ' ἐσμὲν καὶ ἐν ᾧ χωρίῳ, ἐξωσθῆναι ἂν τῇ ὥρᾳ ἐς χειμῶνα. 34. 6.

34. 6. The historical aorist διαβουλευσαμένους, expressing a series of actions as taking place together, and without reference to time, is combined with the present χρωμένους, expressing continuous action.

34. 7. τῶν δ' ἀνθρώπων πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι ἵστανται, καὶ τοὺς προεπιχειροῦντας, ἢ τοῖς γε ἐπιχειροῦσι προδηλοῦντας, ὅτι ἀμυνοῦνται, μᾶλλον πεφόβηνται, ἰσοκινδύνους ἡγούμενοι.

πρὸς τὰ λεγόμενα κ.τ.λ. Cp. i. 140 init. πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους.

ἰσοκινδύνους, 1)* 'remembering that the enemy are in no greater danger than they,' i. e. that they are both in equal danger. Or 2) 'equal to the danger,' ἴσος being used as in other compounds of ἴσος, ἰσόθεος, ἰσοχειλής κ.τ.λ.

34. 8. ἐπέρχονται γὰρ ἡμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀμυνουμένοις, δικαίως κατεγνωκότες, ὅτι αὐτοὺς οὐ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφθείρομεν· εἰ δ' ἴδοιεν παρὰ γνώμην τολμήσαντας, τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ μᾶλλον ἂν καταπλαγεῖεν ἢ τῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς δυνάμει.

παρὰ γνώμην. Either 1)* 'contrary to our better judgment;' cp. the description of the Athenians, i. 70. init. αὖθις δὲ οἱ μὲν καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν τολμηταὶ καὶ παρὰ γνώμην κινδυνευταί: or 2) 'contrary to their expectation,' the words being resumed in τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ.

It may be urged against 1)* that the expression is calculated rather to alarm than to encourage the Syracusans. But it may be replied that Thucydides does not always maintain such dramatic proprieties. Cp. i. 120 fin. when the Corinthians, who are encouraging the Spartans to fight vigorously, nevertheless describe in lively colours the uncertainty of war. Against 2) it may be argued that τῷ ἀδοκήτῳ becomes a feeble repetition of παρὰ γνώμην. But the connection with the preceding words is better maintained. 'They rightly judged us to be cowards, but, if contrary to their judgment, they now find us brave, the unexpected discovery will terrify them more than our real strength.' For κατεγνωκότες cp. note on viii. 8. 4.

34. 9. πείθεσθε οὖν μάλιστα μὲν ταῦτα τολμήσαντες, εἰ δὲ μή, ὅ τι τάχιστα τἆλλα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἑτοιμάζειν, καὶ παραστῆναι παντὶ τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν

τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐν τῶν ἔργων τῇ ἀλκῇ δείκνυσθαι, τὸ δ' ἤδη, τὰς μετὰ 34. 9.
φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας νομίσαντας, ὡς ἐπὶ κινδύνου πράσσειν, χρησιμώτατον ἂν ξυμβῆναι.

The construction is varied, both τολμήσαντες and ἑτοιμάζειν following πείθεσθε: πείθεσθε ταῦτα τολμήσαντες, πείθεσθε ἑτοιμάζειν.

παραστῆναι παντί is governed by some general notion implied in πείθεσθε which may be expressed by supplying ὥστε. There is no need to suppose that the infin. is here used for the imper.

τὸ δ' ἤδη κ.τ.λ., τὸ δέ opposes the present preparation to the future action, τὸ μέν, 'hereafter in the moment of action will be the time for contempt, for the present the best thing that we can do is to make careful preparation.' τὸ δ' ἤδη is adverbial. πράσσειν is to be taken absolutely, not as governing παρασκευάς. The construction is τὸ δ' ἤδη, χρησιμώτατον ἂν ξυμβῆναι εἰ ὡς ἐπὶ κινδύνου πράσσοιτε, νομίσαντες τὰς μετὰ φόβου παρασκευὰς ἀσφαλεστάτας εἶναι. Or τὸ δ' ἤδη may be taken with πράσσειν, answering to τὸ μὲν καταφρονεῖν.

οἱ γὰρ δεδιότες ἰδίᾳ τι βούλονται τὴν πόλιν ἐς ἔκπληξιν καθιστάναι, ὅπως 36. 2.
τῷ κοινῷ φόβῳ τὸ σφέτερον ἐπηλυγάζωνται.

οἱ γάρ, cp. note on iv. 33. 2.

τὸ σφέτερον, not δέος, understood from τῷ κοινῷ φόβῳ, but, more generally, the 'state of their own minds;' or, 'what they know only too well.'

οἷς γ' ἐπίσταμαι οὔθ' ἵππους ἀκολουθήσοντας, οὐδ' αὐτόθεν πορισθησο- 37. 1.
μένους, εἰ μὴ ὀλίγους τινὰς παρὰ Ἐγεσταίων, οὔθ' ὁπλίτας· ἰσοπληθεῖς τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐπὶ νεῶν γε ἐλθόντας, (μέγα γὰρ τὸ καὶ αὐταῖς ταῖς ναυσὶ κούφαις τοσοῦτον πλοῦν δεῦρο κομισθῆναι,) τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευήν, ὅσην δεῖ ἐπὶ πόλιν τοσήνδε πορισθῆναι, οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν.

οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν is best taken 1)* as the predicate of the clause τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευὴν ὅσην δεῖ πορισθῆναι, and as governed by ἐπίσταμαι, μέγα γὰρ ... κομισθῆναι being a parenthesis.

Poppo 2) connects the words τήν τε ἄλλην ... οὐκ ὀλίγην οὖσαν with μέγα γὰρ τὸ κομισθῆναι, putting a full stop after ἐλθόντας, and a comma after ὅσην δεῖ. 'It is hard to accomplish so long a voyage even with ships only, and no troops or lading; and not less difficult to provide all the supplies required against so vast a city, which

37. 1. cannot be inconsiderable.' But according to this interpretation, *a*) the second clause, *τήν τε . . . οὖσαν*, weakens the first, *τὸ καὶ αὐταῖς . . . κομισθῆναι.* And *b*) the precision and length of the clause *τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευήν . . . οὖσαν* shows that these words describe a case which is real, and not merely hypothetical.

Or 3) *τήν τε ἄλλην παρασκευήν* (=*οὔτε τὴν ἄλλην παρασκευήν*) may be taken with *κομισθησομένην* understood from *κομισθῆναι*, and yet regarded as parallel with *οὔθ' ἵππους—οὔθ' ὁπλίτας.*

37. 2. *ὥστε*, **παρὰ τοσοῦτον γιγνώσκω**, *μόλις ἄν μοι δοκοῦσιν, εἰ πόλιν ἑτέραν τοσαύτην, ὅσαι Συράκουσαί εἰσιν, ἔλθοιεν ἔχοντες, καὶ ὅμορον οἰκήσαντες τὸν πόλεμον ποιοῖντο, οὐκ ἂν παντάπασι διαφθαρῆναι, ἦπου γε δὴ ἐν πάσῃ* **πολεμίᾳ Σικελίᾳ**, (*ξυστήσεται γάρ·*) **στρατοπέδῳ** *τε ἐκ νεῶν ἱδρυθέντι καὶ ἐκ σκηνιδίων καὶ ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱππέων ἐξιόντες.*

παρὰ τοσοῦτον γιγνώσκω, 1)* 'to such a length do I carry my opinion.' *παρὰ τοσοῦτον=ἐς τοσοῦτον*, cp. *παραπᾶν*, and note on iii. 49. 4.

Or 2) 'by so much do I decide' (otherwise), i. e. 'so far do I differ from my opponent's view.' Cp. expressions like *παρὰ πολὺ νικᾶν*, 'to win by much.'

στρατοπέδῳ may be explained as the dative of cause or reason, 'by reason of their having a camp,' or, as the dative of circumstance, 'when they have a camp.' The orator is enumerating in various constructions, *ἐν πάσῃ πολεμίᾳ Σικελίᾳ, στρατοπέδῳ κ.τ.λ.*, the causes or circumstances which would lead to the destruction of the Athenians; 'they will be in a country of enemies united against them; their camp will be hastily pitched by men just landed; they will have only small huts and meagre supplies; they will be almost imprisoned by our cavalry.'

ἐκ σκηνιδίων καὶ ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς, 1) may be connected with *ἐξιόντες*, or 2)* may be parallel to *ἐν πάσῃ πολεμίᾳ Σικελίᾳ . . . στρατοπέδῳ*, describing a third feature in the situation of the Athenians; *οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ . . . ἐξιόντες* will then be a further explanation of the words *ἐκ σκηνιδίων κ.τ.λ.*, 'from which they will not be able to go far.'

ἀναγκαίας παρασκευῆς, 1) may be governed by *ἐκ*, or 2) may be

regarded as a genitive absolute (scil. *οὔσης*), partly supported by *ἐκ.* 37. 2. Cp. iii. 82. 1, and note, *πολεμουμένων δέ, καὶ ξυμμαχίας ἅμα ἑκατέροις.*

Compare the facts (particularly in vii. 4 fin. 13) which Thucydides in the person of the orator is anticipating.

καὶ ταῦτα ὁμοίως καὶ κατὰ τὰ μέρη καὶ ξύμπαντα ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ 39. 1. *ἰσομοιρεῖν.*

Either 1) these classes in a democracy have in their several places and all together (i. e. in their assembly) a fair share of power. Or better 2)* *κατὰ τὰ μέρη* may be regarded merely as a pleonasm, 'each and all.' Cp. note on i. 36. 3.

ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν—ὦ πάντων ἀξυνετώτατοι, εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύ- 40. 1. *δοντες, ἢ ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα Ἑλλήνων, ἢ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ εἰδότες τολμᾶτε—ἀλλ' ἤτοι μαθόντες γε, ἢ μεταγνόντες, τὸ τῆς πόλεως ξύμπασι κοινὸν αὔξετε, ἡγησάμενοι τοῦτο μὲν ἂν καὶ ἴσον καὶ πλέον οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ὑμῶν ἢπερ τὸ τῆς πόλεως πλῆθος μετασχεῖν.*

ἀλλ' ἔτι κ.τ.λ. There is no variation in the MSS. The text is probably genuine. The construction changes as the writer proceeds. There should be no full stop after *τολμᾶτε*. The words *ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν* were intended to be followed more closely by the imperative *αὔξετε*. But Thucydides has gone off upon the word *ἀξυνετώτατοι.*

The clause *εἰ μὴ μανθάνετε κακὰ σπεύδοντες* may be connected either 1)*, with *ἀξυνετώτατοι*, or 2) with *ἀμαθέστατοί ἐστε* which follows.

ἀλλ' ἤτοι is a resumption of the first *ἀλλά*, as *ἀμαθέστατοι*, suggested by *μανθάνετε*, is of *ἀξυνετώτατοι*. The idea is further developed in *μαθόντες*. As *μάθοντες* answers to *ἀμαθέστατοι* so *μεταγνόντες* to *ἀδικώτατοι.*

τοῦτο μέν κ.τ.λ. scil. *τὸ τῆς πόλεως κοινόν* governed by *σχεῖν* contained in *μετασχεῖν.*

αὐτὴ δ' ἐφ' αὑτῆς σκοποῦσα τούς τε λόγους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ὡς ἔργα δυνα- 40. 2. *μένους κρινεῖ κ.τ.λ.*

'She will consider the matter independently,' i. e. without your assistance, 'and judge the words which proceed from you as

40. 2. equivalent to deeds.' *δυναμένους*, either 'having the effect of,' or 'to be reckoned as, deeds.'

41. 3. *καὶ ἦν ἄρα μηδὲν δεήσῃ, οὐδεμία βλάβη τοῦ τε τὸ κοινὸν κοσμηθῆναι καὶ ἵπποις καὶ ὅπλοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις οἷς ὁ πολέμος ἀγάλλεται (τὴν δ' ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ ἐξέτασιν αὐτῶν ἡμεῖς ἕξομεν), καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰς πόλεις διαπομπῶν κ.τ.λ.*

The Syracusan general, like military commanders in all ages and countries, sees no harm in increasing the army.

τοῦ τε κ.τ.λ. to be joined with *τῶν διαπομπῶν*. Both are governed by *βλάβη*. If the connection is thought harsh, we must read *γέ* instead of *τέ*, placing a full stop after *ἀγάλλεται*.

44. 1. *πλοῖα δὲ ἑκατὸν ἃ ἐξ ἀνάγκης μετὰ τῶν ὁλκάδων ξυνέπλει κ.τ.λ.*

ἐξ ἀνάγκης, pressed into the service, opposed to *ἑκούσιοι*, infra.

44. 3. *καὶ πρός τε τοὺς Ῥηγίνους λόγους ἐποιήσαντο ἀξιοῦντες Χαλκιδέας ὄντας Χαλκιδεῦσιν οὖσι Λεοντίνοις βοηθεῖν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἔφασαν ἔσεσθαι κ.τ.λ.*

Either 1) *τέ* is simply 'too,' see note on i. 9. 3; or 2) as Classen supposes, it joins *λόγους ἐποιήσαντο* with the previous verbs *κατεσκευάσαντο* and *ἡσύχασαν*, as *καί* (='also') connects the Rhegians with the inhabitants of other places to whom the Athenians had applied. Or 3) the construction is interrupted by the interposition of the clause *οἱ δὲ οὐδέ κ.τ.λ.* and *τέ* is resumed in the next sentence, *οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πράγματα ἐσκόπουν=καὶ πρός*, or *πρός τε, τὰ ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ κ.τ.λ.*

47. 2. *καὶ τῇ πόλει, δαπανῶντας τὰ οἰκεῖα, μὴ κινδυνεύειν.*

τῇ πόλει is to be taken with *κινδυνεύειν*, not with *δαπανᾶν*, as in ii. 65 med. *τῇ πόλει κινδυνεύοντας*: vi. 9 fin. *τοῖς ἑτοίμοις κινδυνεύειν*: 'not waste their resources, and run a risk which would imperil the state.' *τὰ οἰκεῖα*, their own resources, as opposed to those of their Sicilian allies.

49. 2. *τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον πᾶν στράτευμα δεινότατον εἶναι· ἦν δὲ χρονίσῃ πρὶν ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν, τῇ γνώμῃ ἀναθαρσοῦντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ τῇ ὄψει καταφρονεῖν μᾶλλον. αἰφνίδιοι δὲ ἦν προσπέσωσιν, ἕως ἔτι περιδεεῖς προσδέχονται, μάλιστ' ἂν σφᾶς περιγενέσθαι καὶ κατὰ πάντα ἂν αὐτοὺς ἐκφοβῆσαι, τῇ*

τε ὄψει, πλεῖστοι γὰρ ἂν νῦν φανῆναι, καὶ τῇ προσδοκίᾳ ὧν πείσονται, μάλιστα δ' ἂν τῷ αὐτίκα κινδύνῳ τῆς μάχης. 49. 2.

τῇ ὄψει, dative of circumstance; 'after a delay men recover courage in their minds, and when the enemy is present to their eyes,' lit. with their sight of him, 'they rather despise than fear him.' καταφρονεῖν μᾶλλον is opposed to δεινότατον in the previous sentence, and τῇ ὄψει to τῇ γνώμῃ, 'when they actually see him.'

σφᾶς περιγενέσθαι. The reflexive is used, because Lamachus is referring to his own army, and the accusative σφᾶς because the reflexive pronoun includes others besides the speaker. σφεῖς would have been equally correct, and to this construction the writer reverts in πλεῖστοι below.

Cp. iii. 111 med. νομίσας καταπροδίδοσθαι σφᾶς: iv. 36 init. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπέραντον ἦν, προσελθὼν ὁ τῶν Μεσσηνίων στρατηγὸς Κλέωνι καὶ Δημοσθένει ἄλλως ἔφη πονεῖν σφᾶς.

εἰκὸς δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς πολλοὺς ἀπολῃφθῆναι ἔξω. 49. 3.

ἀπολειφθῆναι is the reading of several good MSS. The sense rather favours ἀπολῃφθῆναι.

ναύσταθμον δὲ ἐπαναχωρήσαντας καὶ ἐφορμισθέντας Μέγαρα ἔφη χρῆναι ποιεῖσθαι. 49. 4.

See note on English text.

If 1)* we adopt the conjecture of Schaefer, ἐφορμισθέντας, 'casting anchor,' the fleet, according to the proposal of Lamachus, must be supposed to return to Megara after the army has established itself at Syracuse. Cp. the ναύσταθμον of the Athenians at Malea during the blockade of Mitylene (note on iii. 4. 5).

If 2) ἐφορμηθέντας be retained, ἐπαναχωρήσαντας must imply simply 'making Megara a base of operations,' without any idea of 'retreating.' We may translate, 'withdrawing to a safe position, and then attacking Syracuse.' But it must be admitted that ἐφορμᾶσθαι, in the sense of 'attack,' does not occur elsewhere in Attic prose.

πόλει μὲν ἂν οὐ δέξασθαι, ἀγορὰν δ' ἔξω παρέξειν. 50. 1.

The form of the two clauses slightly varies: 'They cannot receive them into the city, but they will provide a market outside.'

50. 4. *τοὺς οὖν ὄντας ἐν Συρακούσαις Λεοντίνων ὡς παρὰ φίλους καὶ εὐεργέτας Ἀθηναίους ἀδεῶς ἀπιέναι.*

Ἀθηναίους, which is found in one bad MS. (Dan.), all the rest reading *Ἀθηναίων*, must here be adopted.

52. 1. *εἰσηγγέλλετο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε Καμαρίνης, ὡς, εἰ ἔλθοιεν, προσχωροῖεν ἄν, καὶ ὅτι Συρακόσιοι πληροῦσι ναυτικόν.*

ἔκ τε Καμαρίνης corresponds to *καὶ ὅτι Συρακόσιοι*. The first message only came from Camarina.

54. 3. *ἐπιβουλεύει εὐθὺς ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως κατάλυσιν τῇ τυραννίδι.*

ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἀξιώσεως, he was a *μέσος πολίτης*, and took such measures as a citizen in his station could; that is to say, he conspired with a few friends to assassinate the tyrant, instead of raising a party against him, as the Alcmaeonidae might have done.

54. 4. *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ὁ Ἵππαρχος ὡς αὖθις πειράσας οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔπειθε τὸν Ἁρμόδιον, βίαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν, ἐν τόπῳ δέ τινι ἀφανεῖ ὡς οὐ διὰ*
5. *τοῦτο δὴ παρασκευάζετο προπηλακιῶν αὐτόν.* οὐδὲ γὰρ *τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρασσόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν καλῶς διεκόσμησαν καὶ τοὺς πολέμους διέφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔθυον.*

ἐν τόπῳ τινὶ ἀφανεῖ κ.τ.λ., 'to strike a blow at Harmodius somewhere where he could not be found out, as though the insult which he meditated had some other motive than the real one.' The reading of the MSS., though the expression is somewhat singular, is far better than the emendation *ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἀφανεῖ*, which is feeble, and in which the preposition (though it is sometimes found with *τρόπῳ*) is superfluous.

οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν κ.τ.λ. Although Hipparchus was not tyrant at the time, Thucydides himself attributes some kind of *ἀρχή* to him, and hence he might seem, if he were not the author of the opposite view, to have fallen into the popular error. *τύραννοι οὗτοι* below is said generally, and probably includes Pisistratus as well as the rest of the family. On the other hand, we are told that

Pisistratus levied a tax of ten, and not like his sons of five, per cent., and therefore *τύραννοι οὗτοι* must mean Hippias and Hipparchus. But see Grote, part II. chap. xxx. 'For the statement of Boeckh, Dr. Arnold, and Dr. Thirlwall, that Pisistratus had levied a tithe or tax of 10 per cent., and that his sons reduced it to the half, I find no sufficient warrant; certainly the spurious letter of Pisistratus to Solon in Diogenes Laertius, i. 53, ought not to be considered as proving anything.' See Meursius, Pisistr. 6, 7, 9. 54. 4.

The statement that Hippias and not Hipparchus was the tyrant and the elder son may well be believed on the testimony of Thucydides, who had made special inquiry into the facts at a time when these were still capable of being verified by tradition. His account is confirmed by Herodotus, v. 55. The only important witness on the other side is the author of the Hipparchus, attributed to Plato, in which Hipparchus is called the eldest son of Pisistratus, 228 B. The dialogue is probably not more than a generation after the age of Plato, because included in the Alexandrian catalogue of his works. The testimony of Aelian (circ. 150 A. D.), who follows the Hipparchus, is not worth considering.

τύραννοι οὗτοι κ.τ.λ. Poppo inserts the article before *τύραννοι*, but this is not necessary if *τύραννοι* be taken as the predicate, 'these men, for tyrants,' etc. *ἀρετήν*, cp. note on viii. 68. 1.

τοὺς πολέμους διέφερον, 'they carried their wars through,' or 'brought them to a successful issue:' cp. *τὸν πρὸς Πελοποννησίους πόλεμον προθύμως διοίσειν*, viii. 75 med.; 'persevere in the war.'

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο. 54. 6.

αὐτή implies that the city still retained a kind of independence, 'the city itself,' as opposed to the tyrants.

καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων 54. 7. *μεῖζον μῆκος, τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοὐπίγραμμα· τοῦ δὲ ἐν Πυθίου ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·*

Μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἱππίου υἱὸς
θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τεμένει.

τοῦ βωμοῦ, may be taken either 1)* with *τοὐπίγραμμα*; or 2) with *μῆκος*.

54. 7. ἔτι καὶ νῦν. *'It is equally legible to this day,* the marble on which it was inscribed having been accidentally discovered in a courtyard near the Ilissos, by M. Kumanudes, in 1877.' Newton, Essays on Art and Archaeology, p. 192. See also Kirchhoff, C. I. A. vol. iv. (Supplement), no. 373 c.

The marble slab is broken into two pieces, the half word and word -ΤΡΑΤΟΣ ΗΙΠΠΙΟ, being lost by the fracture. Beneath the inscription is a leaf moulding. Thucydides tells us that in his time the letters were already 'indistinct,' ἀμυδρά. Yet there is no indistinctness in their present state, and they still retain their old Athenian character. We may conjecture, either that they were plastered over after the fall of the Pisistratidae, and that the plaster gradually wore off: or that at an early date, but after the age of Thucydides, they were washed or restored without losing their antique form.

55. 2. εἰκὸς γὰρ ἦν τὸν πρεσβύτατον πρῶτον γῆμαι. καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ πρῶτος γέγραπται μετὰ τὸν πατέρα, οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπεικότως διὰ τὸ πρεσβεύειν τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τυραννεῦσαι.

The logical order is inverted. What Thucydides means to say is, 'Hippias married first, and his name was placed first on the inscription: both circumstances afford a strong presumption that he was the eldest son.' Instead of this he says, 'Hippias naturally married first, etc., because he was the eldest son.'

ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στήλῃ. See note on English text.

55. 3. ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ πρότερον ξύνηθες τοῖς μὲν πολίταις φοβερόν, ἐς δὲ τοὺς ἐπικούρους ἀκριβές, πολλῷ τῷ περιόντι τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς κατεκράτησε, καὶ οὐχ ὡς ἀδελφὸς νεώτερος ὢν ἠπόρησεν, ἐν ᾧ γε καὶ πρότερον ξυνεχῶς ὡμιλήκει τῇ ἀρχῇ.

The two καί's are really connected, though the connection is somewhat obscure: not only was Hippias more than secured by the terror which he had inspired in the citizens, and the habits of obedience in which he had trained his mercenaries, but being an experienced ruler, and not a mere younger brother, he knew how to act.

ἐν ᾧ . . . ὡμιλήκει τῇ ἀρχῇ. 1)* 'He was in no perplexity, as a younger brother would have been who had not before been constantly in the habit of command.' ἐν ᾧ nearly = ὅς, 'in that he

had not,'='who had not.' οὐ and not μή is here required by the sense, not indefinite, 'supposing him not to have,' but direct, 'who had not,' or 'not having, been familiar with power,' 'quippe qui in imperio non constanter versatus esset.' Or 2) supplying ἄν, and making Hippias, not the hypothetical 'younger brother,' the nominative to ὡμιλήκει, 'in which case he would not have been familiar,' etc. Cp. viii. 86 med. ὡρμημένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἐν ᾧ σαφέστατα Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον εὐθὺς εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, κωλυτὴς γενέσθαι. 55. 3.

οὐ ξυνεχῶς ὡμιλήκει, either 1)* 'had not constantly been used to command,' or 2) in a more precise sense, 'had not been uninterruptedly used to command,' i. e. 'had suddenly succeeded to it.'

καὶ ἔδει ἄρξαι μὲν αὐτούς, ξυνεπαμύνειν δὲ εὐθὺς τὰ πρὸς τοὺς δορυφόρους, ἐκείνους. 56. 2.

αὐτούς, 'themselves,' scil. Harmodius and Aristogiton. ἐκείνους, scil. τοὺς ξυνεπιθησομένους τῷ ἔργῳ.

καὶ περιέτυχον τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ παρὰ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον. 57. 3.

Between περί and παρά the reading is doubtful. One good MS. (H.) reads περί, which is illustrated by the parallel place in i. 20 med. τῷ Ἱππάρχῳ περιτυχόντες περὶ τὸ Λεωκόριον καλούμενον. But παρά may be sufficiently explained by the common confusion of rest and motion. Cp. note on viii. 108. 2: Xen. Anab. iii. 4. 9, παρὰ ταύτην τὴν πόλιν ἦν πυραμὶς λιθίνη: Andoc. De Myst. (i.) 38, ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τὸ Διονύσου ἦν, and § 62, τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν παρὰ τὸ Φορβαντεῖον, and ὁ παρὰ τὴν πατρῴαν οἰκίαν.

καὶ ὕστερον ληφθεὶς οὐ ῥᾳδίως διετέθη. 57. 4.

Either 1) 'was not easily disposed of;' or better 2)* 'was tortured.'

ἀδήλως τῇ ὄψει πλασάμενος πρὸς τὴν ξυμφοράν. 58. 1.

'Making up his countenance when he heard of the calamity, so as to reveal nothing.' τῇ ὄψει may be taken either 1) with ἀδήλως, or 2) with πλασάμενος, 1) 'Making up his countenance so as to reveal nothing in his countenance,' (πλασάμενος, scil. αὐτήν), or 2) 'making himself up in his countenance.'

59. 3. *καὶ αὐτῆς σῆμα ἐν Λαμψάκῳ ἐστὶν ἐπίγραμμα ἔχον τόδε.*

Attributed by Aristotle (Rhet. i. 9. 31), who quotes the third line, to Simonides.

60. 1. *καὶ πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ ὀλιγαρχικῇ καὶ τυραννικῇ πεπρᾶχθαι.*

Cp. Aristoph. Wasps (acted in 422, seven years earlier), 488—

ὡς ἅπανθ' ἡμῖν τυραννίς ἐστι καὶ ξυνωμόται,
ἤν τε μεῖζον ἤν τ' ἔλαττον πρᾶγμά τις κατηγορῇ,
ἧς ἐγὼ οὐκ ἤκουσα τοὔνομ' οὐδὲ πεντήκοντ' ἐτῶν·
νῦν δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ ταρίχους ἐστὶν ἀξιωτέρα.

60. 2. *ἀλλὰ καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπεδίδοσαν μᾶλλον ἐς τὸ ἀγριώτερόν τε καὶ πλείους ἔτι ξυλλαμβάνειν.*

ξυλλαμβάνειν, as well as *ἀγριώτερον*, is to be taken with *ἐς τό*.

60. 3. *λέγων δὲ ἔπεισεν αὐτόν, ὡς χρή, εἰ μὴ καὶ δέδρακεν, αὐτόν τε ἄδειαν ποιησάμενον σῶσαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν τῆς παρούσης ὑποψίας παῦσαι.*

ὡς χρή follows *λέγων*, not *ἔπεισεν*; 'the argument by which he persuaded him was, that he ought, etc.'

εἰ μὴ καί is taken as a transposition of *εἰ καὶ μή*. It is better to say that *καί* emphasizes *δέδρακεν*, 'if he had not really,' or 'actually, done it.'

ἄδειαν ποιησάμενον, cp. iv. 51, *ποιησάμενοι πίστεις*, 'having obtained pledges.'

There can be no doubt that the person who is said by Thucydides to have informed against himself and others in the matter of the Hermae was Andocides, whose Oration 'Concerning the Mysteries,' as it is called, has been preserved to us. This Oration was delivered in the year 399, sixteen years after the events to which it refers, and had been preceded by another, still extant, under the title 'Concerning his own return from exile,' in which eleven years previously the author had defended himself against similar charges of impiety. In the affair of the mysteries he protests his innocence (De Myst. 10; 29 foll.): in respect to the Hermae he acknowledges that he was cognizant of the mad freak, but says that he had no part in it, having been ill at the time; and in proof of his asser-

tion he declares that the image nearest to the house of his father was the only one that remained uninjured (De Myst. 60–64).

Who was the author of the two outrages was a question not cleared up in the age of Thucydides (c. 60 med., fin.), nor likely to be cleared up by us. Some ascribed the mutilation of the Hermae to Megarian and Corinthian agents, who wanted to stop the expedition (Plut. Alcib. xviii.) The ingenuity of some modern historians has led them to imagine that, not only was the story devised, but the crime actually perpetrated, by the enemies of Alcibiades. Of such far-fetched fancies Thucydides knows nothing. On the other hand, he expressly says that the profanation was supposed to be part of an oligarchical conspiracy. But however natural it may have been that the Athenians, in their susceptible state of mind, should have suspected tyranny everywhere, it is not easy for us to understand why a conspiracy against the State should have been commenced by a profane act, such as the mutilation of the Hermae, or the celebration of the mysteries in private houses. The most probable explanation is also the simplest, viz. that Alcibiades or some of his companions, on more than one occasion, never thinking of the consequences, were guilty of a profane and drunken frolic (cp. Plat. Symp. 212) and that their conduct was interpreted by malice into 'a conspiracy against the State.' Such, according to Plutarch (l.c.), was the view taken at the time by some who appear to have been of the wiser sort at Athens: *ἐλέχθη μὲν οὖν, ὅτι Κορίνθιοι διὰ τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀποίκους ὄντας, ὡς ἐπισχέσεως ἐσομένης πρὸς τῶν οἰωνῶν ἢ μεταγνώσεως τοῦ πολέμου, ταῦτα δράσειαν. οὐ μὴν ἥπτετό γε τῶν πολλῶν οὔθ' οὗτος ὁ λόγος οὔθ' ὁ τῶν σημεῖον δεινὸν εἶναι μηδὲν οἰομένων, ἀλλ' οἷα φιλεῖ φέρειν ἄκρατος ἀκολάστων νέων εἰς ὕβριν ἐκ παιδιᾶς ὑποφερομένων. ὀργῇ δ' ἅμα καὶ φόβῳ τὸ γεγονὸς λαμβάνοντες ὡς ἀπὸ συνωμοσίας ἐπὶ πράγμασι μεγάλοις τετολμημένον ἅπασαν ἐξήταζον ὑπόνοιαν πικρῶς ἥ τε βουλὴ συνιοῦσα περὶ τούτων καὶ ὁ δῆμος [ὡς] ἐν ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις πολλάκις.*—That this extraordinary outrage was the result of aristocratic insolence, and therefore likely to be the more odious to the people, may very well be believed.

The graphic picture of the misery and despair of the prisoners in Andocides, De Myst. 48 foll., agrees with the more unimpassioned narrative of Thucydides. They also agree in their description of

the salutary effect which the confession had in calming the excitement of the city, De Red. 8, De Myst. 36, 66, 68. But the informer is said by Thucydides to have confessed his guilt, whereas Andocides maintains his own innocence. His speeches undoubtedly show that his conduct, both at the time and afterwards, incurred great obloquy: and hence we are led to suspect the truth of his account. In De Myst. 52, 53, 67, 68, he protests that no one was put to death upon his information; Thucydides implies the opposite. And it is not impossible that he may have admitted in 415 what he denied in 399. As Professor Jebb remarks (Attic Orators, vol. i. c. iv. vi.), Andocides almost pleads guilty in the first speech (De Red. § 7), at any rate he admits a degree of indiscretion. At a later period he is making the best defence of himself which he can, at a time when the circumstances were no longer fresh in the memory of Athens, and his former confessions were forgotten. Once he had asked to be forgiven a little harm which he had done to the city for the sake of a greater good (De Red. 8, 25); now the offence is put out of sight, and he has become the benefactor of his country (De Myst. 56, 59).—The statement that Andocides accused himself is confirmed, if it be a confirmation, by Plutarch, Alc. xxi. and the oration of the Pseudo-Lysias, c. Andoc. § 52. For some minor differences from Thucydides see Professor Jebb, Attic Orators, vol. i. p. 121 foll.

There is also a slight discrepancy between Andocides and Plutarch. According to his own account, Andocides was induced to confess by his cousin Charmides (§ 48 foll.): according to Plutarch (Alc. xxi.), by another fellow-prisoner named Timaeus.

Andocides did not himself inform against Alcibiades. But the supposed success which had attended the efforts of the Demos to discover the authors of the mutilation of the Hermae delated by Andocides, seems to have encouraged the enemies of Alcibiades to proceed against him for profanation of the mysteries.

A curious and perplexing light is thrown on this period of Greek history by the fact, which we learn from Andocides, that Peisander was the chief agitator in the whole business (Andocides, De Myst. § 36), *Πείσανδρος καὶ Χαρικλῆς, ὄντες μὲν τῶν ζητητῶν, δοκοῦντες δ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ εὐνούστατοι εἶναι τῷ δήμῳ, ἔλεγον ὡς εἴη τὰ*

ἔργα τὰ γεγενημένα οὐκ ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου καταλύσει. Cp. also Isocrates, De Bigis (xvi.) 4, ἅπαντες γὰρ ἴσασιν ὅτι διὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἄνδρας ἥ τε δημοκρατία κατελύθη κἀκεῖνος (scil. Alcibiades) ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσεν. We are also informed by Plutarch that Thessalus the son of Cimon was the accuser of Alcibiades (Alc. xix, xxii). On this occasion the leaders of the oligarchical party seem to have combined with demagogues like Androcles (Thuc. viii. 65 med.). Cp. the words of Alcibiades at Sparta (vi. 89 fin.), ἄλλοι δ' ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν, οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὄχλον· οἵπερ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐξήλασαν. We cannot be surprised that Thucydides in his impersonal manner should have omitted the names of Peisander and Thessalus, as he has also omitted that of Andocides. Nor is there anything amazing in the fact that an oligarchical faction should use the democracy for its own ends (cp. viii. 48 fin. πορισταὶ ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι.) But the strangeness is that Peisander, the chief mover in the Athenian 'Popish Plot,' should within four years be himself the first to promote the return of Alcibiades to Athens, or that Alcibiades should have been willing to combine with him. Political enmities in Greece were short-lived; but such a reconciliation (transient as it proved, viii. 56 fin., 63 fin.) seems hardly within the limits of human nature.

βεβαιοτέραν γὰρ αὐτῷ σωτηρίαν εἶναι ὁμολογήσαντι μετ' ἀδείας, ἢ ἀρνηθέντι διὰ δίκης ἐλθεῖν. **60. 3.**

The construction is varied. The infinitive διὰ δίκης ἐλθεῖν, not the participle ἀρνηθέντι, corresponds to the participle ὁμολογήσαντι. We should have expected either ὁμολογῆσαι, or ἀρνηθέντι καὶ διὰ δίκης ἐλθόντι. Cp. ii. 89 init. οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι θαρσοῦσιν ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ πεζῷ ἐμπειρίαν τὰ πλείω κατορθοῦντες, where κατορθοῦντες, not διὰ τὴν ἐμπειρίαν, corresponds in sense to δι' ἄλλο τι.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν Ἑρμῶν ᾤοντο σαφὲς ἔχειν, πολὺ δὴ μᾶλλον καὶ τὰ μυστικά, ὧν ἐπαίτιος ἦν, μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ λόγου καὶ τῆς ξυνωμοσίας ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἐδόκει πραχθῆναι. **61. 1.**

ξυνωμοσίας, 1) is governed by λόγου, and the second καί repeats the first καί. 'When they believed themselves to have discovered

61. 1. the offenders in the affair of the Hermae, much more did the profanation of the mysteries also seem to be his act, with the same explanation, that this also' (that is, like the affair of the Hermae) 'was a conspiracy against the people;' *τῆς ξυνωμοσίας* referring to the words in c. 60 init. *καὶ πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει ἐπὶ ξυνωμοσίᾳ ὀλιγαρχικῇ καὶ τυραννικῇ πεπρᾶχθαι.*

This is less harsh than 2) supposing *ξυνωμοσίας* as well as *λόγου* to be governed by *μετά*, for the two ideas are too disparate.

61. 5. *εἴρητο δὲ προειπεῖν αὐτῷ ἀπολογησομένῳ ἀκολουθεῖν, ξυλλαμβάνειν δὲ μή, θεραπεύοντες τό τε πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ στρατιώτας τε σφετέρους καὶ πολεμίους μὴ θορυβεῖν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς Μαντινέας καὶ Ἀργείους βουλόμενοι παραμεῖναι, δι' ἐκείνου νομίζοντες πεισθῆναι σφᾶς ξυστρατεύειν.*

θεραπεύοντες is used as though *εἰρήκεσαν*, not *εἴρητο*, had preceded.

τό is to be taken with *πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας*, and not with *θορυβεῖν*, 'with regard to their soldiers in Sicily.' *μὴ θορυβεῖν*, scil. *αὐτούς*, 'not to create an agitation, whether among their own soldiers, or among their enemies.'

πεισθῆναι σφᾶς ξυστρατεύειν. *σφᾶς* has been suspected by many editors. But 1) it may be put, as in Herodotus, for *αὐτούς*, a usage of which some vestiges occur in Thucydides; cp. note on v. 49. 1.

Or possibly 2) *σφᾶς* may bear its usual reflexive sense, because the Athenian magistrates, who are the subject of the sentence, may be regarded as identifying with themselves the Mantineans and Argives who have just been described as *στρατιώτας σφετέρους.*

61. 6. 7. *ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο ἐν Θουρίοις. ἐπεραιώθη ἐς Πελοπόννησον ἐκ τῆς Θουρίας.* Steph. Byz. s. v. *Θούριοι, πόλις Ἰταλίας . . . λέγεται καὶ Θουρία, καὶ Θούριον . . . τὸ ἐθνικὸν ὁμωνύμως Θούριοι καὶ Θουριακοί. ἐν Θουρίοις* may refer either to the town or to the people.

62. 4. *Νικίας δὲ εὐθὺς ἐξ Ὑκκάρων ἐπὶ Ἐγέστης παραπλεύσας, καὶ τἆλλα χρηματίσας καὶ λαβὼν τάλαντα τριάκοντα παρῆν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα· καὶ τἀνδράποδα ἀπέδοσαν, καὶ ἐγένοντο ἐξ αὐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντα.*

The sentence *Νικίας . . . στράτευμα* is really out of place, and may be regarded as a note added by way of explanation. After the fall of Hyccara the infantry returned through the Sicel country to Catana, and the ships went round the island southwards with the

slaves. Meanwhile Nicias had gone from Hyccara to Egesta (which was near, although not on, the sea) with a portion of the fleet. Whether he returned to Catana by land or by sea is uncertain; probably the latter, as he would naturally return in the ships with which he had sailed to Egesta. *παρῆν ἐς τὸ στράτευμα*, 'rejoined the army at Catana.' 62. 4.

There is a difficulty in the word *ἀπέδοσαν*, which 1) is probably corrupt, but 2) if genuine, must be taken in the same sense as the middle *ἀπέδοντο*. The explanation of Arnold, 3) 'they produced their slaves for the public benefit,' gives too much meaning to the word. Nor is the translation of Grote, 4) 'gave them back (after they had been ransomed) to their Sicanian friends,' as he thinks, by a private contract, more tenable. If they were ransomed immediately after their capture they could not be described as *ἀνδράποδα*. That *ἀπέδοσαν* does not mean 'ransomed' is also proved by vii. 13 fin. *εἰσὶ δ' οἳ καί, αὐτοὶ ἐμπορευόμενοι, ἀνδράποδα Ὑκκαρικὰ ἀντεμβιβάσαι ὑπὲρ σφῶν πείσαντες τοὺς τριηράρχους τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ ναυτικοῦ ἀφῆρηνται.*

ἐς τοὺς τῶν Σικελῶν ξυμμάχους περιέπλευσαν, i. e. sailed round to the points on the coast which were nearest to the Sicel settlements. There is no force in the objection made to the word *περιέπλευσαν*, that the Sicels dwelt inland, and therefore no necessity for altering *περιέπλευσαν* into *περιέπεμπον* with Classen.

καὶ ἐπειδὴ πλέοντες τά τε ἐπέκεινα τῆς Σικελίας πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν ἐφαί- 63. 2.
νοντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ὕβλαν ἐλθόντες καὶ πειράσαντες οὐχ εἷλον βίᾳ, ἔτι πλέον κατεφρόνησαν.

τέ before *ἐπέκεινα* is slightly out of place, and should have followed *πλέοντες*. 'And now, when they had not only sailed to the extremity of Sicily, and seemed far away from them, but had failed to take Hybla,' etc. *τὰ ἐπέκεινα* is either accusative after *πλέοντες*, or an adverb like *τὰ πολλά, τὰ ἐκεῖ κ.τ.λ.* Cp. iv. 23 fin. *τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς καὶ ἅπασαι περιώρμουν, πλὴν τὰ πρὸς τὸ πέλαγος*: v. 59 med. *ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἶργον τῆς πόλεως... καθύπερθεν δὲ Κορίνθιοι... τὸ δὲ πρὸς Νεμέας Βοιωτοί.*

It is not certain whether *πολὺ ἀπὸ σφῶν* is to be taken with *πλέοντες* or with *ἐφαίνοντο*. The latter construction, which gives a

63. 2. better sense, is justified by vi. 68 med. *πολὺ ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν εἶναι.*

64. 1. *εἰδότες οὐκ ἂν ὁμοίως δυνηθέντες* [καὶ] *εἰ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν πρὸς παρεσκευασμένους ἐκβιβάζοιεν, ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἰόντες γνωσθείησαν.*

καί, though found in all the MSS., is omitted by Poppo. But it is not wholly indefensible if *καὶ εἰ*, instead of being connected with *ὁμοίως*, be taken as coordinate with *ἤ* following; = *εἰ ἢ ἐκ τῶν νεῶν ἐκβιβάζοιεν, ἢ κατὰ γῆν ἰόντες γνωσθείησαν.* For *ἐκβιβάζοιεν* see on v. 98.

64. 3. *ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐλίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ εἰ βούλονται ἐκεῖνοι πανδημεὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ῥητῇ ἅμα ἕῳ ἐπὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐλθεῖν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀποκλήσειν τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐμπρήσειν, ἐκείνους δὲ ῥᾳδίως τὸ στράτευμα προσβαλόντας τῷ σταυρώματι αἱρήσειν.*

There are some considerable differences of reading, *α*) *αὐτούς*, which has the better MS. authority, for *τούς*; *β*) for *τῷ σταυρώματι* the Laurentian and a few less important MSS. read *τῷ στρατεύματι*. If this be accepted, *τὸ στράτευμα* before *προσβαλόντας* must be omitted, or altered into *τὸ σταύρωμα*.

Besides the uncertainty in the reading, there is a seeming if not a real inaccuracy in the description. If the Athenians all slept within the walls of Catana (*ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους αὐλίζεσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν ὅπλων ἐν τῇ πόλει*) how could there be any army (*στράτευμα*) in the entrenched camp (*σταύρωμα*) which the Syracusans were advised to attack? Whether we read *αὐτούς* or *τούς* the clause *ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους κ.τ.λ.* is inconsistent with *τὸ στράτευμα κ.τ.λ.*, the former implying that the main body of the Athenians, the latter that only a part of them, were in the town. And further, the reading *αὐτούς* is inconsistent with *τὸ στράτευμα κ.τ.λ.*, and the reading *τούς* with *ἔλεγε δέ κ.τ.λ.*

Probably the statement that the Athenians slept within the walls is not to be taken literally of all of them. Part took up their quarters in the city, and these were to be shut up by the Catanaeans, part remained in the camp, and these the Syracusans would get into their hands by taking the palisade. But *στράτευμα* can hardly be used to describe first the Athenian army generally and then the

smaller division who remained to guard the camp. It seems better to omit τὸ στράτευμα in the second place, supplying τὸ σταύρωμα with αἱρήσειν. τὸ στράτευμα, occurring only once, will naturally describe the whole Athenian army, whether in the city or in the camp. We may either read αὐτούς, or take τοὺς παρὰ σφίσι to mean 'the Athenians who were in the city,' but not with any opposition to Athenians outside. 64. 3.

εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς ξυνδράσοντας πολλοὺς Καταναίων, καὶ ἡτοιμάσθαι ἤδη, ἀφ' ὧν αὐτὸς ἥκειν. οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων μετὰ τοῦ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα θαρσεῖν καὶ εἶναι ἐν διανοίᾳ καὶ ἄνευ τούτων ἱέναι παρεσκευάσθαι ἐπὶ Κατάνην κ.τ.λ. 64. 3. 65. 1.

παρεσκευάσθαι seems to be a repetition of ἡτοιμάσθαι. As the Catanaeans were prepared to receive them, so the Syracusans were already eager to have everything ready for the expedition. The perfect may be translated as a present, 'to have got all things ready'='to have all things in readiness.' For a similar pleonastic description of a fact by the indirect antecedents of it cp. iv. 9 fin. ἐπισπάσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖτο προθυμήσεσθαι.

But the sense is not very good, and it has been suggested that παρεσκευάσθαι is a gloss on ἡτοιμάσθαι, which has found its way into the text.

καὶ αὐτοὶ (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων Σελινούντιοι καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς παρῆσαν) προεῖπον πανδημεὶ πᾶσιν ἐξιέναι Συρακοσίοις. 65. 1.

γάρ expresses the reason why at this particular moment the Syracusans wanted to go and attack Catana, viz. because their forces were now collected.

ἐξέβαινον ἐς τὸ κατὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον. 65. 3.

I. e. at the point of the great harbour just opposite or in a line with the temple of Zeus Olympius on the south bank of the river Anapus. Cp. vi. 97 init. σχόντες κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα καλούμενον.

μακρᾶς οὔσης τῆς ὁδοῦ αὐτοῖς. 66. 1.

The distance from Catana to Syracuse by sea is about thirty miles, by land much longer.

66. 1. *ἥκιστ' ἂν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ πρὸ αὐτοῦ λυπήσειν.*

ἄν with the future infinitive occurs in four other passages of Thucydides, ii. 80 fin., v. 82 fin., viii. 25 fin., 71. init. It is therefore unnecessary to alter the reading here.

66. 1. *τῇ μὲν γὰρ τειχία τε καὶ οἰκίαι εἴργον καὶ δένδρα καὶ λίμνη, παρὰ δὲ τὸ κρημνοί.*

The Athenians occupied part of a line of low heights reaching from the promontory north of the bay of Dascon (now Punta Caderini) to the temple of Zeus Olympius. They were thus protected on the right by the cliffs which formed the north-west face of the heights, and on the left by the marsh Cyanè, and by houses, perhaps those in the neighbourhood of the temple (cp. *ἡ ἐν τῷ Ὀλυμπιείῳ πολίχνη*, vii. 4 fin.), which was not yet guarded by the enemy. The erection of a fort upon the shore of Dascon was intended to protect them against an attack, whether by land or sea, upon their right flank.

66. 1. *παρά τε τὰς ναῦς σταύρωμα ἔπηξαν, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ Δάσκωνι ἔρυμα ... ὥρθωσαν κ.τ.λ.*

Δάσκων, either 1)* a bay inside the Great Harbour, cp. Diod. Sic. xiii. 13, *ὁ γὰρ Εὐρυμέδων ... ἀπελήφθη πρὸς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Δάσκωνα μὲν καλούμενον, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Συρακοσίων κατεχόμενον*: xiv. 72, *τὸ πρὸς τῷ Δάσκωνι χωρίον*: or 2) a place on the shore of the bay, cp. Steph. Byz. s. v. *Δάσκων, Σικελίας χωρίον· Φίλιστος ἕκτῃ Σικελικῶν, εἰς τὸν Πλημμύριον καὶ Δάσκωνα.*

67. 3. *μέλλουσι δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προτέροις ἐπιχειρήσειν ὁ Νικίας κατά τε ἔθνη ἐπιπαριὼν ἕκαστα καὶ ξύμπασι τοιάδε παρεκελεύετο.*

ξύμπασι is used as if *ἔθνεσιν ἑκάστοις* had preceded instead of *κατὰ ἔθνη ἐπιπαριὼν ἕκαστα*, 'passing along one nation after another, and to all, he spoke as follows.'

68. 3. *παραστήτω δέ τινι καὶ τόδε, πολύ τε ἀπὸ τῆς ἠμετέρας αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ πρὸς γῇ οὐδεμιᾷ φιλίᾳ, ἥντινα μὴ αὐτοὶ μαχόμενοι κτήσεσθε.*

A topic of encouragement found in Homer, Il. xv. 735 foll.—

ἦέ τινάς φαμεν εἶναι ἀοσσητῆρας ὀπίσσω
ἦέ τι τεῖχος ἄρειον, ὅ κ' ἀνδράσι λοιγὸν ἀμύναι;

οὐ μέν τι σχεδόν ἐστι πόλις πύργοις ἀραρυῖα, **68. 3.**
ἣ κ' ἀπαμυναίμεσθ' ἐτεραλκέα δῆμον ἔχοντες·
ἀλλ' ἐν γὰρ Τρώων πεδίῳ πύκα θωρηκτάων,
πόντῳ κεκλιμένοι, ἑκὰς ἥμεθα πατρίδος αἴης·
τῷ ἐν χερσὶ φόως, οὐ μειλιχίη πολέμοιο.

οἱ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι περὶ πατρίδος ἔσται ὁ ἀγών, ἐγὼ δέ, ὅτι οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι, **68. 3.**
ἐξ ἧς κρατεῖν δεῖ ἢ μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἀποχωρεῖν.

There is a slight irregularity in *ἐξ ἧς*, the definite antecedent *ἐν οὐ πατρίδι* having to be supplied from the indefinite *οὐκ ἐν πατρίδι*. Cp. iv. 126 init. *οἵ γε μηδὲ ἀπὸ πολιτειῶν τοιούτων ἥκετε, ἐν αἷς οὐ πολλοὶ ὀλίγων ἄρχουσιν, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων μᾶλλον ἐλάσσους.*

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀπροσδόκητοι μὲν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τούτῳ ἦσαν ὡς ἤδη **69. 1.**
μαχούμενοι, καί τινες αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς τῆς πόλεως οὔσης καὶ ἀπεληλύθεσαν.

'The Syracusans did not expect at that moment that they would have to fight immediately.' In the next clause *ἐπεληλύθεσαν* is the reading of a great majority of MSS., but *ἀπεληλύθεσαν* is required by the context.

ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι σφίσι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους προτέρους ἐπελθεῖν, καὶ **69. 1.**
διὰ τάχους ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἀμύνασθαι, ἀναλαβόντες τὰ ὅπλα εὐθὺς ἀντεπῆσαν.

ὅμως refers both to what precedes and to what follows. 'But nevertheless, i. e. notwithstanding their want of skill (and) although they did not think that the Athenians would be the attacking party,' etc.

ἔπειτα δὲ ἐν παρέργῳ καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ξυγκαταστρεψαμένοις ῥᾷον αὐτοῖς **69. 3.**
ὑπακούσεται.

No certain parallel is found for *ὑπακούσεται* in the passive sense, which the meaning of the passage requires here. But the alteration of *ὑπακούσεται* into *ὑπακούσονται* (*ξυγκαταστρεψάμενοι* being read with one good MS. Pal.) is too great a departure from the text. And there is no reason why *ὑπακούσομαι* should not, like other future middles, *στερήσεσθαι*, iii. 2 fin., *βλάψονται*, vi. 64 med., *ἀδικήσεσθαι*, vi. 87 med., be used passively, merely because it is the substitute in common use for the future active.

τοὺς δὲ ἀνθεστῶτας πολὺ μείζω ἔκπληξιν μὴ νικωμένους παρέχειν. **70. 1.**

See note on English text.

70. 2. παρεῤῥήγνυτο ἤδη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα τῶν Συρακοσίων.
See note on v. 73. 1.

70. 4. οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἀθροισθέντες ἐς τὴν Ἑλωρίνην ὁδὸν καὶ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ξυνταξάμενοι, ἔς τε τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον ὅμως σφῶν αὐτῶν παρέπεμψαν φυλακήν, δείσαντες κ.τ.λ.
Notwithstanding their defeat and confusion, they did not neglect to protect the Olympieum.

71. 2. χειμών τε γὰρ ἦν, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτόθεν ποιεῖσθαι οὔπω ἐδόκει δυνατὸν εἶναι, πρὶν ἂν ἱππέας τε μεταπέμψωσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτόθεν ξυμμάχων ἀγείρωσιν, . . . τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ σῖτον καὶ ὅσων δέοι, παρασκευάσωνται, ὡς ἐς τὸ ἔαρ ἐπιχειρήσοντες ταῖς Συρακούσαις.
καί before σῖτον answers, not to τέ before ἄλλα, which connects the whole clause with the preceding part of the sentence, but to καί before ὅσων δέοι.

72. 3. τὴν μὲν γὰρ γνώμην αὐτῶν οὐχ' ἡσσῆσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἀταξίαν βλάψαι. οὐ μέντοι τοσοῦτόν γε λειφθῆναι, ὅσον εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἄλλως τε τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐμπειρίᾳ, ἰδιώτας ὡς εἰπεῖν χειροτέχναις, ἀνταγωνισαμένους.
The MSS. all read χειροτέχνας, with three exceptions. In one good MS. (Aug.) an ι is written over χειροτέχνας, in another (Cl.) χειροτέχναις is corrected into χειροτέχνας, and in one of less authority, (m, Bekker's G.) χειροτέχναις is inserted in the margin.
1) Classen, who defends χειροτέχνας, says that χειροτέχνης in good authors means an ordinary working man in contrast to one who pursues some higher occupation, as in English we might oppose a mere handicraftsman or operative to a soldier. According to this rendering the Syracusans are described as common workmen (χειροτέχνας) without military training (ἰδιώτας), opposed to the Athenians, who are the first soldiers in Hellas.
But the word χειροτέχνης is thus taken quite literally and without regard to the context, whereas the juxtaposition of ἰδιώτης rather suggests 2)* the common opposition between unskilled persons and those trained in particular arts (ἰδιῶται and τεχνῖται). The word is applied to a skilled physician in Hippocrates, De Vet. Med. i. 10 (7), ὁ καλεύμενος ἰητρὸς καὶ ὁμολογημένως χειροτέχνης, and to a skilled soldier in Dion Cassius, who may perhaps be imitating this

passage, 50. 16, *καὶ παντὸς εἴδους μάχης ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον χειροτέχναι ἐστὲ ὥστε καὶ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἀντιπάλοις εἶναι.* 72. 3.

ἄλλως τε, which is equivalent in sense to *ἄλλως τε καί*, introduces a new consideration. The participle *ἀνταγωνισαμένους* agrees with the subject of *λειφθῆναι*, and *τέ* really connects the clause with the preceding *τὴν δὲ ἀταξίαν βλάψαι*, from which, in order to supply a grammatical construction, a suppressed clause such as *ἀταξίᾳ βλαφθέντας* must be understood with *λειφθῆναι*, 'considering that they not only were injured by their want of discipline but had to fight against the best soldiers in Hellas.' Or the clause to be supplied may be more general, cp. Hermann, ad Viger. p. 779, who explains the phrase, 'per se—quod non additum cogitatione suppletur—alioque modo.' Cp. Isocr. Panegyr. (iv.) 73, *δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ περὶ τῶν πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους τῇ πόλει πεπραγμένων προσήκειν εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὸν λόγον κατεστησάμην περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνους.*

Although the general sense of *ἄλλως τε* and *ἄλλως τε καί* is the same, it should be observed that the reference in *ἄλλως* is different. *ἄλλως τε καί*='both for other reasons and because,' etc. *ἄλλως τε*='(for various reasons) and in another way, namely, because,' etc.

ἀνδρείας μὲν σφίσιν ὑπαρχούσης, εὐταξίας δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔργα προσγενομένης ἐπιδώσειν γὰρ ἀμφότερα αὐτά. 72. 4.

'For both these things would improve,' not 'of themselves' (Classen), an explanation which introduces a needless subtlety, and is inconsistent with the position of *αὐτά*. *αὐτά*, as elsewhere, (cp. *προορᾶσθαι αὐτά*, c. 78 fin. below)=*ταῦτα*.

τούς τε στρατηγοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι ἑλέσθαι, καὶ ὁμόσαι αὐτοῖς τὸ ὅρκιον ἢ μὴν ἐάσειν ἄρχειν ὅπῃ ἂν ἐπίστωνται. 72. 5.

τὸ ὅρκιον, not 'the usual oath,' which would be at variance with the context; for Hermocrates is evidently proposing something new. The article is explained by the words which immediately follow; *τὸ ὅρκιον*='this oath, namely, that the Syracusans would suffer them to command according to the best of their judgment.'

ἡμέρας δὲ μείναντες περὶ τρεῖς καὶ δέκα οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἐχειμάζοντο καὶ τὰ 74. 2.

74. 2. *ἐπιτήδεια οὐκ εἶχον καὶ προυχώρει οὐδέν, ἀπελθόντες ἐς Νάξον καὶ σταύρωμα περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ποιησάμενοι αὐτοῦ διεχείμαζον.*

ἐς Νάξον καὶ Θρᾶκας σταύρωμα (or *σταυρώματα*) is found in nearly every MS. *Θρᾶκας* may be a corruption of *χάρακας*, and this again a gloss on *σταύρωμα* or *σταυρώματα*. Classen, following the ingenious suggestion of Pluygers, Mnemos. xi. p. 92, regards *Θρᾶκας* as a corruption of *ὅρια καί* (ΟΡΙΑΚΑΙ, ΘΡΑΙΚΑϹ), which may have been the reading of the Scholiast. Hesychius explains *ὅριον, τείχισμα, φραγμόν*: also *ὅρια, τὰ νεώρια*. But both the word and the explanation are too uncertain to justify the conjecture.

76. With this speech of Hermocrates at Camarina should be compared his former speech at Gela in the year 424, especially iv. 60, 61 with vi. 77, 78.

76. 1. *Οὐ τὴν παροῦσαν δύναμιν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, μὴ αὐτὴν καταπλαγῆτε δείσαντες ἐπρεσβευσάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τοὺς μελλοντας ἀπ' αὐτῶν λόγους, πρίν τι καὶ ἡμῶν ἀκοῦσαι, μὴ ὑμᾶς πείσωσιν. ἥκουσι γὰρ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν προφάσει μὲν ἧ πυνθάνεσθε, διανοίᾳ δὲ ἣν πάντες ὑπονοοῦμεν.*

γάρ is explanatory of *δείσαντες μὴ ὑμᾶς πείσωσιν*. 'For whatever they may say, the truth is.'

76. 3. *τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἰδέᾳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἔσχον καὶ τὰ ἐνθάδε νῦν πειρῶνται.*

'On the same principle,' cp. note on iii. 62. 2.

76. 3. *ἡγεμόνες γὰρ γενόμενοι ἑκόντων τῶν τε Ἰώνων καὶ ὅσοι ἀπὸ σφῶν ἦσαν ξύμμαχοι ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Μήδου τιμωρίᾳ, τοὺς μὲν λειποστρατίαν, τοὺς δὲ ἐπ' ἀλλήλους στρατεύειν, τοῖς δ' ὡς ἑκάστοις τινὰ εἶχον αἰτίαν εὐπρεπῆ ἐπενεγκόντες, κατεστρέψαντο.*

ἀπὸ σφῶν. Either 1)* 'any who were descended from them and became their allies,' for there were such besides the Ionians, cp. i. 12 fin. *Ἴωνας μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ νησιωτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς ᾠκισαν*. Or 2) 'any others who of their own free choice were their allies.' *ἀπὸ σφῶν* is then merely a variation of *ἑκόντων*.

The accusatives *τοὺς μὲν . . . τοὺς δέ* are governed by *κατεστρέψαντο*. In *τοῖς δέ* which follows, the construction is changed from the accusative to the dative by attraction with *ἑκάστοις . . . ἐπενεγκόντες*.

To 1) it may be objected that, a great part of the allies not being descended from the Athenians, the description is more or less inaccurate. This however is not a serious objection. Hermocrates is the speaker, and the words are intended to put strongly the guilt of the Athenians. He means to imply that those whom they enslaved were their own descendants. 2) again may seem to require the more usual *ἑαυτῶν* or *σφῶν αὐτῶν*. Cp. however i. 25 med. *ἐλθόντες δὲ οἱ Ἐπιδάμνιοι ἐς τὴν Κόρινθον κατὰ τὸ μαντεῖον παρέδοσαν τὴν ἀποικίαν, τόν τε οἰκιστὴν ἀποδεικνύντες σφῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ὄντα κ.τ.λ.*: ii. 65 fin. *καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἐνέδοσαν ἢ αὐτοὶ ἐν σφίσι κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας διαφορὰς περιπεσόντες ἐσφάλησαν*: vii. 5 init. *τοῖς λίθοις χρώμενος οὓς οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προπαρεβάλοντο σφίσιν*: viii. 10 med. *τὰς γὰρ τῶν Χίων ἑπτὰ ναῦς ἐν τῷ ἀριθμῷ μετὰ σφῶν ἔχοντες οὐ πιστὰς ἐνόμιζον*: viii. 105 med. *πρὶν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ... ἤρξαντο μέρει τινὶ σφῶν ἀτακτότεροι γενέσθαι*: cp. the ordinary use of the pronoun in the words which immediately follow,—*γνόντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον, γὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχούσας ... εὐθὺς ἠμύναντο κ.τ.λ.* (See Krüger, note on ii. 65. 9.) 76. 3.

ἢ μένομεν ἕως ἂν ἕκαστοι κατὰ πόλεις ληφθῶμεν, εἰδότες, ὅτι ταύτῃ μόνον ἀλωτοί ἐσμεν, καὶ ὁρῶντες αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος τρεπομένους, ὥστε τοὺς μὲν λόγοις ἡμῶν διϊστάναι, τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχων ἐλπίδι ἐκπολεμοῦν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τοῖς δὲ ὡς ἑκάστοις τι προσηνὲς λέγοντες δύνανται κακουργεῖν. 77. 2.

τοῦτο τὸ εἶδος, 'this manner of action,' cp. note on iii. 62. 2.

κακουργεῖν stands in a double construction, with *δύνανται* and with *ὥστε*. Most editors supply *λέγειν*, not *κακουργεῖν*, with *δύνανται*, but in that case we should not have expected *λέγοντες* to come between *ὡς* and *δύνανται*. The order would have been, *τοῖς δὲ ὡς ἑκάστοις τι προσηνὲς δύνανται λέγοντες κακουργεῖν*, as in 76. 3, *τοῖς δ' ὡς ἑκάστοις ... ἐπενεγκόντες*: see above. *ἑκάστοις* as well as *τοῖς* is put in the dative after *λέγοντες*, not in the accusative after *κακουργεῖν*. For the change *τοὺς μέν, τοὺς δέ, τοῖς δέ*, cp. preceding note.

ἐνθυμηθήτω οὖ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς μᾶλλον, ἐν ἴσῳ δὲ καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἅμα ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ μαχούμενος, τοσούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀσφαλέστερον, ὅσῳ οὐ προδιεφθαρμένου ἐμοῦ, ἔχων δὲ ξύμμαχον ἐμέ, καὶ οὐκ ἔρημον, ἀγωνιεῖται· τόν τε Ἀθηναῖον μὴ τὴν τοῦ Συρακοσίου ἔχθραν κολάσασθαι, τῇ δ' ἐμῇ προφάσει τὴν ἐκείνου φιλίαν οὐχ ἧσσον βεβαιώσασθαι βούλεσθαι. 78. 1.

78. 1. *οὐκ ἔρημον* is the reading of all the MSS., *ἔρημος* being merely inserted by another hand in three.

1)* We may substitute *ἔρημος*, with Bekker.

Or 2) *ἔρημον* may refer to the allies of Syracuse (vi. 67 med.). But the new thought, 'but will have me for his ally, and an ally not destitute of friends,' could not well be thus incidentally introduced.

Or 3) *ἔρημον* may be referred to *ἔχων δὲ ξύμμαχον ἐμέ*, 'he will have me for his friend, and I shall not be left destitute:'—or, 'I shall be his ally, as he will be mine,' that is, 'we shall form a mutual alliance.' The obscure play of words is in the manner of Thucydides.

Or 4) with *ἔρημον* may be supplied *ἀγῶνα* from *ἀγωνίσασθαι*, *ἔρημος* being used as in *ἐρήμη* (*δίκη*, etc.), though in a different sense.

τὴν ἐκείνου φιλίαν, lit. 'is quite as desirous of making sure of his friendship'—of course in the bad sense of making the Camarinaean his subject. We may translate, 'what he really wants is to make rather too fast a friend of him,' or 'establish a friendship with him from which he will never free himself,' or 'make a friend and something more of him.' But it is difficult to reproduce the half-expressed irony of the passage.

78. 2. *οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης δυνάμεως βούλησιν ἐλπίζει.*

The word *βούλησιν* is emphatic, 'he hopes for what he wishes, and his wish is not to be accomplished by the power of man.'

78. 4. *καὶ μάλιστα εἰκὸς ἦν ὑμᾶς, ὦ Καμαριναῖοι, ὁμόρους ὄντας καὶ τὰ δεύτερα κινδυνεύσοντας προορᾶσθαι αὐτὰ καὶ μὴ μαλακῶς, ὥσπερ νῦν, ξυμμαχεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς μᾶλλον ἰόντας, ἅπερ, εἰ ἐς τὴν Καμαριναίαν πρῶτον ἀφίκοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, δεόμενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλεῖσθε, ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου καὶ νῦν παρακελευομένους, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνδώσομεν, φαίνεσθαι.*

ἅπερ δεόμενοι ἂν ἐπεκαλεῖσθε, ταῦτα παρακελευομένους φαίνεσθαι κ.τ.λ., 'as you would have been entreating us, so you should now be exhorting us, not to give way.' There is a slight flaw in the double reference of the words *ὅπως μηδὲν ἐνδώσομεν*, which apply better to the actual than to the supposed case. They are suitable in the mouth of a Camarinaean, encouraging Syracuse by the offer of help, when Syracuse has been attacked first; but not equally appropriate

when a Camarinaean is asking help from Syracuse because Camarina 78. 4.
has been attacked first.

καὶ δεινὸν εἰ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τὸ ἔργον τοῦ καλοῦ δικαιώματος ὑποπτεύοντες 79. 2.
ἀλόγως σωφρονοῦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ' εὐλόγῳ προφάσει τοὺς μὲν φύσει πολεμίους
βούλεσθε ὠφελεῖν, τοὺς δὲ ἔτι μᾶλλον φύσει ξυγγενεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἐχθίστων
διαφθεῖραι.

τὸ ἔργον κ.τ.λ., 'suspecting that there is no real ground for the fair-seeming plea,' or, in other words, that the appeal to the tie of kindred is all a pretence.

ὑμεῖς εὐλόγῳ προφάσει has been explained, 1) 'you urging a specious pretext,' i. e. that of your previous alliance with the Athenians.

But the context seems to require 2)* that εὐλόγῳ should correspond in meaning to ἀλόγως. 'Whereas the Rhegians act prudently (in rejecting the Athenians and Leontines) without being able to give a reason for it, you, who have a reason to give for doing the same, make friends of your natural enemies, and enemies of those who by a nearer tie of nature are your kindred.' εὐλόγῳ προφάσει is loosely connected with the verb, being a dative not of manner but of circumstance. Not, 'you taking advantage of a plausible excuse for accepting the Athenians,' but, 'you having a good reason for doing otherwise.' It might appear unreasonable that the Rhegians, who were Ionians, should refuse to join the Athenians; but there was every reason why the Camarinaeans, who were Dorians, should not join them.

ὥστε οὐκ ἀθρόους γε ὄντας εἰκὸς ἀθυμεῖν, ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν 80. 1.
προθυμότερον.

With οὐκ εἰκὸς ἀθυμεῖν must be supplied in sense ἡμᾶς, with ἰέναι, ὑμᾶς (Classen).

ἰέναι ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν. The Camarinaeans were already allies of the Syracusans, and had sent a few men to their aid (c. 67 fin.), but they did not enter heartily into the alliance, and were disposed to wait upon fortune. ἰέναι ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν must therefore mean 'enter into the alliance,' in the sense, not of joining a new alliance, but of taking a more energetic part in an old one. Cp. μὴ μαλακῶς, ὥσπερ νῦν, ξυμμαχεῖν, c. 78 fin. ἰέναι is dependent upon εἰκός, detached

80. 1. from *οὐκ ἀθρόους γε ὄντας εἰκός. προθυμότερον* may be taken either 1) as a resolved comparative, cp. note on ii. 40. 1, 'there is no reason why you should despair, but there is a reason why instead of despairing you should enter into the alliance heartily,' (in which case the clause=*μᾶλλον δὲ ἰέναι ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθύμως*); or 2) 'you should enter into it more heartily than you do.' In either case the general sense is the same.

80. 2. *οὐ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἴσον, ὥσπερ τῷ δικαιώματί ἐστιν.*

'For this course (*τὸ μηδετέροις βοηθεῖν*) is not impartial in fact, as it is in the statement of right,' i. e. in the abstract.

80. 5. *σκοπεῖτε οὖν καὶ αἱρεῖσθε ἤδη ἢ τὴν αὐτίκα ἀκινδύνως δουλείαν, ἢ κἂν περιγενόμενοι μεθ' ἡμῶν τούσδε τε μὴ αἰσχρῶς δεσπότας λαβεῖν, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἔχθραν μὴ ἂν βραχεῖαν γενομένην διαφυγεῖν.*

ἄν, in *κἂν* before *περιγενόμενοι*, is to be taken with *δεσπότας λαβεῖν, διαφυγεῖν*, not 'subjection,' 'escape,' but 'the chance' or 'danger of subjection,' 'the hope of escape.'

82. 2. *τὸ μὲν οὖν μέγιστον μαρτύριον αὐτὸς εἶπεν, ὅτι οἱ Ἴωνες ἀεί ποτε πολέμιοι τοῖς Δωριεῦσίν εἰσιν.* **ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως·** *ἡμεῖς γὰρ Ἴωνες ὄντες* **Πελοποννησίοις** *Δωριεῦσι καὶ πλείοσιν οὖσι καὶ παροικοῦσιν ἐσκεψάμεθα ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἥκιστα* **αὐτῶν** *ὑπακουσόμεθα.*

ἔχει δὲ καὶ οὕτως is not 'put for *καὶ ἔχει δὲ οὕτως*,' but *καί* emphasizes *οὕτως*. 'And it is even' or 'exactly so.'

αὐτῶν is the genitive after *ὑπακουσόμεθα*, and is the resumption of *Πελοποννησίοις*, which is a dative of relation, and not governed by *ὑπακουσόμεθα*. 'For we Ionians, having regard to the Peloponnesians who are Dorians, and more numerous than we,' etc.

82. 3. *αὐτοὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπὸ βασιλεῖ πρότερον ὄντων ἡγεμόνες* **καταστάντες οἰκοῦμεν,** *νομίσαντες ἥκιστ' ἂν ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίοις οὕτως εἶναι, δύναμιν ἔχοντες ἢ ἀμυνούμεθα, καί, ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς εἰπεῖν,* **οὐδὲ ἀδίκως καταστρεψάμενοι** *τούς τε Ἴωνας καὶ νησιώτας οὓς ξυγγενεῖς φασὶν ὄντας ἡμᾶς* **Συρακόσιοι δεδουλῶσθαι.**

αὐτοὶ δέ κ.τ.λ. 'Being once established as chiefs of the king's former subjects, remain in that position:' *οἰκοῦμεν* is a more concrete *ἐσμέν*.

καὶ . . . οὐδὲ ἀδίκως καταστρεψάμενοι is connected with νομίσαντες κ.τ.λ., to which δύναμιν ἔχοντες is subordinate, being the explanation of οὕτως. οὐδέ qualifies 1)* ἀδίκως καταστρεψάμενοι, 'and, to speak plainly, neither was there any injustice in their subjugation,' or 2) ἀδίκως only, 'and, on the strictest principles, their subjugation was no more unjust than it was inexpedient.' **82. 3.**

καὶ οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἀποστάντες τὰ οἰκεῖα φθεῖραι, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς ἐκλιπόντες τὴν πόλιν, δουλείαν δὲ αὐτοί τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἡμῖν τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπενεγκεῖν. ἀνθ' ὧν ἄξιοί τε ὄντες ἅμα ἄρχομεν, ὅτι τε ναυτικὸν πλεῖστόν τε καὶ προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον παρεσχόμεθα ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, καὶ διότι καὶ τῷ Μήδῳ ἑτοίμως τοῦτο δρῶντες οὗτοι ἡμᾶς ἔβλαπτον, ἅμα δὲ τῆς πρὸς Πελοποννησίους ἰσχύος ὀρεγόμενοι. **82. 4. 83. 1.**

τὸ αὐτό, scil. δουλείαν. Cp. note on iii. 47. 5.

ἅμα δέ answers to ἄξιοί τε ὄντες, and καὶ διότι to ὅτι τε.

τοῦτο may refer either 1)* to δουλείαν above, τοῦτο δρῶντες=δουλεύοντες, or 2) to some general idea to be gathered from the words immediately preceding, προθυμίαν ἀπροφάσιστον παρεσχόμεθα, 'doing the like for the Persian,' i. e. serving the interests of the Persian as we served the interests of the Hellenes.

καί after διότι may be taken either 1) with the whole clause, which it contrasts with the preceding clause, 'because we were fighting in the cause of liberty, whereas they, being the willing slaves of the Persian, were doing us a mischief,' or 2) with τῷ Μήδῳ, 'of the very Persian with whom we were fighting our battles.'

καὶ οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα, ὡς ἢ τὸν βάρβαρον μόνοι καθελόντες εἰκότως ἄρχομεν κ.τ.λ. **83. 2.**

οὐ καλλιεπούμεθα, which is the true reading, and is found in some MSS., has been corrupted in the majority, including the best, into οὐκ ἄλλο, or οὐκ ἄλλῳ, ἐπόμεθα.

καὶ νῦν τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα καὶ ἐνθάδε παρόντες ὁρῶμεν καὶ ὑμῖν ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα. **83. 2.**

Reading 1) ταῦτα, 'the purpose for which we come,' understood from ἐνθάδε παρόντες, or 2) ταὐτά, 'that the same things are expedient for us both.' Cp. i. 124 init. εἴπερ βεβαιότατον τὸ ταῦτα ξυμφέροντα

83. 3. *καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις εἶναι κ.τ.λ.*, where a similar appeal is made to community of interest, and where there is a similar doubt about the reading.

84. 3. *ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς . . . ξύμφορος ἡμῖν ἀπαράσκευος ὢν καὶ χρήματα μόνον φέρων.*

Contributing money, and not, like Chios and at the beginning of the war Lesbos, ships.

85. 1. *ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ ἡ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὅ τι ξυμφέρον.*

For *ἀνδρὶ δὲ τυράννῳ κ.τ.λ.* cp. ii. 63 med. *ὡς τυραννίδα γὰρ ἤδη ἔχετε (τὴν ἀρχήν)*: iii. 37 init. *οὐ σκοποῦντες ὅτι τυραννίδα ἔχετε τὴν ἀρχήν*: for *οὐδὲν ἄλογον κ.τ.λ.* cp. v. 89 *δίκαια μὲν ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἀνάγκης κρίνεται, δυνατὰ δὲ οἱ προὔχοντες πράσσουσι, καὶ οἱ ἀσθενεῖς ξυγχωροῦσι*: and for the general tenour of the argument, the speech of the Athenians at Sparta, i. 73–78.

85. 3. *ὥστε καὶ τἀνθάδε εἰκὸς πρὸς τὸ λυσιτελοῦν καὶ ὃ λέγομεν ἐς Συρακοσίους δέος καθίστασθαι.*

The reference is to c. 83 fin. *εἰρήκαμεν . . . τὰ ἐνθάδε διὰ τὸ αὐτὸ* (scil. *δέος*) *ἥκειν μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἀσφαλῶς καταστησόμενοι.* The relative clause *ὃ λέγομεν*, 1) follows the article = *καὶ πρὸς τὸ δέος ὃ λέγομεν*, or 2) *ὃ λέγομεν* may refer to the whole clause, 'as we say,' = *ὡς λέγομεν*.

86. 1. *καὶ ὅτῳ ταῦτα μὴ δοκεῖ, αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον ἐλέγχει· τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἐπηγάγεσθε οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ προσείοντες φόβον ἤ, εἰ περιοψόμεθα ὑμᾶς ὑπὸ Συρακοσίοις γενέσθαι, ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσομεν. καὶ νῦν οὐ δίκαιον, ᾧπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἠξιοῦτε λόγῳ πείθειν, τῷ αὐτῷ ἀπιστεῖν, οὐδ', ὅτι δυνάμει μείζονι πρὸς τὴν τῶνδε ἰσχὺν πάρεσμεν, ὑποπτεύεσθαι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖσδε ἀπιστεῖν.*

αὐτὸ τὸ ἔργον κ.τ.λ., 'the fact convicts him,' i. e. the fact which the speaker is just going to mention, that the fear of Syracuse had induced the other cities of Sicily to invite the Athenians.

δυνάμει μείζονι πρὸς τὴν τῶνδε ἰσχύν. 1) These words might of themselves mean, 'with a force disproportioned to the strength of Syracuse:' a thought which has already been expressed by Thucydides himself, vi. 31 fin. *καὶ ὁ στόλος οὐχ ἧσσον τόλμης τε θάμβει καὶ ὄψεως λαμπρότητι περιβόητος ἐγένετο ἢ στρατιᾶς πρὸς οὓς*

ἐπῆεσαν ὑπερβολῇ. But this interpretation is inconsistent with the context. Admitting that Thucydides is not always exact in rhetorical proprieties (cp. note on c. 87. 4 infra), yet such a thought would not be suggested by an orator whose object was to minimize rather than to magnify the power of Athens. Cp. *οἵδε δὲ οὐ στρατοπέδῳ, πόλει δὲ μείζονι τῆς ἡμετέρας παρουσίας ἐποικοῦντες ὑμῖν ἀεί τε ἐπιβουλεύουσι κ.τ.λ.* just below. 86. 1.

It is better therefore 2)* to take *μείζονι* in the sense of 'greater than before.' The words are closely connected with the preceding sentence, which refers to the earlier Athenian expedition, *τὸ γὰρ πρότερον ἡμᾶς ἐπηγάγεσθε ... καὶ νῦν οὐ δίκαιον κ.τ.λ.* Cp. iv. 1 init. *οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ... φοβούμενοι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μή ... ποτε σφίσι μείζονι παρασκευῇ ἐπέλθωσιν.*

μείζονι πρὸς τὴν τῶνδε ἰσχύν, 'greater than before, so as to be proportioned to their strength,' a condensed argument excusing the magnitude of the armament by the power of Syracuse with which it had to cope.

εἴ τε καὶ γενόμενοι κακοὶ κατεργασαίμεθα κ.τ.λ. 86. 3.

Scil. *τὴν Σικελίαν,* 'and if we *should* turn rascals and conquer Sicily,' a mocking answer to the insinuations of Hermocrates, c. 76, 77 supra, and 80 med. *τοὺς δὲ οὐκ ἐκωλύσατε κακοὺς γενέσθαι* (Classen).

ἀεί τε ἐπιβουλεύουσι, καὶ ὅτ' ἂν καιρὸν λάβωσιν ἑκάστου οὐκ ἀνιᾶσιν· 86. 3.
(ἔδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἤδη καὶ τὰ ἐς Λεοντίνους).

ἑκάστου, either 1) neuter, 'for making their several attempts,' or 2) masculine, 'of attacking each individual state.' The latter agrees better with the words which follow.

ἔδειξαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα κ.τ.λ., either 1) 'they have given other proofs,' = *ἄλλα δείγματα ἔδειξαν,* or better 2) taking *ἔδειξαν* absolutely, and *ἄλλα* as the remote accusative, 'in other ways they have given proof.'

ἢν εἰ τῷ ὑπόπτῳ ἢ ἄπρακτον ἐάσετε ἀπελθεῖν ἢ καὶ σφαλεῖσαν, ἔτι 86. 5.
βουλήσεσθε καὶ πολλοστὸν μόριον αὐτῆς ἰδεῖν, ὅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι περανεῖ παραγενόμενον ὑμῖν.

This is the rhetorical answer to Hermocrates' words in c. 78 med. *καὶ εἰ γνώμῃ ἁμάρτοι, τοῖς αὐτοῦ κακοῖς ὀλοφυρθεὶς τάχ' ἂν ἴσως καὶ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ποτε βουληθείη αὖθις φθονῆσαι.*

86. 5. *ὅτε οὐδὲν ἔτι πέρανεῖ* is a reflection of the Athenians, not a part of the wish attributed to the Camarinaeans. There would be no force in saying, 'you will wish to have an army at a time when you know it will be of no use to you;' *ὅτε*='but then it will be of no use to you.'

87. 4. *ἓν παντὶ γὰρ πᾶς χωρίῳ καὶ ᾧ μὴ ὑπάρχομεν ὅ τε οἰόμενος ἀδικήσεσθαι καὶ ὁ ἐπιβουλεύων διὰ τὸ ἑτοίμην ὑπεῖναι ἐλπίδα τῷ μὲν ἀντιτυχεῖν ἐπικουρίας ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τῷ δὲ εἰ ἥξομεν μὴ ἀδεεῖς εἶναι κινδυνεύειν, ἀμφότεροι ἀναγκάζονται* 5. *ὁ μὲν ἄκων σωφρονεῖν, ὁ δ' ἀπραγμόνως σώζεσθαι. ταύτην οὖν τὴν κοινὴν τῷ τε δεομένῳ καὶ ὑμῖν νῦν παροῦσαν ἀσφάλειαν μὴ ἀπώσησθε, ἀλλ' ἐξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις μεθ' ἡμῶν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀεὶ φυλάσσεσθαι αὐτοὺς. καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαί ποτε ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου μεταλάβετε.*

ἀντιτυχεῖν. ἀντι-, not 'against the enemy,' but 'in redress of the wrong.'

μὴ ἀδεεῖς εἶναι κινδυνεύειν, either 1) 'that they will not be without fear of danger:' *κινδυνεύειν* being the remote object of the verbal idea contained in *ἀδεεῖς*, and nearly equivalent to *τοῦ κινδυνεύειν*: or 2) taking *κινδυνεύειν* in a sense nearly akin to the Platonic, 'that they are likely to have reason for fear.' But *κινδυνεύειν* is not used in this sense by Thucydides, except perhaps in iv. 117 fin. *τοῖς δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου ἀμυνόμενοι κινδυνεύειν καὶ κρατήσειν*, where the meaning is doubtful, see note. In either case *ἀδεεῖς*, though in the plural, refers to *τῷ δέ* preceding.

ἀναγκάζονται is applicable properly to the first member of the following clause, improperly to the second. But the emphatic position of *ἀμφότεροι* shows that this experiment in language was intentional.

The orator has now passed on to a new point not quite consistent with the preceding. *a*) Athens is not strong enough to do the Sicilians any harm, *b*) Athens is always at hand, powerful to redress their wrongs.

τοῖς ἄλλοις, scil. those of the Sicilians who had joined Athens.

ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, 'so as to put yourselves on a level with Syracuse.'

καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι, 'to plot in return against them, as they have plotted against you.' Cp. iii. 12 fin. *εἰ γὰρ δυνατοὶ ἦμεν ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου καὶ ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι καὶ ἀντιμελλῆσαι, τί ἔδει ἡμᾶς ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου ἐπ' ἐκείνοις*

εἶναι; and for the use of ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι cp. i. 33 fin. ἡμέτερον δ' αὖ ἔργον προτερῆσαι . . . καὶ προεπιβουλεύειν αὐτοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντεπιβουλεύειν. Where however ἀντεπιβουλεύειν, being contrasted with προεπιβουλεύειν, is represented as an undesirable, not as here a desirable, state. 87. 4. 5.

μεταλάβετε may be 1) 'take up a new policy,' cp. vi. 18 med. μὴ καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα ἐς τὸ ὁμοῖον μεταλήψεσθε: 2) 'share with the Syracusans in a policy of aggression;' 3) 'share with our other allies in a policy of active defence.' In the 2nd case μετα- is a repetition of ἀντι- in ἀντεπιβουλεῦσαι and of ἐκ τοῦ ὁμοίου, in the 3rd of ἐξισώσαντες τοῖς ἄλλοις.

οἱ δὲ Καμαριναῖοι ἐπεπόνθεσαν τοιόνδε· τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις εὖνοι ἦσαν, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον εἰ τὴν Σικελίαν ᾤοντο αὐτοὺς δουλώσεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ Συρακοσίοις ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ ὅμορον διάφοροι. 88. 3.

πλὴν καθ' ὅσον εἰ . . . ᾤοντο would be more naturally expressed πλὴν εἴ τι ᾤοντο. εἰ adds a further qualification to πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ᾤοντο, 'in so far as the Camarinaeans thought, if they did think,' or 'in as far as they may have thought, that the Athenians were going to enslave Sicily.' No exact parallel is quoted for this use of καθ' ὅσον εἰ. But such a pleonasm or reduplication, (cp. v. 76 fin. δύο λόγω . . . τὸν μέν, καθ' ὅ τι εἰ βούλονται πολεμεῖν, τὸν δ', ὡς εἰ εἰρήνην ἄγειν,) is more probable than the insertion, in all the MSS. (except a bad one (Lugd.) which reads καί) of εἰ, which Reiske here proposes to omit.

καὶ οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰ πεδία μᾶλλον τῶν Σικελῶν ὑπήκοοι ὄντες τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ πολλοὶ ἀφεστήκεσαν· τῶν δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν ἐχόντων αὐτόνομοι οὖσαι καὶ πρότερον ἀεὶ [αἱ] οἰκήσεις εὐθύς, πλὴν ὀλίγοι, μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦσαν. 88. 4.

ἀφεστήκεσαν, 'had taken their stand aloof,' i. e. stood aloof. Cp. vii. 7 med. ἀφεστήκει τοῦ πολέμου. That the word cannot mean 'had revolted,' is shown *a*) by the opposition of the following clause, τῶν δὲ τὴν μεσόγαιαν κ.τ.λ., *b*) by the comparison of vi. 103 med.: for there many of the Sicels are described as revolting from Syracuse for the first time. οἱ πολλοί has been corrected into οὐ πολλοί, but the emendation is unnecessary, and not οἱ μέν but the gen. τῶν μὲν πρὸς τὰ πεδία κ.τ.λ., would be required with οὐ πολλοί, though the nom. οἱ μέν may stand with οἱ πολλοί.

88. 4. *οἰκήσεις*, 'settlements,' lit. dwelling-places, as in i. 6 init. *διὰ τὰς ἀφράκτους οἰκήσεις*: Plato, Laws, 681 A, *τῶν οἰκήσεων τούτων μειζόνων αὐξανομένων ἐκ τῶν ἐλαττόνων καὶ πρώτων*. Bekker inserts the article before *οἰκήσεις*, which then governs *τῶν̓ . . . ἐχόντων*. But there still remains an awkwardness in the expression *αἱ οἰκήσεις μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἦσαν*. It is better *a*) with the MSS. to omit the article; *b*) to govern the genitive *τῶν . . . ἐχόντων* by the words *εὐθὺς πλὴν ὀλίγοι*, 'at once all but a few of the inland people;' (*πλὴν ὀλίγοι*='most,' *πάντες πλὴν ὀλίγοι*); and *c*) to take *αὐτόνομοι . . . οἰκήσεις* either as a nominative absolute, or in apposition with the main subject, 'nearly all of those who inhabited the mainland, having been always independent settlements, joined the Athenians.'

89. 2. *τῶν δ̓ ἡμῶν προγόνων τὴν προξενίαν ὑμῶν κατά τι ἔγκλημα ἀπειπόντων κ.τ.λ.*

ἡμῶν, the reading of all the MSS., has been altered, perhaps with reason, by Haacke, into *ἐμῶν*.

89. 3. *καὶ νῦν, εἴ τις καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ πάσχειν οὐκ εἰκότως ὠργίζετό μοι, μετὰ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς σκοπῶν ἀναπειθέσθω.*

καί is to be taken with *εἰ*, not with *τότε*.

89. 4. *τοῖς γὰρ τυράννοις ἀεί ποτε διάφοροί ἐσμεν· πᾶν δὲ τὸ ἐναντιούμενον τῷ δυναστεύοντι δῆμος ὠνόμασται· καὶ ἀπ̓ ἐκείνου ξυμπαρέμεινεν ἡ προστασία ἡμῖν τοῦ πλήθους.*

The championship of the people remained in the family of Alcibiades either 1) because, like the Lacedaemonians, they were always the enemies of tyrants, or 2) because the two ideas of enmity to tyrants, and sympathy with the people, were inseparable: for it is not clear whether *ἀπ̓ ἐκείνου* refers to the first or to the second clause. If to the first only, the second is parenthetical, and supplies a link in the argument. Or 3) *ἀπ̓ ἐκείνου* may refer to both the previous clauses. 'And for that reason,' i. e. 'because from time immemorial we have been adverse to tyrants, and the adversaries of tyrants are always called the popular party, our family have always been the leaders of the people.'

89. 5. *ἄλλοι δ̓ ἦσαν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πάλαι καὶ νῦν, οἳ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὄχλον· οἵπερ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐξήλασαν.*

Not merely members of the 'high aristocratical party' (Arnold), such as Thessalus the son of Cimon, who is said by Plutarch to have accused Alcibiades (Alc. xix. xxi.), but Peisander, Charicles (Andoc. De Myst. (i) 36), Androcles (Thuc. viii. 65 med.); and, in former times, Cleisthenes, Ephialtes, Cleon. **89. 5.**

ἡμεῖς δὲ τοῦ ξύμπαντος προέστημεν, δικαιοῦντες, ἐν ᾧ σχήματι μεγίστη ἡ πόλις ἐτύγχανε καὶ ἐλευθερωτάτη οὖσα, καὶ ὅπερ ἐδέξατό τις, τοῦτο ξυνδιασώζειν· (ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν γε καὶ ἐγιγνώσκομεν οἱ φρονοῦντές τι, καὶ αὐτὸς οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον, ὅσῳ καὶ λοιδορήσαιμι· ἀλλὰ περὶ ὁμολογουμένης ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἂν καινὸν λέγοιτο·) καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναι αὐτὴν οὐκ ἐδόκει ἡμῖν ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι, ὑμῶν πολεμίων προσκαθημένων. **89. 6.**

For ὅσῳ without μᾶλλον cp. infra c. 92 fin. *ὅσῳ τὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίων οἶδα, τὰ δ' ὑμέτερα ᾔκαζον.* Cp. also v. 90, 108. With λοιδορήσαιμι, ἄν must be supplied from *οὐδενὸς ἂν χεῖρον* (scil. *γιγνώσκοιμι*).

καὶ τὸ μεθιστάναι κ.τ.λ. *καί* goes back to *τοῦτο ξυνδιασώζειν.* *ἐπεὶ δημοκρατίαν . . . καινὸν λέγοιτο* is parenthetical.

εἰ μὴ ποιήσετε τάδε ἐν τάχει, στρατιάν τε ἐπὶ νεῶν πέμψετε . . . καὶ ἄνδρα Σπαρτιάτην ἄρχοντα. **91. 4.**

τέ is to be taken with *καί* following; *πέμψετε κ.τ.λ.* is an explanation of *ποιήσετε τάδε*, and there is an asyndeton similar to that in ii. 60 med. *καὶ μὴ ὃ νῦν ὑμεῖς δρᾶτε, . . . τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀφίεσθε.*

οἷς τε γὰρ ἡ χώρα κατεσκεύασται τὰ πολλὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς τὰ μὲν ληφθέντα τὰ δ' αὐτόματα ἥξει. **91. 7.**

I. e. the slaves, of whom more than 20,000 deserted, vii. 27 fin. Cp. Aristoph. Clouds, 5,—

οἱ δ' οἰκέται ῥέγκουσιν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἂν πρὸ τοῦ.
ἀπόλοιο δῆτ', ὦ πόλεμε, πολλῶν οὕνεκα,
ὅτ' οὐδὲ κολάσ' ἔξεστί μοι τοὺς οἰκέτας.

καὶ ὅσα ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ δικαστηρίων νῦν ὠφελοῦνται εὐθὺς ἀποστερήσονται, μάλιστα δὲ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων προσόδου ἧσσον διαφορουμένης. **91. 7.**

δικαστηρίων. While the citizens were constantly on active service and the country was deserted (vii. 28 init.) there would be less

91. 7. litigation; thus the state would lose a portion of the deposits and fines.

διαφορουμένης, either 1) being brought at regular intervals, or 2) being brought to Athens, *δια-* meaning 'from place to place.'

92. 4. *τό τε φιλόπολι οὐκ ἐν ᾧ ἀδικοῦμαι ἔχω, ἀλλ' ἐν ᾧ ἀσφαλῶς ἐπολιτεύθην. οὐδ' ἐπὶ πατρίδα οὖσαν ἔτι ἡγοῦμαι νῦν ἰέναι, πολὺ δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν οὐκ οὖσαν ἀνακτᾶσθαι.*

ἐν ᾧ, 'in that,' like *ἐν τούτῳ*, 'herein.'

Alcibiades is not saying that he was once a patriot and had now ceased to be one, but he claims or pretends to be still a patriot whose recollections are not of his wrongs but of the privileges and security which he desires to recover. It is therefore unnecessary to supply, after *ἀλλά*, *εἶχον* from *ἔχω*.

πατρίδα οὖσαν. Alcibiades is answering the objection that he, who was once a patriot, is now the enemy of his country: he answers that it is not his country, and that he is seeking to make it his country.

92. 4. *καὶ φιλόπολις οὗτος ὀρθῶς, οὐχ ὃς ἂν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσας μὴ ἐπίῃ, ἀλλ' ὃς ἂν ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου διὰ τὸ ἐπιθυμεῖν πειραθῇ αὐτὴν ἀναλαβεῖν.*

This argument is repeated by Isocrates in his speech written on behalf of the younger Alcibiades, De Bigis (xvi) 14 foll. He urges, *ex parte* fairly enough, that Alcibiades, in attacking his country when an exile, only did what the judges themselves had done when the city was in the hands of the Thirty. Cp. Xen. Hell. i. 4. 15, 17, who tells us what was said by one part of Athens, and by another part of Athens, on his return from exile in 407:—*ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ, ὑπὸ ἀμηχανίας δουλεύων, ἠναγκάσθη μὲν θεραπεύειν τοὺς ἐχθίστους, κινδυνεύων ἀεὶ παρ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀπολέσθαι· τοὺς δὲ οἰκειοτάτους, πολίτας τε καὶ ξυγγενεῖς, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἅπασαν ὁρῶν ἐξαμαρτάνουσαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως ὠφελοίη, φυγῇ ἀπειργόμενος... οἱ δὲ (ἔφασαν), ὅτι τῶν παροιχομένων αὐτοῖς κακῶν μόνος αἴτιος εἴη, τῶν τε φοβερῶν ὄντων τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι μόνος κινδυνεύσαι ἡγεμὼν καταστῆναι.*

93. 2. *καὶ Γύλιππον τὸν Κλεανδρίδου προστάξαντες ἄρχοντα τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, ἐκέλευον μετ' ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν Κορινθίων βουλευόμενον ποιεῖν ὅπη ἐκ τῶν παρόντων μάλιστα καὶ τάχιστά τις ὠφελία ἥξει τοῖς ἐκεῖ.*

There is a confusion in the words τοῖς Συρακοσίοις, which mean, **93. 2.**
a) the Syracusan people, of whom Gylippus was appointed commander, *b*) the Syracusan envoys with whom he was to act (μετ' ἐκείνων). Cp. i. 100 fin. ἐπὶ δὲ Στρυμόνα πέμψαντες μυρίους οἰκήτορας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων . . . τῶν μὲν Ἑννέα Ὁδῶν αὐτοὶ ἐκράτησαν, . . . προελθόντες δὲ . . . διεφθάρησαν ἐν Δραβήσκῳ τῇ Ἡδωνικῇ.

καὶ ὁ Θεσπιέων δῆμος ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς **95. 2.**
τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχουσιν οὐ κατέσχεν, ἀλλά, βοηθησάντων Θηβαίων, οἱ μὲν ξυνελήφθησαν, οἱ δ' ἐξέπεσον Ἀθήναζε.

οὐ κατέσχεν, scil. ὃ ἐβούλετο, to be supplied from the previous words, 'did not succeed in their design.'

Θηβαίων, though the majority of MSS. read Ἀθηναίων, is clearly required by the sense. For, although the Thespians might have been assisted by the Athenians, such a circumstance would not be mentioned incidentally, and they certainly were not driven out in consequence of receiving such assistance, as the order of the words would imply. The Thespians had suffered in the battle of Delium, in the service of Thebes (iv. 96 med.), and the Thebans basely took advantage of their misfortune to demolish their walls (iv. 133 init.). The government of Thespiae, at the time when the people rose against it, whether oligarchical or not, was clearly imposed upon them by Thebes.

Shortly before (Xen. Hell. vi. 3. 1. 5), or shortly after (Paus. ix. 13. 3, 14. 1), the battle of Leuctra, the Thespians, like the Plataeans, were finally expelled from the city. But in Isocr. Plat. (xiv.), written in 373, where the Thebans are described as demolishing the walls of several cities of Boeotia (§§ 21, 38), the lot of the Thespians is contrasted with that of the Plataeans (§ 10), whence Mr. Grote infers that, contrary to Xenophon's account, the severer measure of expulsion was not put in force against them before the battle of Leuctra. There was a standing enmity between Thebes and Thespiae, like that between Thebes and Plataea, and Thespiae, like Plataea, had refused submission to Persia, Herod. vii. 132.

ἐξήρτηται γὰρ τὸ ἄλλο χωρίον καὶ μέχρι τῆς πόλεως ἐπικλινές τέ ἐστι καὶ **96. 2.**
ἐπιφανὲς πᾶν εἴσω.

96. 2. The only danger was lest the enemy should ascend Epipolae by its unseen approaches. For the whole of Epipolae was elevated, lit. hung up, with the exception of the approaches; while the face towards the city was an inclined plane and exposed to view.

97. 1. *οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐξητάζοντο, καὶ ἔλαθον αὐτοὺς παντὶ ἤδη τῷ στρατεύματι ἐκ τῆς Κατάνης σχόντες κατὰ τὸν Λέοντα καλούμενον, ὃς ἀπέχει τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἑξ ἢ ἑπτὰ σταδίους, καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἀποβιβάσαντες, ταῖς τε ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν Θάψον καθορμισάμενοι.*

Thucydides begins by saying that the Athenians were holding their muster early in the morning, and at the same time as the Syracusans. He does not tell us where the muster was held. but it may be inferred from the context (see below), that Leon and not Catana was the place. He then goes back and informs the reader that the Athenians had already (*ἤδη*) sailed from Catana and landed near Leon, which they must have done on the preceding night. The mention of this movement is anticipated in the singular expression *ταύτης τῆς νυκτὸς τῇ ἐπιγιγνομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ*, i. e. on the day following the night which preceded the Syracusan review. The reference in *ταύτης τῆς νυκτός* is very harsh, but *a*) the preceding night is implied in the expression *ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ* (c. 96 fin.) describing the time of the Syracusan review, and *b*) the mention of the night is natural if the night movement of the Athenians was already in the writer's mind.

Thucydides is led to invert the order of his narrative for the sake of bringing into relation the Syracusan muster and the Athenian muster. Cp., for the pluperfect sense of the aorist, ii. 83. 3, where the same word *ἔλαθον* occurs, *καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθον νυκτὸς ὑφορμισάμενοι*, and note.

The order of the words might lead us to suppose that the Athenians mustered at Catana and went to Leon afterwards. But a fatal objection to this view of the passage is the time which would have been taken up if the voyage from Catana to Leon had followed instead of preceding the muster at daybreak. For it is clear that the Athenians reached the summit of Epipolae before the Syracusan muster was over. And the voyage could be made by night, but the muster would require daylight.

The Athenians landed at or near Leon, a place about a mile **97.** 1
from Epipolae and two or three miles from Thapsus, where they left their ships and sailors. The soldiers ran up the hill in a south west direction. Meanwhile the Syracusans were holding a review in the meadows by the river Anapus, which runs into the Great Harbour, being fully three miles distant from Leon and five or six from Thapsus; and entirely cut off from view by the intervening hill. When the Syracusans discovered the Athenians they were still three miles from them and had to run up hill. The Athenians gained the summit of Epipolae by the Euryelus, or 'broad knoll,' on the north side. The exact position of the Euryelus, the part of the hill by which Epipolae was ascended, and of Labdalum, the fort which the Athenians erected on the northern cliff of Epipolae, is unknown. The former has been supposed to be either Belvedere, the highest summit of Epipolae, or the rocky eminence nearer the city, a point now called Mongibellisi.

καὶ καταστήσαντες ἐν τῷ Λαβδάλῳ φυλακὴν ἐχώρουν πρὸς τὴν Συκῆν οἱ **98.** 2.
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵναπερ καθεζόμενοι ἐτείχισαν τὸν κύκλον διὰ τάχους. καὶ ἔκπληξιν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις παρέσχον τῷ τάχει τῆς οἰκοδομίας· καὶ ἐπεξελθόντες μάχην διενοοῦντο ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ μὴ περιορᾶν.

It is thought by Didot, Arnold, Grote, and others, that *κύκλος* in this and some other passages refers, not to the line of Athenian circumvallation, but to a circular fort, supposed to be built somewhere on the slope of Epipolae. The reasons which may be urged on behalf of this view are—

a) That the aorist here implies the completion of the work, whereas the Athenian line of circumvallation was now only beginning, and was never completed.

b) That the Athenians are said (vi. 101 init.) to carry their wall *ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου*, where the word *κύκλος* seems to mark a definite point.

c) That Nicias is said to be left 'in the circle' (c. 102 med.) *αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύκλον Νικίας διεκώλυσεν (ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑπολελειμμένος)*.

But to these reasons may be opposed far stronger ones :—

a) The meaning of the word *κύκλος*, which is used elsewhere in

98. 2. Thucydides in the sense of the circuit of a city wall (though not necessarily a complete circle); so twice of the walls of Athens, ii. 13 fin. *τοῦ Φαληρικοῦ τείχους στάδιοι ἦσαν πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα πρὸς τὸν κύκλον τοῦ ἄστεος, καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ φυλασσόμενον τρεῖς καὶ τεσσαράκοντα.*

b) Even if *κύκλος* could bear the sense of a circular fort, it is improbable that in the narrative of the same siege the same word would be used without explanation in two senses utterly different. But in vii. 2 fin. *τῷ δ' ἄλλῳ τοῦ κύκλου* the word can certainly have no other meaning than the line of circumvallation. The expression cannot be equivalent to *ἐτέρωθι τοῦ κύκλου.* And if *κύκλος* is not to be taken in the natural sense of the wall encircling the city, then the singular construction to which it is supposed to refer should have been minutely described, not obscurely alluded to or abruptly introduced.

c) The outwork of the *κύκλος* is described as a thousand feet in length, vi. 102 init. This description is intelligible if *κύκλος* here means the piece of the wall which the Athenians were engaged in building. To this, while being built, the *προτείχισμα* furnished a protection. Cp. the Syracusan palisades, vi. 99 med. But if the 'circular fort' be intended, what would have been the use of an outwork nearly a quarter of a mile in length?

(*d*) The terror of the Syracusans at the rapidity with which the Athenians advanced their works (described in this passage, *ἔκπληξιν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις παρεῖχον*) harmonizes better with the explanation of the *κύκλος* as a line of circumvallation.

The use of *κύκλος* in vi. 99 init. *καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ δὶ μὲν ἐτείχιζον τῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸ πρὸς βορέαν τοῦ κύκλου τεῖχος* is equally compatible with either explanation.

In answer to the arguments which have been urged for the view of Arnold and others it may be observed—

a) That there is no necessity to translate *ἐτείχισαν*, 'they completed,' but only, 'they built, the wall.' In a historical narrative the aorist can be applied to an imperfect and continuous act as well as the imperfect itself, though it cannot express its continuous and imperfect nature:—as in English, 'they built the wall' is consistent with the wall remaining unfinished, and and may be equivalent to

'they began to build the wall.' Cp. the use of the aorist in words 'like *ἐβασίλευσε, ἐτυράννευσε* ('came to the throne'), *ἦρξε* ('conquered'). 98. 2.

b) That the words *ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου* (101 init.) may mean, 'from the *κύκλος* as far as it was finished,' i. e. from the place where the Athenians had left off building the *κύκλος*. The work had been interrupted by the necessity of taking the Syracusan counter-wall; and they resumed it again at the point where it had been left off. Or from this spot the wall may have been no longer circular, but may have run over the cliff and across the marsh in a straight line.

c) Nicias may have been left 'inside the wall' if the original wall, like that part of it which ran from the cliff to the Great Harbour, was double. But this is a matter on which Thucydides is silent (see note on c. 103. 1). Or the words may refer to some temporary building which served as a *dépôt* for the workmen and soldiers.'

οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι οὐχ ἥκιστα Ἑρμοκράτους, τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐσηγησαμένου 99. 2.
μάχαις μὲν πανδημεὶ πρὸς Ἀθηναίους οὐκέτι ἐβούλοντο διακινδυνεύειν, ὑποτειχίζειν δὲ ἄμεινον ἐδόκει εἶναι, ἢ ἐκεῖνοι ἔμελλον ἄξειν τὸ τεῖχος, καί, εἰ φθάσειαν, ἀποκλήσεις γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα, καὶ ἐν τούτῳ, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, μέρος ἀντιπέμπειν αὐτοὺς τῆς στρατιᾶς, καὶ φθάνειν ἂν τοῖς σταυροῖς προκαταλαμβάνοντες τὰς ἐφόδους, ἐκείνους δὲ ἄν, πανομένους τοῦ ἔργου, πάντας ἂν πρὸς σφᾶς τρέπεσθαι.

1)* *γίγνεσθαι, φθάνειν ἄν*, are governed by some word like *ἐνόμιζον* = *ἐδόκει*, supplied from *ἄμεινον ἐδόκει εἶναι*. The subject of *φθάσειαν* will then be the Syracusans who, 'if they were first, would intercept the Athenians.'

Or 2) still supplying some word like *ἐνόμιζον* with *φθάνειν ἄν*, we may include *ἀποκλήσεις γίγνεσθαι* in the relative clause, repeating *ἔμελλον*, 'and where the Athenians, if they got before them, would cut them off;' *καὶ ἅμα ... ἀντιπέμπειν* then connects immediately with *ὑποτειχίζειν*.

The plural *ἀποκλήσεις* is used by association of ideas, because the attacks which were to be baffled might be made more than once. The wall or counter-wall would shut the enemy off whenever they attacked.

99. 2. *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ* should be taken together, and a comma placed after *ἅμα*. *καί* emphasizes *ἐν τούτῳ*, 'and if the Athenians attacked them even then,' i. e. while they, the Syracusans, were building the wall, and not themselves risking an engagement, 'they would send a part of their army to meet them.'

αὐτούς, the reading of all the MSS., although harsh, is capable of explanation. It may be taken as dependent on *ἄμεινον ἐδόκει εἶναι*, the slight emphasis on *αὐτούς* being accounted for by the change of subject from *ἐπιβοηθοῖεν*; 'it seemed to be better that they should themselves send.'

τὰς ἐφόδους appears to mean 1)* 'the attacks' of the Athenians, as in numerous other passages, cp. iv. 126 fin. *τοῖς τὴν πρώτην ἔφοδον δεξαμένοις*, etc., answering to *εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν* above. It has been explained 2) to mean, 'points by which the enemy could assail them,' a meaning which the word is capable of bearing, cp. iv. 129 fin. *Νικόστρατος δὲ ἄλλῃ ἐφόδῳ . . . ἐπιὼν τῷ λόφῳ*. But we are not certain that there were any special points of access. It is possible indeed if the counter-wall was constructed on the lower level of Neapolis (see next note), that the Athenians came down through passes in the southern cliff of Epipolae. But this is not expressly stated in the narrative of Thucydides.

ἐκείνους δὲ . . . πάντας ἂν πρὸς σφᾶς τρέπεσθαι. For the purpose of attack the whole Athenian army would be required; for the defence of the counter-wall, which was comparatively a small work, a few Syracusan soldiers would suffice, especially as they could run a palisade past the Athenian wall without waiting to complete the counter-wall itself.

99. 3. *ἐτείχιζον οὖν ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῆς σφετέρας πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι, κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἄγοντες, τάς τε ἐλάας ἐκκόπτοντες τοῦ Τεμένους καὶ πύργους ξυλίνους καθιστάντες.*

κάτωθεν τοῦ κύκλου. The counter-wall 1) was carried from a point below the Athenian wall of circumvallation, i. e. up the slope of Epipolae, or 2) it was constructed, as Arnold supposes, on the lower ground to the south east of Epipolae, between the cliffs and the marsh; afterwards occupied by the quarter called Neapolis.

ἡ δὲ ἄλλη στρατιὰ δίχα, ἡ μὲν μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου στρατηγοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν, εἰ ἐπιβοηθοῖεν, ἐχώρουν, ἡ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου πρὸς τὸ σταύρωμα τὸ παρὰ τὴν πυλίδα. 100. 1.

The movement of the second subdivision of the army (ἡ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου) is not clearly described. They went towards some 'stockade near the postern gate,' but whether the gate was in the cross-wall, or in the wall of the city, is not stated. Cp. v. 10 med. κατὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τὸ σταύρωμα πύλας.

καὶ τῶν Ἀργείων τινὲς αὐτόθι καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων οὐ πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν. 100. 3.

The division which took the cross-wall must have been joined in the attack or pursuit by troops belonging to one of the other two divisions of the army, if 'certain Argives' were among those who entered the Syracusan outworks and were slain. For the Argives who accompanied the expedition were hoplites (c. 43 med.), while the division which took the cross-wall consisted *a*) of Athenian hoplites, *b*) of light-armed troops furnished with heavy arms for the occasion. See Mr. Grote.

τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλου ἐτείχιζον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸν κρημνὸν τὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἕλους, ὃς τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ταύτῃ πρὸς τὸν μέγαν λιμένα ὁρᾷ, καὶ ᾗπερ αὐτοῖς βραχύτατον ἐγίγνετο καταβᾶσι διὰ τοῦ ὁμαλοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἕλους ἐς τὸν λιμένα τὸ περιτείχισμα. 101. 1.

ᾗπερ is connected by καί with τὸν κρημνόν:—ἐτείχιζον τὸν κρημνόν, καὶ ἐτείχιζον ᾗπερ. 'They carried their wall over the cliff, and along the line which was the nearest way to the harbour.'

καὶ τῶν Συρακοσίων οἱ μὲν τὸ δεξιὸν κέρας ἔχοντες πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τῷ εὐωνύμῳ παρὰ τὸν ποταμόν. 101. 4.

The Syracusans on the left wing wished to escape, not to the city, but to the Olympieum on the other side of the river.

καὶ προσπεσόντων αὐτῶν ξυνεφοβήθη καὶ ἡ πρώτη φυλὴ τοῦ κέρως. 101. 5.

The MSS. read φυλακή. See note on viii. 92. 4.

καὶ τούτους μὲν οἱ Συρακόσιοι εὐθὺς κατὰ τάχος φθάνουσιν ἁρπάσαντες πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλές· αὐτοὶ δέ, ἐπιόντος ἤδη καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου στρατεύματος τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἀπεχώρουν. 101. 6.

101. 6. *αὐτοί*, as opposed to the dead bodies, *τούτους*, an opposition which can hardly be retained in English; 'there they left the bodies, and themselves retreated before the advancing Athenians,' or 'they secured the bodies, but themselves had to retreat.' It is implied that the Syracusans, having carried off the dead, recrossed the river, and then retreated a second time.

102. 2. *αὐτὸν δὲ τὸν κύκλον Νικίας διεκώλυσεν· ἔτυχε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ δι' ἀσθένειαν ὑπολελειμμένος.*

Cp. note on vi. 98. 2 ad fin.

102. 4. *νομίσαντες μὴ ἂν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς παρούσης σφίσι δυνάμεως ἱκανοὶ γενέσθαι κωλῦσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τειχισμόν.*

Words such as *νομίζω, οἶμαι, λέγω*, seem to take *μή* as well as *οὐ* with the infinitive following, the subjective meaning of the verb being repeated by attraction in the particle. Cp. iv. 99, *νομίζοντες . . . οὐκ ἂν αὐτοὺς βίᾳ σφῶν κρατῆσαι αὐτῶν*: Xen. Symp. iv. 5, *ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ μάντεις λέγονται . . . ἑαυτοῖς μὴ προορᾶν τὸ ἐπιόν.*

103. 1. *ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν καὶ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἀρξάμενοι ἀπετείχιζον μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης τείχει διπλῷ τοὺς Συρακοσίους.*

It is not certain whether the Athenian wall was double above as well as below the southern cliff of Epipolae, probably not, for, if it had been, the labour of a great work would have been doubled. Yet no part of the wall is described as single. When Gylippus arrived the double wall is said to have been completed to a length of seven or eight stadia: the remainder, it is not said whether double or single, being finished only in places. A double wall was necessary on the lower ground, for there the Athenians were exposed to attack both from the Olympieum and from the city.

104. 2. *καὶ ὁ μὲν Γύλιππος ἐκ τοῦ Τάραντος ἐς τὴν Θουρίαν πρῶτον πρεσβευσάμενος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρός ποτε πολιτείαν κ.τ.λ.*

'Inasmuch as his father had formerly been a citizen there.' Cleandridas, the father of Gylippus, was banished from Sparta for receiving a bribe from Pericles, when acting as counsellor to King Pleistoanax in 445 (cp. Thuc. i. 114, ii. 21 init.) He retired to Thurii. (Plut. Pericl. xxii, Nic. xxviii, cp. Diod. xiii. 106.)

καὶ ἁρπασθεὶς ὑπ' ἀνέμου, κατὰ τὸν Τεριναῖον κόλπον, ὃς ἐκπνεῖ ταύτῃ **104. 2.**
μέγας, κατὰ βορέαν ἑστηκώς, ἀποφέρεται ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, καὶ πάλιν, χειμασθεὶς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα, τῷ Τάραντι προσμίσγει.

κατὰ τὸν Τεριναῖον κόλπον. The Terinaean Gulf, according to Pliny, H. N. iii. 72 (5, 10), was on the north-west side of the extreme point of Italy. But Gylippus was on the south-east side. Are we to suppose that the name once extended to the south-east as well as to the north-west coast? This is improbable, and it is quite impossible to suppose with Arnold that Gylippus could have been described as sailing κατὰ τὸν Τεριναῖον κόλπον, when he was divided from it by the land. We must suppose therefore 1) that there is a corruption in the text, probably arising out of an erroneous gloss, or 2) that either Thucydides or Pliny have made a mistake.

καὶ πολλάκις Ἀργείων κελευόντων ὅσον σχόντας μόνον ξὺν ὅπλοις ἐς τὴν **105. 2.**
Λακωνικὴν κ.τ.λ.

For ὅσον cp. note on iv. 16. 1, ὅσα μὴ ἀποβαίνοντας.

BOOK VII.

1. 2. *ἄλλως τε καὶ τῶν Ἀττικῶν τεσσάρων νεῶν οὔπω παρουσῶν ἐν τῷ Ῥηγίῳ ἃς ὁ Νικίας ὅμως, πυνθανόμενος αὐτοὺς ἐν Λοκροῖς εἶναι, ἀπέστειλε.*

As elsewhere *ὅμως* has a remote and somewhat obscure antecedent, cp. i. 105 fin., ii. 51 fin., iii. 28 fin., iii. 49 init., iii. 80 med., iv. 96 fin., v. 61 init., vi. 69 med., vi. 70 fin., viii. 97 init., 'which Nicias, notwithstanding his contempt for the squadron of Gylippus' (mentioned at the end of the previous book, vi. 104 fin.), 'nevertheless sent.'

1. 5. *καὶ ὁ μὲν Γύλιππος ἀναλαβὼν τῶν τε σφετέρων ναυτῶν καὶ ἐπιβατῶν τοὺς ὡπλισμένους, ἑπτακοσίους μάλιστα, Ἱμεραίους δὲ ὁπλίτας καὶ ψιλοὺς ξυναμφοτέρους χιλίους καὶ ἱππέας ἑκατόν, καὶ Σελινουντίων τέ τινας ψιλοὺς καὶ ἱππέας καὶ Γελῴων ὀλίγους, Σικελῶν τε ἐς χιλίους τοὺς πάντας, ἐχώρει πρὸς τὰς Συρακούσας.*

1) The whole army of Gylippus amounted to 2800 if we include the Selinuntians, Geloans, and Sicels in the 1000 who are last mentioned. Or if 2)* we refer the words *τοὺς πάντας* to the Sicels only, who were probably collected out of many tribes, then the number will be 2800, + a few light-armed and cavalry from Gela and Selinus.

2. 3. *καὶ οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι ἐπερῤῥώσθησάν τε καὶ τῷ Γυλίππῳ εὐθὺς παναστρατιᾷ ὡς ἀπαντησόμενοι ἐξῆλθον· ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ἐγγὺς ὄντα ᾐσθάνοντο αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ Γέτας τό τε τεῖχος ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ τῶν Σικελῶν ἑλών, καὶ ξυνταξάμενος ὡς ἐς μάχην, ἀφικνεῖται ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολάς.*

The MSS. present a variety of readings, *ὁ δὲ Ἰέγας τέ τι τεῖχος, ὁ δὲ Γέτας τὸ τεῖχος, ὁ δέ γε τὰ τότε τι τεῖχος, ὁ δέ γε τὸ τεῖχος*, etc. Some proper name seems to be contained in these words. The most probable correction is *ὁ δὲ Ἰέτας* (e conj.), or *Γέτας, τότε*, or *τότε τι*, or *τέ τι, τεῖχος*. *τότε* may refer 1) to the time when the Syracusans were expecting Gylippus, or 2) to the end of c. 1, 'now he, after marching forth as I have described,' cp. note on viii. 62. 3.

Between Γέρας and Ἴερας it is difficult to decide, but there is independent evidence in favour of Ἴερας. The Ietenses are mentioned by Pliny, iii. 91. (8, 14), the Ietini (if this conjecture for Letini be correct) by Cicero, Verr. iii. 43. 103. The name of a fortress, Ietae, is said by Stephanus Byzantinus to occur in Philistus. The close connection between ἑλών and ξυνταξάμενος would seem to show that the place referred to was near the Syracusan frontier. A tribe called Ἰαιτῖνοι are also mentioned by Diodorus (xxii. 10. 4, xxiii. 18. 5), but, as they dwelt in the neighbourhood of Panormus, they can have little or no connection with Ἰεταί, if Ἴερας be the true reading of this passage. 2. 3.

καὶ ἀναβὰς κατὰ τὸν Εὐρύηλον, ᾗπερ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ πρῶτον, ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων. 2. 3.

Gylippus coming from the interior of the country, as the Athenians had originally come in an opposite direction (vi. 97 med.) from Leon and the sea, still ascended, as they did, the cliffs of Epipolae by the knoll of Euryelus. The Syracusans appear to have received some previous communication from him (c. 2 med.). Thucydides describes the state of the Athenian lines at this point of the narrative, to explain how the Syracusans were able to get out of them, or Gylippus to make his way in. The description also prepares the way for the final countermove of the Syracusans (c. 6). The hilly character of the ground, which enabled him almost immediately on his arrival to take Labdalum (vii. 3 fin.), gave his appearance the nature of a surprise.

The exact point of the narrative at which Gylippus entered the city is not clearly stated. We cannot therefore be certain on which side of the Athenian wall the movements mentioned c. 2 fin., 3 init. took place. It is probable however that he entered before the first attack on the Athenian wall; (ἐχώρει μετὰ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐπὶ τὸ τείχισμα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, § 3.)

παρὰ τοσοῦτον μὲν Συράκουσαι ἦλθον κινδύνου. 2. 4.

Cp. note on iii. 49. 4.

ἦν δὲ οὐκ ἐπιφανὲς τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τὸ χωρίον. 3. 5.

Labdalum was not visible from the Athenian lines because

3. 5. (Holm, Geschichte v. Sicilien, vol. ii. p. 387) the further, or northern edge of Epipolae is less elevated than the central portion; which would thus obstruct the view.

3. 5. *καὶ τριήρης τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἁλίσκεται τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπὸ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμοῦσα τῷ λιμένι.*

τῷ λιμένι, 1) the Syracusan harbour inside the Great Harbour, compare vii. 4 med. *δι' ἐλάσσονος γὰρ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι τῷ τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐφορμήσειν σφᾶς, καὶ οὐχ, ὥσπερ νῦν, ἐκ μυχοῦ τοῦ λιμένος τὰς ἐπαναγωγὰς ποιήσεσθαι.* But the words may also mean 2) 'watching the mouth of the Great Harbour from the outside.'

Vat. H. read *τῷ μεγάλῳ λιμένι*, probably a gloss added by some one who adopted the second of these two explanations.

4. 1. *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐτείχιζον οἱ Συρακόσιοι καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι διὰ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀρξάμενοι ἄνω πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος ἁπλοῦν, ὅπως οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ μὴ δύναιντο κωλῦσαι, μηκέτι οἷοί τε ὦσιν ἀποτειχίσαι.*

The Syracusans, 'beginning at the city, carried a single line of wall over Epipolae at an angle (*πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον*) with the Athenian wall.' A similar wall is called *ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος*, vi. 99 fin. *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον* is to be taken adverbially, not with *τεῖχος*. For *τὸ ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος* can here bear no satisfactory meaning, and it would be difficult to supply *τεῖχος* a second time, either with *ἁπλοῦν* from *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον*, or with *πρὸς τὸ ἐγκάρσιον* from *ἁπλοῦν*.

ἄνω, either 1)* 'upwards,' or 2) 'on the higher ground,' if *κατώθεν* in vi. 99. 3, see note, be taken to mean 'on the lower level.'

Hitherto the Syracusans had attempted to cross the Athenian wall nearer its southern extremity. They now made a similar attempt to the north of the Athenian line, which was successful.

4. 2. *καὶ οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἀναβεβήκεσαν ἤδη ἄνω τὸ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τεῖχος ἐπιτελέσαντες, καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος, ἦν γάρ τι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις τοῦ τείχους ἀσθενές, νυκτὸς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπῆει πρὸς αὐτό. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, ἔτυχον γὰρ ἔξω αὐλιζόμενοι, ὡς ἤσθοντο, ἀντεπῆεσαν.*

τε—καί. No sooner had the Athenians gone up, than Gylippus attacked their wall; i. e. the wall on the lower ground which they had just left.

ἔξω, outside their own lines, i. e. in the interval between the 4. 2.
Athenian wall of circumvallation and the Syracusan city wall.

τῷ τε γὰρ ὕδατι σπανίῳ χρώμενοι καὶ οὐκ ἐγγύθεν, καὶ ἐπὶ φρυγανισμὸν 4. 6.
ἅμα ὁπότε ἐξέλθοιεν οἱ ναῦται, ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων τῶν Συρακοσίων κρατούντων
τῆς γῆς διεφθείροντο.

τῷ ὕδατι σπανίῳ χρώμενοι is subordinate to ὁπότε ἐξέλθοιεν, 'whenever the sailors went out, which they had to do frequently, *a*) because their supply of water was scanty, *b*) for firewood.'

τῆς γὰρ ἵππου καὶ τῶν ἀκοντιστῶν τὴν ὠφελίαν τῇ τάξει ἐντὸς λίαν τῶν 5. 3.
τειχῶν ποιήσας ἀφελέσθαι.

τῇ τάξει, dative of instrument; ποιήσας, scil. αὐτήν.

ὡς τῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ οὐκ ἔλασσον ἔξοντας, τῇ δὲ γνώμῃ οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἐσό- 5. 4.
μενον εἰ μὴ ἀξιώσουσι κ.τ.λ.

τῇ γνώμῃ is to be taken, not with ἀνεκτόν, but with ἀξιώσουσι.

καὶ ὁ Γύλιππος τοὺς μὲν ὁπλίτας ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον 6. 2.
προεξαγαγὼν ξυνέμισγεν αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ.

We must suppose an interval between the end of the Athenian wall and the counter-wall sufficient for the two armies to fight in. The Syracusans are drawn up in front of their own counter-wall, and the Athenians advance out of their lines to meet them. In the previous engagement Gylippus placed his forces where they were cooped up between the Athenian wall, the counter-wall, and the city wall; probably stationing the cavalry and javelin-men in the most disadvantageous position of all, on his own left wing, opposite the Athenian right: (although this is not expressly stated.) He now led his whole force further out and placed the horsemen and javelin-men on his right wing opposite to the enemy's left, on the open ground of Epipolae, where they could freely move about and manœuvre.

καὶ ξυνετείχισαν τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς Συρακοσίοις μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους. 7. 1

The words seem to mean 1) that the crews of the Corinthian ships assisted in the completion of the Syracusan wall, which,

7. 1. though finished at the point where it passed the wall of the Athenians, may have been only half finished up to that point: cp. the manner of building the first counter-wall, vi. 99 med. ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος will then mean either the wall of the Athenians, so called because it crossed the Syracusan wall at an angle; or the portion of the Syracusan cross-wall which had actually passed the Athenian wall. Or 2) the Syracusans in fortifying their camps outside the city (c. 43 med.) may have protected them by a wall running parallel with the unfinished Athenian line, and at right angles with the Syracusan cross-wall (ἐγκάρσιον τεῖχος). And this may have been the wall which the Syracusans and their allies were jointly engaged in completing. This however is merely a conjecture, as nothing is elsewhere said of such a wall.

3) Mr. Grote is of opinion that the wall which the Corinthian allies assisted in raising was really another wall coming down from the heights of Epipolae to meet the original counter-wall (μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους). The existence of such a wall he infers from the account of the night attack upon Epipolae, vii. 42, 43.

But *a*) it seems strange that Thucydides should leave so much to be gathered from the context. Without previous explanation he would be for the first time obscurely indicating a new and most important Syracusan work of defence.

b) The work would have been nearly or quite as long as the Athenian wall of circumvallation itself, and would have required a large army to guard it. The only use of the supposed wall would have been to preserve the communication between the city and the fort on the Euryelus, vii. 43 med. But the extent of the work seems out of proportion to the advantage gained. The Syracusans maintained a detached fort on the Olympieum, why not then on the Euryelus?

c) According to Mr. Grote, the Syracusans, instead of prolonging the line of the cross-wall, would have brought another line of wall from a point a mile and a half or two miles distant to meet it: but this is very improbable in itself, and must, if intended, have been more fully described than by the words μέχρι τοῦ ἐγκαρσίου τείχους.

d) In the account of the night attack on Epipolae there is nothing 7. 1.
which justifies Mr. Grote's supposition, but rather the contrary, for there is no mention of any wall extending from the city to the Euryelus, but only *a*) of a fort on the Euryelus, which the Athenians first took, and *b*) of three fortified camps lower down (c. 43 med.). Had the *παρατείχισμα* (c. 42 fin.) really extended to the fort on the Euryelus, it would have been necessary, for the sake of clearness, to mention the fact in c. 42 fin., c. 43 med. Now in c. 42 fin. Demosthenes is expressly said to plan an attack on the *παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ᾧ ἐκώλυσαν περιτειχίσαι σφᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.* Thus the *παρατείχισμα* is identified with the counter-work of vii. 4 and 6. But the words *ᾧ ἐκώλυσαν περιτειχίσαι κ.τ.λ.*, would be a singular mode of describing a wall which had been elongated two or three times its original length, and now reached to the top of Epipolae and to the Euryelus. And again in c. 43 med. the taking of the *τείχισμα* and the *παρατείχισμα* are spoken of as two distinct operations. But if the fort on the Euryelus had really been connected with the city by a long wall, the possession of one would have implied the possession of the other. Moreover the alarm would have been described as running along the wall, as well as being carried by the guards into the city. And it would have been a useless waste of time to pull the battlement off the wall (c. 43) when having taken the adjoining *τείχισμα* the Athenians could have got round it at any time. Both in the advance and in the retreat of the Athenians, the supposed wall must have been of the greatest importance. The silence of Thucydides respecting the wall, if it existed, makes the whole narrative of c. 43 unintelligible.

4) The omission of the word *μέχρι*, though hardly justifiable against the authority of the MSS., would give an easier reading. The meaning would then be, 'They assisted the Syracusans in completing the cross-wall.' We have been told that it had been carried on past the Athenian line of circumvallation; and it may have been necessary either to strengthen an unfinished previous portion, or to carry it on to some further point, such as the edge of the cliffs, at which it could not be turned. We may argue, as Mr. Grote argues respecting the first counter-wall (Appendix on the siege of

7. 1. Syracuse), that, unless the cross-wall was thus protected, there would be no difficulty in getting round it, or necessity for attacking it in front; at any rate there would be no difficulty sufficient to justify the strong words of Thucydides who says, that, if the cross-wall were not taken, 'whether the Athenians were victors or vanquished in the field would make no difference to them,' cp. 6 med. *ταὐτὸν ἤδη ἐποίει αὐτοῖς νικᾶν τε μαχομένοις διὰ παντὸς καὶ μηδὲ μάχεσθαι*, and 6 fin. *εἰ καὶ κρατοῖεν κ.τ.λ.* And we may reply with Holm (vol. ii. p. 390) that, even if such a wall were not carried on to a point at which it could not be turned, it would still be necessary for the enemy, not merely to get behind it, but either to capture and demolish it, or to overtake and work round it, either of which would be almost impossible; especially as the cross-wall would be of such a width to form a fort which could be defended, and from which the builders of the wall of circumvallation could easily be attacked. But this is a matter on which Thucydides is silent (see further note on c. 42. 4.) Whether the wall was carried up to the cliff or not, it was at any rate such as to destroy all hope of taking the city unless it were first taken, cp. c. 11 fin. *ὥστε μὴ εἶναι ἔτι περιτειχίσαι αὐτούς, ἢν μή τις τὸ παρατείχισμα τοῦτο πολλῇ στρατιᾷ ἐπελθὼν ἕλῃ.*

7. 3. *πρέσβεις τε ἄλλοι τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ Κορινθίων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα καὶ Κόρινθον ἀπεστάλησαν, ὅπως στρατιὰ ἔτι περαιωθῇ τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐν ὁλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ, ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιμεταπεμπομένων.*

1) *προχωρῇ* is to be taken both with *ᾧ ἄν* and *ὅπως ἄν*. The sentence fully written would have run *τρόπῳ ᾧ ἂν ἐν ὁλκάσιν ἢ πλοίοις προχωρῇ, ἢ ἄλλως ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ*. Or 2) *προχωρῇ* may be repeated after *ὅπως ἄν,—ὅπως ἂν προχωρῇ, προχωρῇ*.

πλοῖα. *a*) in a general sense, 'vessels.' *b*) in a more special sense, 'large boats' or 'barges.' In the second sense *πλοῖα* are distinguished from *ὁλκάδες*, 'merchant vessels,' as well as from triremes, 'long' or 'swift' ships. Cp. vii. 23 init. *ὅσοι καὶ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα καὶ ὁλκάδα τινὰ κατέφυγον*, and Xen. (?) De Rep. Ath. i. 20, *ἐμελέτησαν δὲ οἱ μὲν πλοῖον κυβερνῶντες, οἱ δὲ ὁλκάδα, οἱ δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ τριήρη κατέστησαν.*

ὡς καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ. These words seem to anticipate the despatch of Nicias, mentioned in the next chapter. 7. 3.

ὁ δὲ Νικίας ... ἔπεμπε καὶ αὐτὸς ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας. 8. 1.

As the Syracusans were sending to Sparta and Corinth, Nicias too sent to Athens.

ὁ δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς μᾶλλον ἤδη ἔχων ἢ δι' ἐκουσίων κινδύνων ἐπεμελεῖτο, 8. 3.

1) δι' ἐκουσίων κινδύνων may be taken *a*) directly with ἐπεμελεῖτο, or *b*) with ἔχων, supplied from διὰ φυλακῆς ἔχων, which governs τὰ κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον. The reading in the text, which is adopted by Poppo, depends on two MSS., Vat. H. (which also omit τά before κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον). 'He now, instead of going out of his way to run risks, kept his army on the defensive, and watched carefully over it.' ἐπεμελεῖτο, scil. τῶν κατὰ τὸ στρατόπεδον.

The majority of MSS. 2) omit μᾶλλον, and either have ἤδη for ἢ δι', or omit the three letters altogether. The latter reading may possibly be correct, 'he now, taking care to guard his army against self-incurred dangers, watched carefully over it.' ἐκουσίων κινδύνων is then dependent on φυλακῆς. But whether ἐκουσίων κινδύνων be taken with φυλακῆς, or, as might be suggested, with ἐπεμελεῖτο, the Greek is poor.

3) Some of the older editors and one corrected MS. (Cass.) omit μᾶλλον with most of the MSS., but read ἢ δι' with Vat. and H. And this may be the true reading. For the omission of μᾶλλον before ἤ cp. iii. 23 fin. ἄπηλιώτου ἢ βορέου, and vii. 49 init. ταῖς γοῦν ναυσὶν ἢ πρότερον θαρσήσει κρατηθείς.

ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τελευτῶντι καὶ Εὐετίων στρατηγὸς Ἀθηναίων μετὰ Περδίκκου στρατεύσας ἐπ' Ἀμφίπολιν Θρᾳξὶ πολλοῖς τὴν μὲν πόλιν οὐκ εἷλεν. 9.

The last time that Perdiccas was mentioned, vi. 7 fin. about eighteen months before, he was the enemy of the Athenians. But his desertion of the Lacedaemonians may be accounted for by the devastation of his lands, and the refusal of the Chalcidians to aid him, there described. His changes during the war were so numerous that Thucydides, as it seems, has forgotten to chronicle one of them.

11. 3. *νῦν οὖν ἡμεῖς μὲν παυσάμενοι τοῦ περιτειχισμοῦ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐναντίων ἡσυχάζομεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ξυμπάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ δυναίμεθ' ἂν χρήσεσθαι, ἀπαναλωκυίας τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν τειχῶν μέρος τι τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ κ.τ.λ.*

οὐδὲ γάρ. Either 1)* 'for, besides their general superiority in numbers, neither could we use our whole force,' or 2) 'for we could not even use our whole force,' i. e. if we took active measures; cp. infra § 4, *ξυμβέβηκέ τε πολιορκεῖν δοκοῦντας ἡμᾶς ἄλλους αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον, ὅσα γε κατὰ γῆν, τοῦτο πάσχειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τοὺς ἱππέας ἐξερχόμεθα.*

12. 3. *νῦν δὲ αἵ τε νῆες* **διάβροχοι** *τοσοῦτον χρόνον ἤδη θαλασσεύουσαι κ.τ.λ.*

Either 1)* 'saturated and heavy with moisture,' or 2) *διαβρόχοι*, 'letting the water through, leaky.'

13. 2. *τῶν ναυτῶν τῶν μὲν διὰ φρυγανισμὸν καὶ ἁρπαγὴν καὶ ὑδρείαν μακρὰν ὑπὸ τῶν ἱππέων ἀπολλυμένων· οἱ δὲ θεράποντες, ἐπειδὴ ἐς ἀντίπαλα καθεστήκαμεν, αὐτομόλοῦσι, καὶ οἱ ξένοι οἱ μὲν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἐσβάντες εὐθὺς κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ἀποχωροῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ μεγάλου μισθοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐπαρθέντες καὶ οἰόμενοι χρηματιεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ μαχεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ γνώμην ναυτικόν τε δὴ καὶ τἄλλα ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀνθεστῶτα ὁρῶσιν, οἱ μὲν* **ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει** *ἀπέρχονται, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἕκαστοι δύνανται· πολλὴ δ' ἡ Σικελία.*

τῶν ναυτῶν τῶν μέν. δέ in *οἱ δὲ θεράποντες* answers to *μέν*; although strictly speaking the *θεράποντες* are not *ναῦται*, they seem to be reckoned as such, unless we may read, though against the authority of the MSS., *τῶν ναυτῶν μέν*, omitting the second *τῶν*.

ἐπ' αὐτομολίας προφάσει: 1)* some left the fleet finding an excuse for desertion, others (not deserters) slipped away as they could. That this is the opposition intended is clear from the clause which follows, *πολλὴ δ' ἡ Σικελία*—the runaways go, not to the enemy in Syracuse, but to some other city of Sicily. The literal rendering of the phrase is not, 'making desertion their excuse,' which would be absurd, but, *a*) 'making a deserter's excuse,' 'the excuse which desertion makes' (*αὐτομολίας*, gen. of subject), cp. *πενίας ἐλπίδι*, ii. 42 med., or *b*) 'making an excuse for desertion.'

Mr. Grote 2) thinks that the words may mean, 'some of them depart under profession of being deserters to the enemy,' and that they denote, what a man said, not before he left the Athenian

camp, but at the time of his addressing himself to the enemy. The fatal objection to this explanation is that the word *αὐτομολία*, like 'desertion' in English, has reference not to the enemy, but to the army from which a man deserts; the primary meaning is 'desertion from a man's own side,' not 'desertion to some one else.' 13. 2.

3) Poppo (ed. min. suggests that *αὐτομολίας* may be the accusative plural. But *ἐπ' αὐτομολίας ἀπέρχονται* is a poor expression, and *προφάσει* has little or no meaning.

4) *προφάσει* has been taken for *αἰτίᾳ*, as in i. 23 fin. *τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἀληθεστάτην πρόφασιν, ἀφανεστάτην δὲ λόγῳ.* But the substitution of *αἰτίᾳ* for *προφάσει* here would give a weak sense.

ὅτι βραχεῖα ἀκμὴ πληρώματος, καὶ ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν οἱ ἐξορμῶντές τε ναῦν καὶ ξυνέχοντες τὴν εἰρεσίαν. 14. 1.

βραχεῖα ἀκμή κ.τ.λ. Either 1)* 'the prime of a crew is short-lived:' or 2) 'the efficient part of a crew is small.' Classen argues that the latter explanation is required by the following words *ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν κ.τ.λ.*, which are then a repetition in the concrete of what has been already stated in the abstract.

ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν. Either 1) generally, 'few sailors,' the article referring to *πληρώματος* preceding, or 2)* referring to *ναῦν*, 'few of the sailors in the ship:' in either case *ὀλίγοι τῶν ναυτῶν* is the predicate.

χαλεπαὶ γὰρ αἱ ὑμέτεραι φύσεις ἄρχειν. 14. 2.

Cp. Aristoph. Peace, 607,—

τὰς φύσεις ὑμῶν δεδοικὼς καὶ τὸν αὐτοδαῆ τρόπον.

καὶ ὅτι, οὐδ' ὁπόθεν ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα τὰς ναῦς ἔχομεν, ὃ τοῖς πολεμίοις πολλαχόθεν ὑπάρχει, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοντες ἤλθομεν τά τε ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα γίγνεσθαι, αἱ γὰρ νῦν οὖσαι πόλεις ξύμμαχοι ἀδύνατοι, Νάξος καὶ Κατάνη. εἰ δὲ προσγενήσεται ἓν ἔτι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ὥστε τὰ τρέφοντα ἡμᾶς χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας . . . πρὸς ἐκείνους χωρῆσαι, διαπολεμήσεται αὐτοῖς ἀμαχεὶ ἐκπολιορκηθέντων ἡμῶν ὁ πόλεμος. 14. 2.

The words *ἀνάγκη ἀφ' ὧν ἔχοντες κ.τ.λ.* are incorrectly opposed by *ἀλλά* to the less general statement, *οὐδ' ὁπόθεν ἐπιπληρωσόμεθα κ.τ.λ.* 'We cannot even recruit our crews (*πληρώματα*), but our consumption (both in men and provisions) must be furnished out of the

14. 2. supplies which we brought with us, and these are our only store.' Or giving a slightly different turn to the sentence, 'The remains of what we brought with us is all that we have, and from this store our consumption must come' (*γίγνεσθαι*). Men must be included in these words, as the context shows; but the neuter words *τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα* can hardly refer to men only. There is also a logical flaw in the passage. For it would appear from what follows, *εἰ δὲ προσγενήσεται ἔν ἔτι κ.τ.λ.*, that under the words *τὰ ὄντα καὶ ἀπαναλισκόμενα* (men and stores) the provisions which the Athenians obtained from Italy are not included. 'We have nothing but what we brought with us, and our supplies from Italy may also fail.'

For *διαπολεμήσεται* see note on c. 25. 9.

15. 2. *ὡς τῶν πολεμίων τὰ μὲν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δι' ὀλίγου πορισμένων, τὰ δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου σχολαίτερον μέν, ὅμως δ', ἢν μὴ προσέχητε τὴν γνώμην, τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, τὰ δὲ φθήσονται.*

τὰ δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου, partly acc. of the remote object after *λήσουσιν, φθήσονται*: partly also acc. after *πορισμένων* supplied with *σχολαίτερον*. The writer passes from the participle to the finite verb. *τὰ μὲν λήσουσιν, τὰ δὲ φθήσονται*, are subdivisions of the second clause, *τὰ δ' ἐκ Πελοποννήσου κ.τ.λ.*

Although Nicias appears to find fault with the authorities at home, he was himself chiefly to blame for the arrival of these ships in Sicily. Cp. vi. 104 fin., vii. 1 med., 7 init.

19. 2. *ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ Δεκέλεια σταδίους μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλεως εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, παραπλήσιον δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῷ πλέον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτίας.*

καί, as often in such expressions, = 'or,' cp. v. 74 init. *καὶ ἡ μὲν μάχη τοιαύτη καὶ ὅ τι ἐγγύτατα τούτων ἐγένετο.* For the geographical difficulty see Introduction on the Geography of Thucydides.

20. 1. *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἅμα [τῆς] Δεκελείας τῷ τειχισμῷ καὶ τοῦ ἤρος εὐθὺς ἀρχομένου περί τε Πελοπόννησον ναῦς τριάκοντα ἔστειλαν καὶ Χαρικλέα τὸν Ἀπολλοδώρου ἄρχοντα, ᾧ εἴρητο καὶ ἐς Ἄργος ἀφικομένῳ κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν παρακαλεῖν Ἀργείων τε ὁπλίτας ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς, καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν, ὥσπερ ἔμελλον, ἀπέστελλον κ.τ.λ.*

τέ after Ἀργείων has no corresponding clause, either expressed, or implied in the words which follow. The harshness is veiled by the juxtaposition of καὶ τὸν Δημοσθένην, with which however τέ is in sense unconnected. (See note on i. 9. 3. § 3.) 20. 1.

ξυνέπειθε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἑρμοκράτης οὐχ ἥκιστα τοῦ ταῖς ναυσὶ μὴ ἀθυμεῖν ἐπιχειρήσειν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. 21. 3.

τοῦ, which is omitted in several MSS., though in none of the first rank, may be explained, 1) with Arnold, as a genitive of purpose; or 2) on the analogy of ξυναίρεσθαι (iv. 10 init.), ξυνεπιλαμβάνεσθαι (vi. 70 init., viii. 26 init., cp. also note on iii. 36. 2), as a genitive expressing the idea of a common object to which the persuasion of Hermocrates contributed (Classen).

καὶ πρὸς ἄνδρας τολμηροὺς οἵους καὶ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἀντιτολμῶντας χαλεπωτάτους αὐτοῖς φαίνεσθαι. 21. 3.

οἵους καὶ Ἀθηναίους = οἷοι καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶεν. καί as in ὥσπερ καί, cp. note on v. 13. 1.

ᾧ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς πέλας, οὐ δυνάμει ἔστιν ὅτε προὔχοντες, τῷ δὲ θράσει ἐπιχειροῦντες, καταφόβοῦσι, καὶ σφᾶς ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοίως τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὑποσχεῖν. 21. 3.

ᾧ . . , τὸ αὐτό. The quality, or more precisely the audacity (θράσος), with which the Athenians terrified their enemies, they, the Syracusans, would likewise exhibit towards (lit. 'present to') the Athenians. For σφᾶς see note on iv. 36. 1.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὰ δύο τειχίσματα ἡλίσκετο, ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Συρακόσιοι ἐτύγχανον ἤδη νικώμενοι. 23. 2.

καί. Either 1) 'the Syracusans also who had previously been conquerors;' or 'the Syracusans in their turn;' or 2) καί points out the connection of the two clauses ἐπειδή κ.τ.λ. and ἐν τούτῳ κ.τ.λ., 'at the time when the forts were being taken, the Syracusans were also being defeated.'

καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὅσον ἐκ τριῶν νεῶν οὓς ἐζώγρησαν. 23. 4.

23. 4. Either *ὅσον* and *οὗς* are pleonastic: or we may supply a general idea such as *ἦν* after *ὅσον*: cp. viii. 70 init. *καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, εὐχαῖς καὶ θυσίαις καθιστάμενοι ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐχρήσαντο.*

25. 1. *πρέσβεις ἄγουσα, οἵπερ τὰ σφέτερα φράσωσιν . . . καὶ ἐποτρύνωσι.*

οἵπερ=*ὅπως*, like 'qui' in Latin, a usage of which this seems to be a solitary instance in Attic Greek. Perhaps we should read *ὅπως* with Vat. H., or *φράσουσιν* with Aug. In the latter case *ἐποτρύνωσι* which follows must be explained as an anacoluthon.

25. 6. *ναῦν μυριοφόρον.*

A vessel of ten thousand talents. That a talent is the measure to be supplied is probable from the use of the same standard in several other places. Herod. i. 194. 5, ii. 96. 7, Thuc. iv. 118. 5 (Arn.) Such a vessel would be about 250 tons burden.

25. 6. *ἔκ τε τῶν ἀκάτων ὤνεμον ἀναδούμενοι ταὺς σταυροὺς καὶ ἀνέκλων.*

ἀνέκλων, either 1) 'bent or forced them out of their place,' or 2) 'broke them off.' The word need not necessarily mean 'break,' as may be seen by the following examples: Eur. Or. 1471,—

ὤμοις ἀριστεροῖσιν ἀνακλάσας δέρην:

Lucian. de Gymn. 7, *ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνακεκλασμένη.* If 1) be adopted, *ἀνέκλων* will be distinguished from *ὤνεμον* only as the result from the process. The same ambiguity occurs in ii. 76 fin. *ἄλλας δὲ (μηχανὰς) ἄλλῃ τοῦ τείχους, ἃς βρόχους τε περιβάλλοντες ἀνέκλων οἱ Πλαταιῆς κ.τ.λ.*

25. 9. *ἀγγέλλοντας τήν τε τοῦ Ἡμμυρίου λῆψιν, καὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας πέρι, ὡς οὐ τῶν πολεμίων ἰσχύϊ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ταραχῇ ἡσσηθεῖεν, τά τε ἄλλα αὖ δηλώσοντας ὅτι ἐν ἐλπίσιν εἰσί, καὶ ἀξιώσοντας ξυμβοηθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς.*

Either 1) against the Athenians and their allies understood from *πολεμίων*; or 2) to the assistance of the Syracusans. Cp. note on i. 116. 3. But according to 2) *σφᾶς* would be more regular.

25. 9. *καί, ἢν φθάσωσιν αὐτοὶ πρότερον διαφθείραντες τὸ παρὸν στράτευμα αὐτῶν, διαπολεμησόμενον.*

διαπολεμησόμενον (not *διαπεπολεμησόμενον* which is found in the

Vat., and with a trifling variation, *-ων* for *-ον*, in H. and adopted by Bekker) is probably the true reading. The simple future gives a sufficient sense, and the use of the middle in a passive sense may be defended by *πολεμήσεται*, viii. 43 med., *πολεμήσονται*, i. 68 fin., and by c. 14. 3 (quoted above), where most MSS. have *διαπολεμήσεται*. **25.** 9.

καὶ ὁ μὲν Δημοσθένης εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ ξυγκατέλαβε τὸ χωρίον, ἐπέπλει ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας. **26.** 3.

ξυγκατέλαβε, 'when he had assisted Charicles in occupying the position.'

ἐπέπλει is the reading of nearly every MS. H. has *παρέπλει*, Vat. *ἐπιπαρέπλει*. For *ἐπι-* meaning 'to,' without any connotation of 'against,' or hostility, cp. note on iv. 60. 2.

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ Δεκέλεια τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὑπὸ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐν τῷ θέρει τούτῳ τειχισθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ φρουραῖς ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων κατὰ διαδοχὴν χρόνου ἐπιούσαις τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπῳκεῖτο, πολλὰ ἔβλαπτε τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. **27.** 3.

1) The clauses connected by *μέν—δέ* are not quite parallel. The construction is changed, and the participle, *τειχισθεῖσα*, passes into the finite verb, *ἐπῳκεῖτο*. Cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 5.

Or 2) the two clauses *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον . . . τειχισθεῖσα, ὕστερον δὲ φρουραῖς . . . ἐπιούσαις*, though in different constructions, answer to one another, and are both subordinate to *ἐπῳκεῖτο*.

τῇ χώρᾳ is best taken, not with *ἐπιούσαις*, but with *ἐπῳκεῖτο*. 'For when Decelea was occupied to the annoyance of the country,' etc.

τότε δὲ ξυνεχῶς ἐπικαθημένων, καὶ ὁτὲ μὲν καὶ πλεόνων ἐπιόντων, ὁτὲ δ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τῆς ἴσης φρουρᾶς καταθεούσης τε τὴν χώραν καὶ λῃστείας ποιουμένης κ.τ.λ. **27.** 4.

ἴσης, lit. 'the same as before,' is opposed to *πλεόνων*, and thus comes to mean the regular or ordinary garrison, opposed to the larger army which the Lacedaemonians sent from time to time. Both are subordinate in sense to *ξυνεχῶς ἐπικαθημένων*. 'The Lacedaemonians were always there; sometimes with a smaller, sometimes with a larger army.'

καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ πόλις εἶναι φρούριον κατέστη. **28.** 1.

28. 1. Cp. Aristoph. Lysistr. 555 (acted in 411),—

ΠΡΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ. *τί ποιησάσας;*

ΛΥΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΗ. *ἣν παύσωμεν πρώτιστον μὲν ξὺν ὅπλοισιν ἀγοράζοντας καὶ μαινομένους.* ΓΥΝΗ. *νὴ τὴν Παφίαν Ἀφροδίτην.*

ΛΥ. *νῦν μὲν γὰρ δὴ κἀν ταῖσι χύτραις κἀν τοῖς λαχάνοισιν ὁμοίως περιέρχονται κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν ξὺν ὅπλοις ὥσπερ Κορύβαντες.*

ΠΡΟ. *νὴ Δία· χρὴ γὰρ τοὺς ἀνδρείους.* ΛΥ. *καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα γέλοιον, ὅταν ἀσπίδ' ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις κἄτ' ὠνῆται κορακίνους.*

28. 2. *πρὸς γὰρ τῇ ἐπάλξει τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν κατὰ διαδοχὴν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φυλάσσοντες, τὴν δὲ νύκτα καὶ ξύμπαντες, πλὴν τῶν ἱππέων, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὅπλοις ποιούμενοι, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦ τείχους, καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος ἐταλαιπωροῦντο.*

ποιούμενοι, scil. *τὴν φυλακήν*. Vat. and H. read, not *ποιούμενοι*, but *πού*, which is out of place, and sounds more like Plato than Thucydides.

28. 3. *τὸ γὰρ αὐτοὺς πολιορκουμένους ἐπιτειχισμῷ ὑπὸ Πελοποννησίων μηδ' ὡς ἀποστῆναι ἐκ Σικελίας, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ Συρακούσας τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀντιπολιορκεῖν, πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτήν γε καθ' αὑτὴν τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ τὸν παράλογον τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τόλμης, ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου οἱ μὲν ἐνιαυτόν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ τριῶν γε ἐτῶν, οὐδεὶς πλείω χρόνον, ἐνόμιζον περιοίσειν αὐτούς, εἰ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐσβάλοιεν ἐς τὴν χώραν, ὥστε ἔτει ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἐσβολὴν ἦλθον ἐς Σικελίαν, ἤδη τῷ πολέμῳ κατὰ πάντα τετρυχωμένοι, καὶ πόλεμον οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω προσανείλοντο τοῦ πρότερον ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ Πελοποννήσου.*

There is no main verb in this sentence. Thucydides probably meant to wind up with some such expression as *πάνυ ἄτοπον* or *ἀνέλπιστον ἦν*, but in this, as in other discursive passages, the latter end has forgotten the beginning; the concluding words *ὥστε ἔτει . . . ἐκ Πελοποννήσου* having the appearance of an inference from an independent statement, the writer is led to omit the real conclusion. To take so long a sentence either as an explanation of what has preceded, or as an exclamation, would be extremely harsh.

αὐτῆς γε καθ' αὑτήν is to be supplied with *τῶν Ἀθηναίων (πολέως)* from *πόλιν οὐδὲν ἐλάσσω αὐτήν γε καθ' αὑτήν*. The comparison is between Syracuse as a mere city and Athens as a mere city without Attica or her empire. 'If the two cities taken by themselves are compared.'

τοσοῦτον ποιῆσαι . . . ὅσον κατ' ἀρχὰς . . . ἐνόμιζον, . . . ὥστε ἔτει ἑπτα- 28. 3.
καιδεκάτῳ. ὅσον and ὥστε both follow τοσοῦτον, although they are grammatically incompatible. ὅσον expresses the measure of the παράλογος; τοσοῦτον ὅσον='to a degree which may be measured by the fact that.' 'Creating an impression so' (or 'in so great a degree) contradictory to the opinion entertained in Hellas of their power and daring, that the rest of the Hellenes at first thought them likely to survive only a year, or two, or at most three years, no one for a longer period; and that' (or 'whereas) seventeen years after the first invasion of Attica,' etc. The whole sentence ὥστε ἔτει κ.τ.λ. is dependent on τοσοῦτον, to which ὅσον is subordinated. The writer might have said either τοσοῦτον ὅσον κατ' ἀρχάς κ.τ.λ. . . . οἱ δὲ ἔτει ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ, or τοσοῦτον ὥστε κατ' ἀρχάς κ.τ.λ. . . . οἱ δὲ ἔτει ἑπτακαιδεκάτῳ. The complexity of the sentence is caused by the attempt to combine the two. The 'great surprise' (τοσοῦτον ὅσον) consisted, not merely in the general anticipation of Hellas, but in the contrast of it with the actual fact. For ὅσον cp. iv. 108 med. ἐψευσμένοις μὲν τῆς Ἀθηναίων δυνάμεως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὅση ὕστερον διεφάνη.

καὶ τὴν εἰκοστὴν ὑπὸ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον τῶν κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀντὶ τοῦ 28. 4.
φόρου τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐποίησαν, πλείω νομίζοντες ἂν σφίσι χρήματα οὕτω προσιέναι.

It is evident, as Boeckh (Staatshaush. i. p. 432 n., 440) remarks, that this five per cent. duty was collected, not at the Piraeus, but at the harbours of the subject states. How long this method of collecting the revenue continued we cannot tell. It may at once have proved a failure. On the one hand, Xen. Hell. i. 3. 9 (about 409 B.C.), we find the town of Chalcedon again paying tribute:—
καὶ ὅρκους ἔλαβον καὶ ἔδοσαν παρὰ Φαρναβάζου, ὑποτελεῖν τὸν φόρον Χαλκηδονίους Ἀθηναίοις, ὅσονπερ εἰώθεσαν, καὶ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα χρήματα ἀποδοῦναι.
On the other hand, mention occurs in Aristoph. Frogs 362 (acted 405) of an εἰκοστόλογος,—

ἢ τἀπόῤῥητ' ἀποπέμπει
ἐξ Αἰγίνης Θωρυκίων ὤν, εἰκοστολόγος κακοδαίμων.

But the εἰκοστή here spoken of may be a special impost confined to Aegina and perhaps the neighbouring islands (see Boeckh, Staatshaush. ii. p. 588).

28. 4. Two points strike us as remarkable respecting this impost: *a*) that a five per cent. duty on the commerce in Greek waters should have produced more than 1200 talents: *b*) the extreme difficulty of collecting such a revenue, and the number of officers which would be required for it.

29. 1. *καὶ εἰπόντες ἅμα ἐν τῷ παράπλῳ . . . καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤν τι δύνηται, ἀπ' αὐτῶν βλάψαι.*

ἀπό has a more lively and casual meaning than *διά* or *ὑπό*, 'to get anything out of them which he could in the way of damage to the enemy.'

29. 3. *τῇ πόλει προσέκειτο οὔσῃ οὐ μεγάλῃ.*

It is clear that *οὐ* must be introduced from the Vatican MS. and H. For at the end of c. 30 it is implied that the town was not large, *ὡς ἐπὶ μεγέθει.*

29. 4. *τὸ γὰρ γένος τὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν ὁμοῖα τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ, ἐν ᾧ ἂν θαρσήσῃ, φονικώτατόν ἐστι.*

1)* There may be a confusion of two expressions, 'are the bloodiest of barbarians,' and 'are as bloody as the worst barbarians.' Or 2) 'the Thracians, like the worst barbarians, are most bloody when they feel themselves secure.' See note on English text.

29. 5. *καὶ ξυμφορὰ τῇ πόλει πάσῃ οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων μᾶλλον ἑτέρας ἀδόκητός τε ἐπέπεσεν αὕτη καὶ δεινή.*

μᾶλλον ἑτέρας is not connected with *οὐδεμιᾶς ἥσσων*, but with *ἀδόκητός τε καὶ δεινή*. Thucydides means to say that the massacre of the children was a calamity which by its nature inflicted a blow upon the whole city, and that it was as great as any on record; and lest this last expression should seem exaggerated, he adds, by way of explanation, that it was more sudden and more horrible than any other. That the words are not a mere general reflection on the fate of the city is shown by their connection with the preceding description implied in *ξυμφορὰ αὕτη*, and by the occurrence of such a reflection at the end of the next chapter.

30. 2. *τῶν τε ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις, ὡς ἑώρων τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ, ὁρμισάντων ἔξω τοξεύματος τὰ πλοῖα.*

ἔξω τοξεύματος (although the reading of only two MSS., one being H.) is clearly to be preferred to the unmeaning ἔξω τοῦ ζεύγματος. **30.** 2.

τῶν δὲ Μυκαλησσίων μέρος τι ἀπαναλώθη, **30.** 3.

μέρος τι, 'a considerable portion.' For the strength of the expression cp. i. 23 med. καὶ ἡ οὐχ ἥκιστα βλάψασα καὶ μέρος τι φθείρασα ἡ λοιμώδης νόσος.

ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης τότε ἀποπλέων ἐπὶ τῆς Κερκύρας μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Λακω- **31.** 1. νικῆς τείχισιν, ὁλκάδα ὁρμοῦσαν ἐν Φειᾷ τῇ Ἠλείων ἐν ᾗ οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὁπλῖται ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν ἔμελλον περαιοῦσθαι, αὐτὴν μὲν διαφθείρει κ.τ.λ.

οἱ Κορίνθιοι ὁπλῖται, i. e. 'some of the Corinthian hoplites.' The article is inserted because the Corinthian hoplites as a body have been already mentioned (c. 17, 19), but that in this passage the whole body is not intended is sufficiently clear from the context, for they were not all on board a single ship.

ἀγγέλλων ὅτι αἱ πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι νῆες τῶν Κορινθίων αἱ σφίσιν ἀνθορ- **31.** 4. μοῦσαι οὔτε καταλύουσι τὸν πόλεμον, ναυμαχεῖν τε μέλλουσι.

καταλύειν τὸν πόλεμον is said like καταλύειν τὸν βίον, τὴν φυλακήν, 'do not abate their hostile attitude.' The phrase is generally used of a formal peace, but this is accidental. The meaning of the word in itself is the same, though the association gathered from the context may be different.

ναυμαχεῖν τε μέλλουσι, 'but mean to fight,' or take the offensive; not a mere repetition of the previous words.

ὅπως μὴ διαφήσουσι τοὺς πολεμίους. **32.** 1.

διαφήσουσι has been unnecessarily corrected by Dobree into διαφρήσουσιν, supported by Aristoph. Birds 193,—

τῶν μηρίων τὴν κνῖσαν οὐ διαφρήσετε.

But a parallel passage or a more lively expression are not sufficient reasons for changing the reading of the MSS. And it is not certain that διαφρήσουσι would apply to 'letting through by negligence' equally with διαφήσουσιν.

καὶ τοὺς Μεταποντίους πείσαντες κατὰ τὸ ξυμμαχικὸν ἀκοντιστάς τε **33.** 5.

33. 5. *ξυμπέμπειν τριακοσίους καὶ τριήρεις δύο καὶ ἀναλαβόντες ταῦτα παρέπλευσαν ἐς Θουρίαν.*

ταῦτα, though harsh, is probably the true reading, and not *αὐτάς* (Vat. and corr. H.) The latter would imply that the three hundred javelin-men were placed on board the two triremes, but there would not have been sufficient room for them in addition to the rowers.

34. 6. *οἱ μὲν γὰρ Κορίνθιοι καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι πρὸς τῇ γῇ ναυμαχοῦντες κἀὶ διεσώζοντο.*

'Fighting close to the land, were in consequence saved.' *καί* emphasizes the connection between *πρὸς τῇ γῇ* and *διεσώζοντο*.

34. 7. *καὶ νομίσαντες δι' αὐτὸ οὐχ ἡσσᾶσθαι δι' ὅπερ οὐδ' οἱ ἕτεροι νικᾶν. οἵ τε γὰρ Κορίνθιοι ἡγήσαντο κρατεῖν εἰ μὴ [καὶ] πολὺ ἐκρατοῦντο, οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐνόμιζον ἡσσᾶσθαι ὅτι οὐ πολὺ ἐνίκων.*

The Corinthians raised a trophy because, while they acknowledged the battle to have been drawn (*νομίσαντες κ.τ.λ.*), they also thought that the avoidance of defeat on their part was equivalent to a victory.

δι' αὐτό is emphatic, 'for the very reason for which.' It refers, not to what precedes, but to what follows, and corresponds to *δι' ὅπερ*. Cp. Xen. Mem. iii. 10. 14, *εἴρηκας, ἔφη, αὐτὸ δι' ὅπερ ἔγωγε τὰ ἐμὰ ἔργα πλείστου ἄξια νομίζω εἶναι*: Dem. in Steph. A. (xlv) 61, *δικάσειν γὰρ ὀμωμόκατε ὑμεῖς οὐ περὶ ὧν ἂν ὁ φεύγων ἀξιοῖ, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὧν ἂν ἡ δίωξις ᾖ.*

36. 1. *οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι ἐν τούτῳ πυνθανόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίπλουν αὖθις ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποπειρᾶσαι ἐβούλοντο καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ παρασκευῇ τοῦ πεζοῦ, ἥνπερ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο, πρὶν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοὺς φθάσαι βουλόμενοι, ξυνέλεγον.*

The Syracusans had two objects in obtaining reinforcements, *a*) that they might have a trial of strength, *ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο*, scil. *ἀποπειρᾶσαι*, *b*) that if possible the trial of strength should take place before the Athenian reinforcements arrived (*πρὶν ἐλθεῖν φθάσαι βουλόμενοι*), these words being a resumption or explanation in detail of *ἀποπειρᾶσαι ἐβούλοντο*. For the latter motive cp. c. 25 fin. *ξυνέλεγον*, 'had been collecting.' For the imperfect, expressing duration of time in the abstract, cp. note on v. 50. 3.

καὶ τὰς πρώρας τῶν νεῶν ξυντεμόντες ἐς ἔλασσον στεριφωτέρας ἐποίησαν, καὶ τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐπέθεσαν ταῖς πρώραις παχείας, καὶ ἀντήριδας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὑπέτειναν πρὸς τοὺς τοίχους ὡς ἐπὶ ἓξ πήχεις ἐντός τε καὶ ἔξωθεν· ὥπερ τρόπῳ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ Ναυπάκτῳ ναῦς ἐπισκευασάμενοι πρώραθεν ἐναυμάχουν. 36. 1.

The prows of the vessels were cut down and made broader, and the ἐπωτίδες, or ear-caps, shortened. These were thick beams which projected obliquely (like horns) on either side of the prow, and were supported by stays, ἀντήριδες, altogether twelve cubits in length, which ran from the under or inner surface of the ἐπωτίδες, through the side of the ship, and were made fast inside the hull. They appear to have been used to crush in or to rip up the sides of an enemy's prow, when the beaks of the two vessels did not actually meet, cp. c. 34 med., ἀντίπρωροι ἐμβαλλόμεναι καὶ ἀναῤῥαγεῖσαι τὰς παρεξειρεσίας ὑπὸ τῶν Κορινθίων νεῶν, ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο παχυτέρας τὰς ἐπωτίδας ἐχουσῶν. For figures of the ἐπωτίδες and ἀντήριδες see Graser, De Veterum Re Navali, tab. ii, iii. The words of the present passage, ὡς ἐπὶ ἓξ πήχεις ἐντός τε καὶ ἔξωθεν, might of themselves mean that the ἀντήριδες were six cubits or nine feet long altogether; but the size and proportions of the ancient trireme prove that the meaning is 'six cubits inside, and six outside the ship's side:' Graser, Philologus, 1871, p. 35, n.

It is remarkable that this rather obvious device is ascribed, not to the Athenians, but to the Corinthians, vi. 34 med., who were themselves the first regular naval architects, and the first builders of triremes, i. 13 init.

ἀντίπρωροι γὰρ ταῖς ἐμβολαῖς χρώμενοι ἀναῤῥῆξειν τὰ πρώραθεν αὐτοῖς στερίφοις καὶ παχέσι, πρὸς κοῖλα καὶ ἀσθενῆ παρέχοντες, τοῖς ἐμβόλοις. 36. 3.

στερίφοις καὶ παχέσι . . . τοῖς ἐμβόλοις, dative of instrument after ἀναῤῥῆξειν. παρέχοντες, scil. τὰ ἔμβολα. With their stout and solid beaks, which they would present against the hollow and weak ones of the Athenians. The punctuation here adopted brings out the construction. The reading of Vat., παίοντες, is obviously a conjecture.

τῇ τε πρότερον ἀμαθίᾳ τῶν κυβερνητῶν δοκούσῃ εἶναι τὸ ἀντίπρωρον ξυγκροῦσαι μάλιστ' ἂν αὐτοὶ χρήσασθαι. 36. 5.

36. 5. *ξυγκρούσει*, the reading of the majority of the MSS., has been rightly altered into *ξυγκροῦσαι*.

For the so called 'accusative of reference' cp. note on ii. 87. 1.

36. 6. *προσπίπτοντας ἀλλήλοις ταράξεσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ ἔβλαπτε μάλιστα τοὺς Ἀθηναίους.*

καί, 'which actually proved most detrimental to the Athenians.'

36. 6. *περιπλεῦσαι δὲ ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν, σφῶν ἐχόντων τὴν ἐπίπλευσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ πελάγους τε καὶ ἀνάκρουσιν, οὐ δυνήσεσθαι αὐτούς, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Ἱλλημμυρίου πολεμίου τε αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου καὶ τοῦ στόματος οὐ μεγάλου ὄντος τοῦ λιμένος.*

Thucydides has explained in the earlier part of the chapter that the Syracusans would not hesitate to charge beak to beak, because they would be exposed to no danger from the ordinary manœuvres of the enemy (*διέκπλους*, *περίπλους*, and *ἀνάκρουσις*). For the Syracusans themselves would take care to prevent the *διέκπλους*; the *περίπλους* could not be executed in a confined space: and the Athenians could only back (*ἀνακρούειν*) into the small part of the harbour which was occupied by their own encampment. He now adds that they could not take advantage of the open sea in order to sail round the Syracusan ships before striking (*περίπλους*), because the mouth of the harbour was in the hands of their enemies.

ἀνάκρουσις, from the simple meaning of backing water, has acquired the technical meaning of backing with a view to striking. *ἐπίπλευσιν*, *ἀνάκρουσιν*, which are included under the same article, seem to be two parts of the same movement. The Syracusans, having command of the entrance to the harbour, could charge the enemy's vessel from the open sea, and retire in order to make the charge.

37. 1. *τοιαῦτα οἱ Συρακόσιοι πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιστήμην τε καὶ δύναμιν ἐπινοήσαντες κ.τ.λ.*

I. e. having adapted their ships to a direct attack rather than to the manœuvres in which the Athenians excelled.

37. 2. *καὶ τὸν μὲν πεζὸν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Γύλιππος προεξ-*

ἀγαγὼν προσῆγε τῷ τείχει τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καθ' ὅσον πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῦ ἑώρα. 37. 2.

καθ' ὅσον κ.τ.λ. means the side of the wall facing Syracuse. The inner side of the wall would probably be attacked by Gylippus either on the heights (if the Athenians still retained their lines there) or lower down, or both, and the other side by the troops from the Olympieum, on the lower ground near the marsh. *αὐτοῦ*, scil. *τοῦ τείχους*, to be joined with *καθ' ὅσον*.

οὐδέτεροι δυνάμενοι ἄξιόν τι λόγου παραλαβεῖν, εἰ μὴ ναῦν μίαν ἢ δύο τῶν Ἀθηναίων οἱ Συρακόσιοι καταδύσαντες, διεκρίθησαν. 38. 1.

παραλαβεῖν, scil. *ἀπ' ἀλλήλων*.

καταδύσαντες is dependent on *ἄξιόν τι παρέλαβον* understood, 'except in so far as the Syracusans gained an advantage by sinking one or two ships of the Athenians.'

διαλειπούσας δὲ τὰς ὁλκάδας ὅσον δύο πλέθρα ἀπ' ἀλλήλων κατέστησεν. 38. 3.

The merchant vessels were anchored at the entrance of the palisade or temporary Athenian dock, leaving an interval of about 200 feet. There were probably several such vessels, and several entrances. It is not easy to understand how an interval of about 200 feet can have been commanded by the dolphins. But may we not suppose that, although this was the space between the merchant vessels which were drawn up in front of the palisade, nevertheless the passage was narrowed by a portion of the palisade itself, which left on either side only sufficient room for a trireme to pass where the dolphins were placed? This explanation agrees fairly with the text, though not perfectly suitable to the words *διὰ τῶν ὁλκάδων* in c. 41. The descriptions of Thucydides are graphic, but not always clear, sometimes owing to the omission of some small point which he does not perceive to be necessary for the comprehension of the whole description. The dolphin (cp. c. 41) was suddenly let down from a crane placed on their decks upon a ship passing near, and struck with such effect on the light frame of the trireme as to sink it. The manner of its action is well explained by two verses which the Scholiast on Aristophanes, Knights, 761, cites

38. 3. out of Pherecrates; the lines as emended by Meineke are as follows:—

ὁ δὲ δὴ δελφίς ἐστι μολιβδοῦς δελφινοφόρος τε κεροῦχος
ὃς διακόψει τοὔδαφος αὐτῶν ἐμπίπτων καὶ καταδύων.

Compare also the more lively language of Aristophanes himself, l. c.,—

ἀλλὰ φυλάττου, καὶ πρὶν ἐκεῖνον προσικέσθαι σου, πρότερον σὺ
τοὺς δελφῖνας μετεωρίζου καὶ τὴν ἄκατον παραβάλλου.

Graser (§ 82) thinks that the dolphin was attached to the crane from which it was let down in such a manner that it could be drawn up after sinking an enemy's ship and used again.

40. 4. *ἔπειτα οὐκ ἐδόκει τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν διαμέλλοντας κόπῳ ἁλίσκεσθαι.*

ἁλίσκεσθαι='to be overcome' (by sleep, toil, deceit) with an association of suddenness or unconsciousness.

ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν may go either with *διαμέλλοντας*, 'through a delay which was their own fault' (cp. vi. 37 fin. *οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱππέων ἐξιόντες*), or with *ἁλίσκεσθαι*, or with both.

40. 5. *πολὺ δ' ἔτι μείζω οἱ ἐν τοῖς λεπτοῖς πλοίοις περιπλέοντες τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ἔς τε τοὺς ταρσοὺς ὑποπίπτοντες τῶν πολεμίων νεῶν καὶ ἐς τὰ πλάγια παραπλέοντες καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς ναύτας ἀκοντίζοντες.*

ταρσούς, either 1)* the blades of the oars, or 2) the whole broadside; cp. Polyb. xvi. 3. 12, *αὐτὸς μὲν ἥμαρτε τοῦ τρῶσαι, παραπεσὼν δὲ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέβαλε τὸν δεξιὸν ταρσὸν τῆς νεώς. ἐξ αὐτῶν*, scil. *ἐκ τῶν πλοίων.*

42. 2. *καὶ τοῖς μὲν Συρακοσίοις καὶ ξυμμάχοις κατάπληξις ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα οὐκ ὀλίγη ἐγένετο, εἰ πέρας μηδὲν ἔσται σφίσι τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοῦ κινδύνου, ὁρῶντες οὔτε διὰ τὴν Δεκέλειαν τειχιζομένην οὐδὲν ἧσσον στρατὸν ἴσον καὶ παραπλήσιον τῷ προτέρῳ ἐπεληλυθότα, τήν τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων δύναμιν πανταχόσε πολλὴν φαινομένην.*

τοῦ ἀπαλλαγῆναι, explanatory gen., 'no end in the way of deliverance from.' Cp. Dem. in Boeot. (xl.) 49, *τί γὰρ ἂν ἦν πέρας ἡμῖν τοῦ διαλυθῆναι;*

οὔτε . . . οὐδὲν ἧσσον, 'not on that account a whit the less.' *οὔτε*, resumed by *οὐδέν*, answers to *τέ* which follows.

νομίσας οὐχ οἷόν τε εἶναι διατρίβειν, οὐδὲ παθεῖν ὅπερ ὁ Νικίας 42. 3.
ἔπαθεν κ.τ.λ.

παθεῖν=δεῖν παθεῖν.

. καὶ ὁρῶν τὸ παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, ᾧ ἐκώλυσαν περιτειχίσαι 42. 4.
σφᾶς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ἁπλοῦν τε ὂν καί, εἰ ἐπικρατήσειέ τις τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν
τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ αὖθις τοῦ ἐν αὐταῖς στρατοπέδου, ῥᾳδίως ἂν αὐτὸ ληφθέν,
(οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑπομεῖναι ἂν σφᾶς οὐδένα,) ἠπείγετο ἐπιθέσθαι τῇ πείρᾳ.

The object of the night attack on Epipolae was to capture by a surprise, and from the further end, the Syracusan cross-wall which Demosthenes had failed to take by an open assault in front. The details are obscure, owing to our ignorance of the point at which the cross-wall terminated. That it did not, as Mr. Grote supposes, extend to the fort which the Syracusans had erected on or near the Euryelus has been sufficiently shown in the note on vii. 7. 1. Whether it reached the northern cliff of Epipolae at a nearer point we are not informed (see the same note, ad fin.) If it did, the Athenian army must still have taken it in front, and would have had only the advantage of a surprise. If it did not, their object must have been to get round it and attack it from behind, or from both sides. This supposition harmonizes better *a*) with the assumption which Demosthenes seems to make, that the capture of the *τείχισμα* would involve the capture of the cross-wall, c. 42 fin. *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ὑπομεῖναι σφᾶς οὐδένα*, *b*) with the cursory manner in which Thucydides mentions the capture of the cross-wall, as if it were a task of no difficulty, 43. 5, *ἄλλοι δέ κ.τ.λ.* *c*) with the forward movement of the Athenians described in the words immediately preceding, *καὶ αὐτοί μεν κ.τ.λ.* The movement must have taken place on the northern side of the Syracusan counter-wall to be of any importance; and yet, as the narrative shows, it must have commenced before the cross-wall was actually taken. How could this have been, if the wall ran as far as the northern cliff?

The above argument supposes the Euyrelus to have been Belvedere, the knoll at the summit of Epipolae. But, if with Holm, we assume the Euryelus to have been Mongibellisi, nearer the city, the Syracusan cross-wall may have reached the northern cliff beyond it. So that the Athenians, when they ascended by the Euryelus, would be within the cross-wall.

43. 2. *τοὺς λιθολόγους καὶ τέκτονας πάντας λαβὼν καὶ ἄλλην παρασκευὴν τοξευμάτων τε καὶ ὅσα ἔδει, ἣν κρατῶσι, τειχίζοντας ἔχειν.*

The place of *τοξεύματα* between carpenters and siege implements affords no reason for doubting the reading. Archers were more needed in a siege than in a battle.

43. 4. *οἱ δὲ πλείους διαφυγόντες εὐθὺς πρὸς τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν τρία [ἐν προτειχίσμασιν] κ.τ.λ.*

The reading *ἐν προτειχίσμασιν* after *τρία*, which would mean 'in the midst of outworks,' whether those of the city or those of the three camps themselves, although read by Vat. and H., has too little MS. authority to support it, and is probably a gloss taken from *ἐκ τῶν προτειχισμάτων* in § 6 infra. The camps were probably behind the counter-wall.

43. 5. *καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν εὐθὺς ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν, ὅπως τῇ παρούσῃ ὁρμῇ τοῦ περαίνεσθαι ὧν ἕνεκα ἦλθον μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρατείχισμα τῶν Συρακοσίων, οὐχ ὑπομενόντων τῶν φυλάκων, ᾕρουν τε καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἀπέσυρον.*

τοῦ περαίνεσθαι, 'that while the impetus to accomplish their work continued in them,' either 1)* 'they might make a quick end of it;' or 2) giving a feebler sense to *μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται* = *ὑστερήσωνται*, 'they might not flag in the execution of it,' (Schol.). The gen. *τοῦ περαίνεσθαι* is to be taken with *μὴ βραδεῖς γένωνται*, as well as with *τῇ παρούσῃ ὁρμῇ*.

τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης παρατείχισμα, 1)* a periphrastic expression for 'the first part of the *παρατείχισμα*:' cp. *ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα*, c. 37 med. For *τῆς πρώτης* cp. *τοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης ἐχθροῦ*, iii. 40 fin.: *ἀπὸ πρώτης*, i. 77 med.: *τὴν πρώτην*, Herod. i. 153. 6, iii. 134. 8: Dem. Olynth. iii. 2. In such cases words like *μοίρας*, *ἐφόδου*, or *ὁρμῆς*, have been sometimes supplied. But it is better, instead of supplying substantives which are never present to the mind, and sometimes interfere with the sense, to regard the adverbial use in *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης* and the like expressions as appropriate to the feminine no less than to the neuter. Or as Lobeck observes (Paralipomena, p. 363), the omission may have been confined at first to simpler phrases, *τὴν μέσην ὁδεύειν*, *μακρὰν πεμφθῆναι*, in which the word omitted was readily

supplied, and in later Greek, the usage, having become familiar, was more widely applied, without any thought of the word supposed to be understood. 'Quis enim, si legerit *ἀπ' εὐθείας φιλοσοφεῖν*, Plut. Symp. i. 4. 8; *τὴν εὐθεῖαν συνειπεῖν τινι*, Vit. Cic. vii; *ἐξ ὀρθῆς ἀνακρίνειν*, Polyb. xv. 27; *τὴν ἄλλως ἀδολεσχεῖν*, v, Bergler ad Alciphr. i. Ep. 19, his igitur et similibus locis quis aut *μοῖρα* aut *τύχη* aut *πρᾶξις* aut *ὁδός* aptum esse credat?' Language, like childhood, is imitative and superficial; and often by a natural instinct catches up and reproduces a form of expression without regard to its exact meaning. In the use of a word or phrase, its origin is forgotten. 43. 5.

οἵ τε Ἀθηναῖοι ἐζήτουν τε σφᾶς αὐτούς, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἐναντίον, καὶ εἰ φίλιον εἴη τῶν ἤδη πάλιν φευγόντων, πολέμιον ἐνόμιζον. 44. 4.

1) 'Even though they were friends, belonging to those who were already in flight,' or 2) 'being some of those who were already in flight.' *εἴη* is to be construed both with *φίλιον* and with *τῶν φευγόντων*: *τῶν ... φευγόντων* being a further description of *φίλιον*. The gen. is either 1) possessive, or 2) partitive.

ὥστ', εἰ μὲν ἐντύχοιέν τισι κρείσσους ὄντες τῶν πολεμίων, διέφευγον αὐτοὺς ἅτε ἐκείνων ἐπιστάμενοι τὸ ξύνθημα, εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ μὴ ὑποκρίνοιντο, διεφθείροντο. 44. 5.

ἐντύχοιεν, scil. the Athenians; *διέφευγον*, scil. the Syracusans.

καὶ διωκόμενοι κατά τε τῶν κρημνῶν οἱ πολλοὶ ῥίπτοντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀπώλλυντο, στενῆς οὔσης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἐπιπολῶν πάλιν καταβάσεως. 44. 8.

οἱ πολλοί = *οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν ἀπολλυμένων*. If the greater part of the army engaged in the attempt had been intended, some stronger expression than *ἀπέθανον οὐκ ὀλίγοι* would have been used in 45. 2.

ὅπως ὑπαγάγοιτο τὴν πόλιν. 46.

'That he might manage (*ὑπο-*) to draw over the city to their side.' The want of an instance in which a rare word takes a sense etymologically suited to it, but not elsewhere found, is no reason for changing the reading against all the MSS. into the more commonplace *ἐπαγάγοιτο*. Cp. the use of *ὑποκρίνεσθαι* for *ἀποκρίνεσθαι*,

46. in c. 44 med. supra. In iii. 63. 2 however *ὑπάγεσθαι*, although the reading of nearly every MS., cannot be maintained. See note.

47. 2. *νόσῳ τε γὰρ ἐπιέζοντο . . . τά τε ἄλλα ὅτι ἀνέλπιστα αὐτοῖς ἐφαίνετο.*

τά τε ἄλλα ὅτι answers to *νόσῳ τε*. 'For they were distressed, both by sickness, and because everything appeared hopeless.'

47. 3. *τῷ οὖν Δημοσθένει οὐκ ἐδόκει ἔτι χρῆναι μένειν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ καὶ διανοηθεὶς ἐς τὰς Ἐπιπολὰς διακινδυνεῦσαι, ἐπειδὴ ἔσφαλτο, ἐξέναι ἐψηφίζετο.*

Again the correction *διεκινδύνευσε*, found in the Vatican MS., is unnecessary. The construction is *ἀλλ' ἐδόκει ἅπερ καὶ ἔφη* (understood from *ἐδόκει*) *διανοηθεὶς διακινδυνεῦσαι.*

48. 2. *χρημάτων γὰρ ἀπορίᾳ αὐτοὺς ἐκτρυχώσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπὶ πλέον ἤδη ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις ναυσὶ θαλασσοκρατούντων.*

There is a confusion of the subject and object in these words. 'For by reason of their (i. e. the Syracusan) want of money, they (i. e. the Athenians) would wear them out. The construction also changes at *θαλασσοκρατούντων*. Cp. iii. 12 fin. *βοηθησάντων δὲ ὑμῶν προθύμως, πόλεν τε προσλήψεσθε κ.τ.λ.*

48. 4. *οὔκουν βούλεσθαι αὐτός γε ἐπιστάμενος τὰς Ἀθηναίων φύσεις ἐπ' αἰσχρᾷ τε αἰτίᾳ καὶ ἀδίκως ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἀπολέσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, εἰ δεῖ, κινδυνεύσας τοῦτο παθεῖν ἰδίᾳ.*

Cp. vi. 9 med. *ἧσσον ἑτέρων περὶ τῷ ἐμαυτοῦ σώματι ὀρρωδῶ.*

ἰδίᾳ, 1) 'to suffer death individually,' a singular expression; for Nicias risked the whole army as well as himself by remaining, but only himself by going home. This he appears to forget, or rather perhaps Thucydides was led into this piece of false logic, or false rhetoric, by the recollection that Nicias did perish apart from the rest of the army (vii. 86 fin.)

Or 2) better *ἰδίᾳ* may be taken as meaning 'in his private capacity,' opposed to *δημοσίᾳ*, which is implied in *ἐπ' αἰσχρᾷ αἰτίᾳ*, 'on a public charge of corruption.' That is to say, he would die as a private soldier, choosing death on his own account, not as a general condemned by his country. Nicias speaks of himself individually, because he does not like to speak of the destruction

of his army. For a similarly forced antithesis of *κοινῇ* and *ἰδίᾳ* cp. ii. 43. 2 and note, *κοινῇ γὰρ τὰ σώματα διδόντες ἰδίᾳ τὸν ἀγῆρων ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανον.* 48. 4.

Plutarch (Nic. xxii.), evidently alluding to this passage, quotes a saying of Leon of Byzantium, which he favourably contrasts with the words of Nicias, *Δεινὸν μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν αὐτόθι προσδοκᾶν ἔφασκεν, εἰ δὲ συμβαίη, μᾶλλον αἱρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων θάνατον ἢ τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὐχ ὁμοια φρονῶν οἷς ὕστερον ὁ Βυζάντιος Δέων εἶπε πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας· « Βούλομαι » γὰρ ἔφη « μᾶλλον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν.'*

ἦν τε καὶ ὁτιοῦν ἐκλίπωσι τῆς νῦν παρασκευῆς τῷ μὴ διδόναι τροφήν, φθερεῖσθαι αὐτῶν τὰ πράγματα, ἐπικουρικὰ μᾶλλον ἢ δι' ἀνάγκης, ὥσπερ τὰ σφέτερα, ὄντα· τρίβειν οὖν ἔφη χρῆναι προσκαθημένους, καὶ μὴ χρήμασιν, ὡς πολὺ κρείσσους εἰσί, νικηθέντας ἀπιέναι. 48. 5. 6.

'If they break down ever so little in their present means of supply, and cannot provide food,' lit. 'by not providing food.' The genitive *παρασκευῆς* is partly dependent on *ἐκλίπωσι*, partly a genitive of relation, explained by what follows, *τῷ διδόναι τροφήν.* For a similar expansion of a somewhat obscure genitive cp. i. 61 init. *ἡ ἀγγελία τῶν πόλεων, ὅτι ἀφεστᾶσι.*

For *χρήμασιν, ὡς κ.τ.λ.* see note on English text.

ὁ μὲν Νικίας τοσαῦτα λέγων ἰσχυρίζετο, αἰσθόμενος τὰ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις ἀκριβῶς, καὶ τὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἀπορίαν, καὶ ὅτι ἦν αὐτόθι που τὸ βουλόμενον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις γίγνεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ ἐπικηρυκευόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν ὥστε μὴ ἀπανίστασθαι, καὶ ἅμα ταῖς γοῦν ναυσὶν ἢ πρότερον θαρσήσει κρατηθείς. 49. 1.

πού, indefinite, 'of the existence somewhere within the walls,' i. e. the betrayers of the city were not a recognised party, but nevertheless were to be found within it. Cp. vii. 73 fin., 86 med. The article in *τὸ βουλόμενον* refers to the previous mention of this party in c. 48 init. Nothing is known of it, except what we can doubtfully infer from the speech of Athenagoras, vi. 36–40; it probably consisted of some of the discontented democrats who disliked the ascendancy of Hermocrates and the Lacedaemonians. The ingenious emendation of Linwood, *πολύ* for *πού* (omitted in

49. 1. many MSS.) only introduces a difficulty. For it is unlikely that the Athenian party within the walls could have been 'numerous.'

ἢ πρότερον is dependent on the idea of comparison contained in θαρσήσει κρατηθείς. The latter words are supposed to mean, 'Overcome' or 'influenced by his confidence, in the fleet at any rate, more than he had been before.' But the Greek of θαρσήσει κρατηθείς may be fairly doubted. Vat., H., and another MS. insert θαῤῥῶν before ἤ, and read ἐθάρσησε for θαρσήσει. Stahl adopts ἐθάρσησε, and (with Bauer) changes ἤ into ᾗ. Classen further inserts καί before κρατηθείς. ταῖς γοῦν ναυσὶν ᾗ πρότερον ἐθάρσησε καὶ κρατηθείς. 'Nicias, although conquered (by land), trusted in his ships, at any rate, as before.' But these changes do not give a good sense. For γοῦν does not agree with καὶ κρατηθείς, Nicias having been already conquered at sea as well as by land (c. 41). And 'by land' is inserted.

49. 2. εἰ δὲ δεῖ μὴ ἀπάγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἄνευ Ἀθηναίων ψηφίσματος, ἀλλὰ τρίβειν αὐτούς, ἔφη χρῆναι ἢ ἐς τὴν Θάψον ἀναστάντας τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ ἐς τὴν Κατάνην, ὅθεν τῷ τε πεζῷ ἐπὶ πολλὰ τῆς χώρας ἐπιόντες θρέψονται πορθοῦντες τὰ τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ ἐκείνους βλάψουσι κ.τ.λ.

That τρίβειν here is to be taken in the sense not of 'wearing away,' but of 'remaining,' as just above, c. 48 fin., is evident from the reference in τοῦτο ποιεῖν, and from the words which follow.

αὐτούς may be used equally with σφᾶς, because, δεῖ being impersonal, there is no subject to which the word refers.

49. 2. ἀλλ' ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ τά τε τῆς ἐμπειρίας χρήσιμα σφῶν ἔσται.

σφῶν, gen. after τῆς ἐμπειρίας.

49. 3. τό τε ξύμπαν εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὶ τρόπῳ οἱ ἔφη ἀρέσκειν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι μένειν, ἀλλ' ὅ τι τάχιστα ἤδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν ἐξανίστασθαι.

With ἤδη, ἐξανίστασθαι is to be supplied, being governed by ἀρέσκειν, which also governs μὴ μέλλειν ἐξανίστασθαι. Or καὶ μὴ μέλλειν may be inserted διὰ μέσου.

50. 4. καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις μελλήσασι διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μονὴ ἐγεγένητο. οἱ δὲ
51. 1. Συρακόσιοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦτο πυθόμενοι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐγηγερμένοι ἦσαν μὴ

ἀνιέναι τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότων ἤδη μηκέτι κρεισσό- 51. 1.
νων εἶναι σφῶν μήτε ταῖς ναυσὶ μήτε τῷ πεζῷ· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὸν ἔκπλουν
ἐπιβουλεῦσαι.

The aor. μελλήσασι expresses the historical fact of the decision, the pluperf. ἐγεγένητο, its irrevocable nature. This was the reason why the Athenians remained. The fatal step had now been taken.

τοῦτο, 1)* the Syracusans having now heard of that which Nicias had been most desirous to conceal from them, namely, of the intended departure of the Athenians, and of the adverse omen which prevented it.

ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κατεγνωκότων κ.τ.λ. seem to show that τοῦτο refers to the resolution of the Athenians to depart, as well as to their final determination to remain.

It is however possible 2) to refer τοῦτο only to their stay, of which the mention has immediately preceded; in this case the clause ὡς καὶ αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ. gives an additional reason for the confidence of the Syracusans. 'The Syracusans, hearing that the Athenians had determined to stay, were more eager than ever not to let them go, since by their previous resolution to depart they had acknowledged their own inferiority.'

ἀπολαμβάνουσί τε τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τινὰς καὶ τρεψάμενοι καταδιώκουσιν. 51. 2.

τρεψάμενοι, i.e. they put to flight the whole body of the Athenians who came out to meet them; not only τῶν ὁπλιτῶν τινάς, cp. the words which follow, οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἵππους ἑβδομήκοντα ἀπολλύουσι.

ἀπολαμβάνουσι κἀκεῖνον ἐν τῷ κοίλῳ καὶ μυχῷ τοῦ λιμένος. 52. 2.

Said by Diodorus (see note on vi. 66. 2), who may possibly have derived his narrative from Philistus, to be the bay of Dascon; probably the μυχὸς τοῦ λιμένος mentioned in c. 4 med., which appears also to have been Dascon.

ὁ δὲ Γύλιππος ὁρῶν τὰς ναῦς τῶν πολεμίων νικωμένας καὶ ἔξω τῶν στυ- 53. 1.
ρωμάτων καὶ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπέδου καταφερομένας, βουλόμενος διαφθείρειν
τοὺς ἐκβαίνοντας καὶ τὰς ναῦς ῥᾷον τοὺς Συρακοσίους ἀφέλκειν τῆς γῆς
φιλίας οὔσης παρεβοήθει ἐπὶ τὴν χηλήν.

The causeway or mole ran from the city between the sea and the marsh Lysimeleia, up to or beyond the Athenian encampment

53. 1. (see Arnold's note). If Gylippus could get possession of this causeway (*τῆς γῆς φιλίας οὔσης*) the Syracusans would have no difficulty in capturing the stranded vessels. Whether the engagement took place between the city and the Athenian camp, or on the other side of the Athenian camp, is uncertain. The former is the more probable, for Gylippus is more likely to have come from the city than from the Olympieum.

The exact position of the Athenian camp is nowhere precisely indicated by Thucydides. But *a*) it was somewhere between the river Anapus, which the Athenians crossed on their final retreat (c. 78 init.), and the wall of Syracuse. *b*) It must have ended in the double Athenian wall which ran up to Epipolae (c. 60 init.), and must have come down to the harbour. *c*) The distance from the city wall to the mouth of the Anapus would be about a mile. The distance from the southern cliff of Epipolae to the harbour varies from less than half a mile to rather more than a mile. Within the space thus roughly described, a great part of which was taken up by the marsh Lysimeleia, would have to be placed a camp large enough to afford room for forty or fifty thousand men. The position occupied, though described as *ἑλῶδες* (c. 47 med.), must have been slightly raised above the general level of the marsh.

55. 2. *πόλεσι γὰρ ταύταις μόναις ἤδη ὁμοιοτρόποις ἐπελθόντες, δημοκρατουμέναις τε ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, οὐ δυνάμενοι ἐπενεγκεῖν οὔτε ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς τὸ διάφορον αὐτοῖς ᾧ προσήγοντο ἄν, οὔτ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς πολλῷ κρείσσους, σφαλλόμενοι δὲ τὰ πλείω, τά τε πρὸ αὐτῶν ἠπόρουν καὶ ἐπειδή γε καὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκρατήθησαν, ὃ οὐκ ἂν ᾤοντο, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔτι.*

ναῦς καὶ ἵππους καὶ μεγέθη ἐχούσαις, 'large cities having ships and cavalry.'

ἐκ πολιτείας τι μεταβολῆς. τί may be taken either 1) with the substantive, 'nor by any change' (lit. change in any respect) 'in their government,' or 2) with *ἐπενεγκεῖν* 'nor to introduce difference at all.' Cp. c. 57 init. *οὐ κατὰ δίκην τι μᾶλλον . . . μετ' ἀλλήλων στάντες.*

πολλῷ κρείσσους, scil. *ὄντες*, has been translated, 1) 'nor yet could they do anything by the actual strength of their armament, though they were greatly superior.' But this sentiment is out of

place here, the drift of the passage being to depreciate the power of Athens compared with that of Sicily. It is better to suppose 2)* that the influence of the negative *οὔτε* extends to *πολλῷ κρείσσους* as well as to *ἐκ παρασκευῆς*. We may supply with *ἐκ παρασκευῆς* some word signifying 'overcome,' *νικᾶν* or *προσάγεσθαι*, gathered from the words *ᾧ προσήγοντο ἄν*. Elsewhere Thucydides speaks of the Athenian army and fleet as being out of proportion to the Syracusan power. Cp. vi. 31 fin. *στρατιᾶς πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν ὑπερβολῇ*, also ii. 65 fin. *ὁ ἐς Σικελίαν πλοῦς, ὃς οὐ τοσοῦτον γνώμης ἁμάρτημα ἦν πρὸς οὓς ἐπῆσαν κ.τ.λ.* There is, however, no real disagreement between these places, for *a*) he does not deny that the Athenians were superior to the Sicilians, but only that they were much superior (*πολλῷ κρείσσους*); *b*) the comparison in this passage is not of the armaments of the two countries, but of their ultimate resources. 55. 2.

καὶ αὐτοὶ δόξαντες αὐτῶν αἴτιοι εἶναι ὑπό τε τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἔπειτα πολὺ θαυμασθήσεσθαι. καὶ ἦν δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἀγὼν κατά τε ταῦτα καὶ ὅτι οὐχὶ Ἀθηναίων μόνον περιεγίγνοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλῶν ξυμμάχων. 56. 2. 3.

It is not quite clear at what point the sentiments attributed to the Syracusans pass into the reflections of the historian. The construction changes at the words *καὶ ἦν δὲ ἄξιος ὁ ἀγών*, and the phrase *καὶ . . . δέ* would naturally introduce a statement of fact: but the rhetorical colour of the previous passage is continued in what follows. In the sentence *ἔθνη γάρ κ.τ.λ.*, with which the chapter concludes, the transition is completed.

τοῦ ναυτικοῦ μέγα μέρος προκόψαντες. 56. 3.

Not 'having facilitated the success of the (confederate) navy' (Arn.), but 'having made a great step forward in naval affairs.' *μέγα μέρος*, not acc. after *προκόψαντες*, but adverbial, 'in great degree or measure.' *τοῦ ναυτικοῦ*, gen. after *προκόψαντες*, as in iv. 60. 2 (see note), *τῆς ἀρχῆς ἅμα προκοπτόντων ἐκείνοις.*

πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ ξύμπαντος λόγου τοῦ ἐν τῷδε τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς τὴν Ἀθηναίων τε πόλιν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. 56. 4.

πλήν γε κ.τ.λ. Except the entire sum or number of troops which

56. 4. came together to fight on behalf of Athens and Sparta. *τοῦ ξύμπαντος λόγου*, subjective for objective, 'the whole reckoning' put for 'the whole number.' The expression which occurs in c. 75 med., *μυριάδες τοῦ ξύμπαντος ὄχλου οὐκ ἐλάσσους τεσσάρων*, has led Classen, following Krüger, to read *ὄχλου* for *λόγου* in this passage. But *a*) the use of *λόγος* is not unidiomatic; *b*) the word *ὄχλος* is more appropriate in c. 75 med., where Thucydides is describing a mixed multitude, than here.

57. 4. *καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπηκόων καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῶν Ἐρετριῆς καὶ Χαλκιδῆς καὶ Στυρῆς καὶ Καρύστιοι ἀπ' Εὐβοίας ἦσαν, ἀπὸ δὲ νήσων Κεῖοι καὶ Ἄνδριοι καὶ Τήνιοι, ἐκ δ' Ἰωνίας Μιλήσιοι καὶ Σάμιοι καὶ Χῖοι. τούτων Χῖοι οὐχ ὑποτελεῖς ὄντες φόρου, ναῦς δὲ παρέχοντες, αὐτόνομοι ξυνέσποντο· καὶ τὸ πλεῖστον Ἴωνες ὄντες οὗτοι πάντες καὶ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων πλὴν Καρυστίων (οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Δρύοπες), ὑπήκοοι δ' ὄντες καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ὅμως Ἴωνές γε ἐπὶ Δωριέας ἠκολούθουν. πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς Αἰολῆς, Μηθυμναῖοι μὲν ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι, Τενέδιοι δὲ καὶ Αἴνιοι ὑποτελεῖς.*

τούτων Χῖοι κ.τ.λ. This is a correction of the preceding statement, in which the Chians are ranked among the *ὑποτελεῖς φόρου*. And although here declared to be *αὐτόνομοι* they are again included in the *ὑπήκοοι* below.

1)* *ὅμως* may be taken with *Ἴωνές γε*, 'still they were Ionians fighting against Dorians.' But 2) *Ἴωνές τε*, the reading of all the MSS. except Vat., gives a sufficient sense. 'Being subjects and under compulsion, and Ionians fighting against Dorians, they nevertheless followed.' *ἀνάγκῃ* implies unwillingness, hence *ὅμως ἠκολούθουν*.

ναυσὶ καὶ οὐ φόρῳ ὑπήκοοι, 'furnishing ships, but not tributary subjects.' The word *ὑπήκοοι* applies properly to *φόρῳ*, but improperly to *ναυσί*, for the allies who furnished ships were not *ὑπήκοοι*, but *αὐτόνομοι*.

57. 5. *οὗτοι δὲ Αἰολῆς Αἰολεῦσι τοῖς κτίσασι Βοιωτοῖς τοῖς μετὰ Συρακοσίων κατ' ἀνάγκην ἐμάχοντο, Πλαταιῆς δὲ καταντικρὺ Βοιωτοὶ Βοιωτοῖς μόνοι εἰκότως κατὰ τὸ ἔχθος.*

καταντικρύ, they were Boeotians actually fighting against Boeotians, and not merely Aeolians against Aeolians; *μόνοι*, they and no other Boeotians. These were the Plataeans who had escaped from the

siege, and, like Athenian Cleruchs, were either settled at Scionè, or possessed lands there, cp. v. 32 init. τοῖς after Βοιωτοῖς was conjectured by Lindau, and has since been found in M. 57. 5.

οἱ μὲν Λακεδαιμονίων ἄποικοι Κυθήριοι. 57. 6.

Hence we learn incidentally that Cythera, like Pylos, had not been given back to the Lacedaemonians, though the mutual restoration of all places taken in war was one of the conditions of peace, v. 17. 2, and although Cythera is named in the treaty, v. 18. 7.

καὶ οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν καλούμενοι ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ καὶ ἐκ Πύλου τότε ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἐχομένης ἐς τὸν πόλεμον παρελήφθησαν. 57. 8.

ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ, the reading of all the MSS. except the Vatican, which has ἐκ Ναυπάκτου, has been needlessly altered. The Messenians resident at Naupactus are faintly opposed to those who were only on temporary garrison duty at Pylos. ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ and ἐκ Πύλου go with οἱ Μεσσήνιοι, not with παρελήφθησαν. Cp. c. 31 init.

οἱ Μεσσήνιοι νῦν καλούμενοι, 1)* 'those who are now called Messenians, not Naupactians.' Naupactus had originally belonged to the Ozolian Locrians, and had been taken by the Athenians in 455, when they settled the Messenians there (i. 103). As nothing is said of the expulsion of the former inhabitants, it is probable that they and the Messenians occupied the place in common, and that after a time all the inhabitants of Naupactus were called Messenians.

2) It is doubtful whether νῦν may not be taken in the sense of 'to this day,' though against the general use of the word. Cp. ii. 99 med. ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ἐορδίας καλουμένης Ἐορδούς, ὧν οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐφθάρησαν, βραχὺ δέ τι αὐτῶν περὶ Φύσκαν κατῴκηται. And this rendering certainly gives a better sense: 'those who are still called Messenians, although they no longer dwell in Messenia.'

Ἰταλιωτῶν δὲ Θούριοι καὶ Μεταπόντιοι ἐν τοιαύταις ἀνάγκαις τότε στασιωτικῶν καιρῶν κατειλημμένων ξυνεστράτευον, καὶ Σικελιωτῶν Νάξιοι καὶ Καταναῖοι. 57. 11.

τοιαύταις, such as compelled them to serve under the Athenians.

κατειλημμένων may be taken, either 1)* with Θουρίων καὶ Μεταποντίων, supplied from Θούριοι καὶ Μεταπόντιοι, or 2) with Ἰταλιωτῶν. But in

57. 11. the latter case some only of the Italian cities can be included. Possibly the *ὁμοιοτέλευτον, στασιωτικῶν καιρῶν*, may have corrupted the termination of the following word (*κατειλημμένοι*).

58. 3. *δύναται δὲ τὸ νεοδαμῶδες ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι.*

ἐλεύθερον ἤδη εἶναι, 'to be now free,' i.e. not simply a freeman, but a freedman. These words are doubted by Dindorf, because a similar explanation of the word *νεωδαμώδης* is found in the Scholia, *νεοδαμώδης, ὁ ἐλεύθερος παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις.* But the Scholion is simply a paraphrase of Thucydides' explanation. And the idiomatic use of *ἤδη* is in favour of the genuineness of the clause. The circumstance that Thucydides has not explained the word when it occurs before (v. 34 med., vii. 19 med.), which has been cited on the other side, is purely accidental.

58. 4. *καὶ πρὸς ἅπαντας αὖθις, ὡς εἰπεῖν, τοὺς ἄλλους Συρακόσιοι αὐτοὶ πλείω ἐπορίσαντο.*

αὖθις, 'again,' introduces a second comparison.

ὡς εἰπεῖν is a qualification of *πρὸς ἅπαντας*, 'the Syracusans may be said to have contributed more,' or, 'speaking roughly, they contributed more, than the rest put together.'

60. 1. *τὰ ἐπιτήδεια οὔτε αὐτίκα ἔτι εἶχον, προπέμψαντες γὰρ ἐς Κατάνην ὡς ἐκπλευσόμενοι ἀπεῖπον μὴ ἐπάγειν κ.τ.λ.*

The Athenians must have countermanded their provisions before the eclipse, when they intended to withdraw. Yet it is surprising that, when they were compelled to remain for twenty-seven days, this countermand should not have been recalled. It may be conjectured that after the Syracusans began to close the mouth of the harbour the introduction of provisions from Catana was no longer possible, and that Thucydides has forgotten to mention this explanatory circumstance.

60. 2.3. *ἐβουλεύσαντο τὰ μὲν τείχη τὰ ἄνω ἐκλιπεῖν . . . καὶ οἱ μέν, ὡς ἔδυξεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα, καὶ ἐποίησαν· ἔκ τε γὰρ τῶν ἄνω τειχῶν ὑποκατέβησαν καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρωσαν πάσας, ἀναγκάσαντες ἐσβαίνειν ὅστις καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐδόκει ἡλικίας μετέχων ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι.*

ἐκ τῶν ἄνω τειχῶν. Had the Athenians retained their lines on Epipolae until now? or had they quitted them after the completion of the Syracusan counter-wall, so that *τὰ ἄνω τείχη* in this passage means only the part of the lines under Epipolae and furthest from the harbour? We hear nothing of the Athenian lines in the account of the night attack on Epipolae, vii. 43. 44. And it is not easy to understand why the Athenians, if they still occupied their old position on Epipolae, did not make some use of it. On the other hand, we hear nothing of the Syracusans occupying or dismantling the Athenian wall, as they would have done if the Athenians had deserted it. Cp. also vii. 11 fin. *ἀπαναλωκυίας τῆς φυλακῆς τῶν τειχῶν μέρος τι τοῦ ὁπλιτικοῦ*: 46, *ὡς ἐν ἐλπίδι ὢν καὶ τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἱρήσειν βίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τὰ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς οὕτω ξυνέβη*, where no distinction is drawn between the part of the lines which the Athenians had left and the part which they retained, unless in the words of the latter passage a contrast is intended between *τὰ τείχη αἱρήσειν* and *τὰ ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιπολαῖς*. The question must be left undecided. 60. 2. 3.

ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἄλλου πεζοῦ τὰς ναῦς πάσας, ὅσαι ἦσάν καὶ δυναταὶ καὶ ἁπλοώτεραι, πάντα τινὰ ἐσβιβάζοντες πληρῶσαι. 60. 2.

πάντα τινά. 'All sorts of men,' 'any one and every one.' That this expression, however strong it may appear, does not include all the *πεζοί* is clear from c. 69 fin., 71 init., which show that a considerable portion of the army was left on shore besides those who garrisoned the reduced Athenian lines. It is not likely that hoplites would serve as sailors; nor could the entire force have found room in 110 ships. Cp. also infra c. 64 med., where *οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὑμῶν* are expressly opposed to the rest of the army. The words are also to be modified by *ὅστις καὶ ὁπωσοῦν ἐδόκει ἡλικίας μετέχων ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι* (cited in previous note), with which, taken strictly, they are inconsistent.

καὶ τἆλλα, ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν ἐξ ἀναγκαίου τε καὶ τοιαύτης διανοίας, ἐπορίσαντο. 60. 4.

ἀναγκαίου is not to be taken with *διανοίας*. 'When they were driven by necessity, and their plan was such as I have described,' i. e. of such a desperate nature.

60. 5. *ὁρῶν τοὺς στρατιώτας τῷ τε παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς πολὺ ταῖς ναυσὶ κρατηθῆναι ἀθυμοῦντας καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων σπάνιν ὡς τάχιστα βουλομένους διακινδυνεύειν κ.τ.λ.*

The two clauses joined by *τέ, καί*, here really represent two opposite motives which distracted the Athenians:—despair at their own defeat, and the necessity of obtaining food.

61. 1. *ὁ μὲν ἀγὼν ὁ μέλλων ὁμοίως κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἔσται, περί τε σωτηρίας καὶ πατρίδος ἑκάστοις οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις.*

The last words are objected to by Classen as inappropriate. But, though briefly expressed, they are not without meaning. 'We, the invaders, have to fight as hard as the enemy who are being invaded; for Athens is in no less danger,—or in much greater danger,—than Syracuse.'

61. 1. *τὴν ὑπάρχουσάν που οἰκείαν πόλιν ἐπιδεῖν.*

'His own home wherever it may be.'

61. 2. *οἱ τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγῶσι σφαλέντες ἔπειτα διὰ παντὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ φόβου ὁμοίαν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς ἔχουσιν.*

'Always retain a fearful expectation on a level with their disasters,' or 'which cannot rise above their disasters:' they always expect that their calamities are going to recur. Cp. i. 140 init. *πρὸς τὰς ξυμφορὰς καὶ τὰς γνώμας τρεπομένους.*

61. 3. *ἀλλ' ὅσοι τε Ἀθηναίων πάρεστε, πολλῶν ἤδη πολέμων ἔμπειροι ὄντες, καὶ ὅσοι τῶν ξυμμάχων, ξυστρατευόμενοι ἀεί, μνήσθητε τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις παραλόγων, καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης κἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐλπίσαντες στῆναι, καὶ ὡς ἀναμαχούμενοι ἀξίως τοῦδε τοῦ πλήθους, ὅσον αὐτοὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἐφορᾶτε, παρασκευάζεσθε.*

ἐλπίσαντες is to be connected with *μνήσθητε*. *καί* emphasizes *τὸ τῆς τύχης*. 'Remember the uncertainty of war, hoping that even Fortune (i. e. Fortune who has so often favoured the enemy) may help us as well as them' (*κἂν μεθ' ἡμῶν*).

62. 1. *πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρασκευήν.*

I. e. the javelin-men on deck, c. 40 fin., not the improved con-

struction of the prows, which could not have been thus described, and is mentioned § 3 infra. 62. 1.

ἦν τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις οἱ ἐπιβάται ὑπουργῶσιν. 62. 3.

'If the marines do the service which ought to come next.'

ἐκείνην τε τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐνθυμεῖσθαι ὡς ἀξία ἐστὶ διασώσασθαι, οἳ τέως 63. 3.
Ἀθηναῖοι νομιζόμενοι καὶ μὴ ὄντες ὑμῶν τῆς τε φωνῆς τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ τῶν τρόπων τῇ μιμήσει ἐθαυμάζεσθε κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἡμετέρας οὐκ ἔλασσον κατὰ τὸ ὠφελεῖσθαι, ἔς τε τὸ φοβερὸν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις καὶ τὸ μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι πολὺ πλεῖον μετείχετε. ὥστε κοινωνοὶ μόνοι ἐλευθέρως ἡμῖν τῆς ἀρχῆς ὄντες δικαίως [ἂν] αὐτὴν νῦν μὴ καταπροδίδοτε.

οἵ, scil. τούτους ὑμῶν οἵ.

οὐκ ἔλασσον. Nicias means to say that in positive benefits such as pay and commercial advantages the μέτοικοι and foreigners in the Athenian service were as well off as the Athenians themselves, while in freedom from liability to attack, and the awe which they inspired in subject states, they were even better off, either because they were not so much exposed as Athens herself, or because they by themselves would be more helpless than Athens by herself. For a similar strain of argument compare Eurip. Medea, 536 foll.—

πρῶτον μὲν Ἑλλάδ' ἀντὶ βαρβάρου χθονὸς
γαῖαν κατοικεῖς καὶ δίκην ἐπίστασαι
νόμοις τε χρῆσθαι, μὴ πρὸς ἰσχύος χάριν·
πάντες δέ σ' ἴσθουτ' οὖσαν Ἕλληνες σοφὴν
καὶ δόξαν ἔσχες· εἰ δὲ γῆς ἐπ' ἐσχάτοις
ὅροισιν ᾤκεις, οὐκ ἂν ἦν λόγος σέθεν.

If ἄν, after δικαίως, with nearly all the MSS., is retained, the imperative with μή must be supposed to have taken the place of οὐκ ἂν καταπροδίδοιτε. But ἄν here is not really defensible.

δικαίως with the imperative must mean, 'as in duty bound.' Cp. iv. 62 fin. τιμωρία γὰρ οὐκ εὐτυχεῖ δικαίως, 'as it ought.'

καὶ ἐνθυμεῖσθε καθ' ἑκάστους τε καὶ ξύμπαντες ὅτι οἱ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν 64. 2.
ὑμῶν νῦν ἑσόμενοι καὶ πεζοὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις εἰσὶ καὶ νῆες καὶ ἡ ὑπόλοιπος πόλις καὶ τὸ μέγα ὄνομα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, περὶ ὧν, εἴ τίς τι ἕτερος ἑτέρου

64. 2. *προφέρει ἡ ἐπιστήμη ἡ εὐψυχία οὐκ ἂν ἐν ἄλλῳ μᾶλλον καιρῷ ἀποδειξάμενος αὐτός τε αὐτῷ ὠφέλιμος γένοιτο καὶ τοῖς ξύμπασι σωτήριος.*

οἱ ἐν τοῖς ναυσίν κ.τ.λ. 'You who are about to embark are to your country, army, fleet, the whole state, and the great name of Athens.'

ἡ ὑπόλοιπος πόλις, 'everything else, the rest of the state,' besides *πεζοὶ* and *νῆες*. *τῶν Ἀθηνῶν* adds an additional emphasis to this highly-wrought passage, for the usage of Thucydides and the common Greek idiom is not to speak of *αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, but of *οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι*.

περὶ ὧν, either 1)* *περὶ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, or 2) all which has preceded, armies, ships, the name of Athens, etc.

65. 2. *τὰς γὰρ πρώρας καὶ τῆς νεὼς ἄνω ἐπὶ πολὺ κατεβύρσωσαν.*

τῆς νεώς, of the ship which the grappling irons were designed to attack, the article referring to *ἡ ἐπιβολὴ τῶν σιδηρῶν χειρῶν* in the preceding sentence; cp. c. 62 fin. *χειρῶν σιδηρῶν ἐπιβολαί, αἱ σχήσουσι τὴν πάλιν ἀνάκρουσιν τῆς προσπεσούσης νεώς.*

66. 1. *ὅτι μὲν καλὰ τὰ προειργασμένα καὶ ὑπὲρ καλῶν τῶν μελλόντων ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται, ὦ Συρακόσιοι καὶ ξύμμαχοι, οἵ τε πολλοὶ δοκεῖτε ἡμῖν εἰδέναι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως αὐτῶν προθύμως ἀντελάβεσθε· καὶ εἴ τις μὴ ἐπὶ ὅσον δεῖ ἧσθηται, σημανοῦμεν.*

οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν... αὐτῶν ἀντελάβεσθε κ.τ.λ., lit. 'for if not, neither would you have engaged in them with so much energy,' i.e. 'for otherwise you would not have engaged in them.' *οὐδέ* (not *οὐ*) emphasizes the connection between *ἀντελάβεσθε* and *δοκεῖτε εἰδέναι*. *αὐτῶν* refers strictly to *τὰ προειργασμένα*, less correctly to *τῶν μελλόντων*, in the sense, not of the coming victory, but of the preparation for it.

66. 3. *ἄνδρες γὰρ ἐπειδὰν ᾧ ἀξιοῦσι προὔχειν κολουθῶσι, τό γ' ὑπόλοιπον αὐτῶν τῆς δόξης ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἐστίν, ἢ εἰ μηδ' ᾠήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ αὐχήματος σφαλλόμενοι καὶ παρὰ ἰσχὺν τῆς δυνάμεως ἐνδιδόασιν.*

ἀσθενέστερος the comparative is followed by *ἑαυτοῦ*, as well as by *ἤ*: 'what remains of their self-respect is weaker than it ever was, and weaker to a greater extent than if they had never believed that

they were superior in this particular thing;' cp. Plat. Prot. 350 A, καὶ τἆλλά γε πάντα ... οἱ ἐπιστήμονες τῶν μὴ ἐπισταμένων θαῤῥαλεώτεροί εἰσι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτῶν, ἐπειδὰν μάθωσιν, ἢ πρὶν μαθεῖν. **66. 3.**

ᾠήθησαν τὸ πρῶτον, scil. τούτῳ προὔχειν, referring to ᾧ ἀξιοῦσι προὔχειν above.

τοῦ αὐχήματος is to be taken with τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδα, 'meeting with a reverse which disappoints their pride,' lit. 'failing in the unlooked-for issue of their boasting.'

τά τε τῆς ἀντιμιμήσεως αὐτῶν τῆς παρασκευῆς ἡμῶν τῷ μὲν ἡμετέρῳ τρόπῳ ξυνήθη τέ ἐστι, καὶ οὐκ ἀνάρμοστοι πρὸς ἑκάστην αὐτῶν ἐσόμεθα· οἱ δ', ἐπειδὰν πολλοὶ μὲν ὁπλῖται ἐπὶ τῶν καταστρωμάτων παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ὦσι, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἀκοντισταὶ χερσαῖοι, ὡς εἰπεῖν, Ἀκαρνᾶνές τε καὶ ἄλλοι, ἐπὶ ναῦς ἀναβάντες, οἳ οὐδ' ὅπως καθεζομένους χρὴ τὸ βέλος ἀφεῖναι εὑρήσουσι, πῶς οὐ σφαλοῦσί τε τὰς ναῦς, καὶ ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς πάντες; οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ κινούμενοι, ταράξονται; **67. 2.**

Gylippus means to say, 'As to their imitation of our ways of fighting, the employment of them is natural to us, and we are prepared to meet them when they are employed against us, but the Athenians will find them clumsy and awkward.'

πρὸς ἑκάστην, scil. ἀντιμίμησιν.

ἀκοντισταὶ χερσαῖοι ... ἀναβάντες, 'javelin-men, who are, so to speak, land-animals, put on shipboard.'

καθεζομένους, either 1)* 'stationary,' 'in their places,' or 2) literally 'sitting down,' because they would be unable to stand up on the deck of a ship when in motion, and perhaps striking an enemy. There is a further uncertainty whether the words mean, *a*) 'who will not know, if they have to keep their places,' or 'to sit down, even how to hurl their missiles;' or *b*) 'who will not know even how to keep their places,' or 'to sit down, when they have to hurl their missiles.'

κινούμενοι, below, must either 1)* be taken in the sense of 'moving their bodies,' or 2) be brought under the influence of οὐκ as well as ἐν τῷ αὐτῶν τρόπῳ, 'not moving about as they are accustomed to do.'

ὑπερβαλλόντων γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης **67. 4.**

67. 4. *ἀπορίας ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καθεστήκασιν οὐ παρασκευῆς πίστει μᾶλλον ἢ τύχης ἀποκινδυνεύσει οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται, ἵν' ἢ βιασάμενοι ἐκπλεύσωσιν κ.τ.λ.*

ἵν' ἤ κ.τ.λ., as well as *οὕτως ὅπως δύνανται*, depend on the verbal idea contained in *ἀποκινδυνεύσει*. For the sake of the parallelism of the sentence, the dative *ἀποκινδυνεύσει* is used instead of the participle *ἀποκινδυνεύσοντες*.

68. 1. *καὶ νομίσωμεν ἅμα μὲν νομιμώτατον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους, οἳ ἄνδρ' ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ τοῦ προσπεσόντος, δικαιώσωσιν ἀποπλῆσαι τῆς γνώμης τὸ θυμούμενον, ἅμα δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι ἐγγενησόμενον ἡμῖν, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενόν που ἥδιστον εἶναι.*

πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους is to be taken with *νομιμώτατον εἶναι*, and is resumed in *τοῦ προσπεσόντος*.

οἳ ἄν, not with *τοὺς ἐναντίους*, but 'their conduct is most lawful who claim,' cp. note on ii. 44. 1, *τὸ δ' εὐτυχὲς οἳ ἂν κ.τ.λ.*

ὡς ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ, 'meaning to be avenged on the aggressor.'

καί, which is omitted by a single MS. only, and an inferior one (I), either 1) presents another aspect of *ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι*, 'vengeance against our enemies, and that which is so often said to be most delightful, will be within our reach,' or 2) joins *ἐγγενησόμενον* and *ἥδιστον εἶναι*, 'and that this' (scil. *τὸ ἀμύνασθαι*), 'as the well-known proverb says, is most delightful.'

69. 2. *καὶ νομίσας, ὅπερ πάσχουσιν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι, πάντα τε ἔργῳ ἔτι σφίσιν ἐνδεᾶ εἶναι καὶ λόγῳ αὐτοῖς οὔπω ἱκανὰ εἰρῆσθαι.*

αὐτοῖς is used where *σφίσι* would be more appropriate, in order to avoid a repetition of the same word, and refers, not to the soldiers of Nicias (Poppo), but to men in general, the subject of *πάσχουσιν*; or *αὐτοῖς* and *σφίσιν* may both refer to the Athenian generals and their men with whom they are identified. For the converse case, *σφᾶς* used for *αὐτούς*, etc., cp. note on v. 49. 1.

69. 2. *ἄλλα τε λέγων, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἤδη τοῦ καιροῦ ὄντες ἄνθρωποι οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τινι ἀρχαιολογεῖν φυλαξάμενοι εἶποιεν ἄν, καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων παραπλήσια ἔς τε γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρῴους προφερόμενα, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐκπλήξει ὠφέλιμα νομίζοντες ἐπιβοῶνται.*

ἄλλα τε λέγων. *τέ* connects *ἄλλα λέγων* with the preceding words.

ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων προφερόμενα, 'pressed into the service on every occa- 69. 2.
sion:' or, 'whatever be the occasion which they are made to serve.' καί before ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων joins παραπλήσια with the idea implicitly contained in the words οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν ... φυλαξάμενοι, 'anything which men say at such times however common-place' (lit. 'not guarding against the reproach of saying what is common-place,') 'and nearly the same which is brought forward on every occasion.' ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ goes back to οὐ φυλαξάμενοι in spite of the intervening clause καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ... προφερόμενα.

ἐπιβοῶνται grammatically follows ὅσα, and is parallel to εἴποιεν ἄν, for which it is substituted, but in sense εἴποιεν ἄν is left out of sight, and ὠφέλιμα νομίζοντες is opposed by ἀλλά to φυλαξάμενοι. 'Whatever men would be likely to say, not fearing the reproach of common-place, but loudly urging what they believe to be useful.' Strictly speaking, ἀλλά reverts to οὐ φυλαξάμενοι, and therefore requires ἐπιβοώμενοι. But the desire of parallelism has led to the substitution of ἐπιβοῶνται, a stronger and more appropriate expression than εἴποιεν ἄν.

καί before ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων has also been translated 'although,' but according to this explanation the words ἔς τε γυναῖκας ... προφερόμενα seem to drag.

The whole sentence would run more simply in the following form, ἄλλα τε λέγων, ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἤδη τοῦ καιροῦ ὄντες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν τινι ἀρχαιολογεῖν φυλαξάμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ παρούσῃ ἐκπλήξει ὠφέλιμα νομίζοντες, ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων παραπλήσια ἔς τε γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας καὶ θεοὺς πατρῴους προφερόμενα, ἐπιβοῶνται.

ἄραντες ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν στρατοπέδου εὐθὺς ἔπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ 69. 4.
λιμένος καὶ τὸν παραλειφθέντα διέκπλουν.

τὸν παραλειφθέντα διέκπλουν, the reading of Dionysius (De Thuc. Jud. c. 26), and of a majority of the MSS., is probably correct. In closing the harbour the Syracusans would naturally leave a narrow opening for their own use. The readings παραληφθέντα and καταληφθέντα, meaning 'occupied,' give a poor sense and are of inferior MS. authority. Poppo reads καταλειφθέντα on the authority of Vat. and some others. But παραλειφθέντα may very well have the same meaning.

κατά τε τὸν ἔκπλουν μέρει αὐτῶν ἐφύλασσον καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἄλλον κύκλῳ 70. 1.

70. 1. λιμένα, ὅπως πανταχόθεν ἅμα προσπίπτοιεν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, καὶ ὁ πεζὸς αὐτοῖς ἅμα παραβοηθῇ, ᾗπερ καὶ αἱ νῆες κατίσχοιεν.

παρεβοήθει, the reading preserved in Dionysius (c. 26), is probably right. The reading παραβοηθῇ is not absolutely indefensible, for in a historical narrative transitions from the optative to the subjunctive, corresponding to those from the aor. to the 'historical' present, are sometimes found, cp. vi. 96 fin. ἑξακοσίους λογάδας τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐξέκριναν πρότερον . . . ὅπως τῶν τε Ἐπιπολῶν εἵησαν φύλακες καί, ἢν ἐς ἄλλο τι δέῃ, ταχὺ ξυνεστῶτες παραγίγνωνται. Yet the introduction of the subjunctive παραβοηθῇ between the two optatives προσπίπτοιεν and κατίσχοιεν is very harsh.

70. 3. μὴ λείπεσθαι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος τῆς ἄλλης τέχνης.

'What had to be done on deck' by the archers and javelin-men, and by the marines.

70. 4. αἱ μὲν ἐμβολαὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὰς ἀνακρούσεις καὶ διέκπλους ὀλίγαι ἐγίγνοντο, αἱ δὲ προσβολαί, ὡς τύχοι ναῦς νηῒ προσπεσοῦσα ἢ διὰ τὸ φεύγειν ἢ ἄλλῃ ἐπιπλέουσα, πυκνότεραι ἦσαν.

ἐμβολή, the regular blow struck by the head of a vessel. προσβολή, a collision of any sort made by chance fouling, ὡς τύχοι ναῦς νηῒ προσπεσοῦσα.

70. 5. καὶ ὅσον μὲν χρόνον προσφέροιτο ναῦς κ.τ.λ.

The optative here signifies indefiniteness and frequency. 'And whenever in the course of the engagement one ship was bearing down upon another, during all that time,' etc.

70. 6. ξυνετύγχανέ τε . . . τοῖς κυβερνήταις τῶν μὲν φυλακήν, τῶν δ' ἐπιβουλήν, μὴ κάθ' ἓν ἕκαστον, κατὰ πολλὰ δὲ πανταχόθεν, περιεστάναι.

μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον. Either 1) 'not only at one point in each case,' =μὴ καθ' ἓν ἑκάστοτε, or 2) 'For the pilots were engaged now in guarding against attacks, now in contriving them, not one at a time only, but many at once, against enemies on every side.' μὴ καθ' ἓν ἕκαστον κ.τ.λ.=μὴ μίαν ἑκάστην ἀλλὰ πολλάς. Lit. 'not in the way of one encounter after another, but of many.'

71. 2. πάντων γὰρ δὴ ἀνακειμένων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐς τὰς ναῦς, ὅ τε φόβος ἦν

ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέλλοντος οὐδενὶ ἐοικώς, καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν τῆς 71. 2.
ναυμαχίας ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠναγκάζοντο ἔχειν. δι' ὀλίγου γὰρ οὔσης τῆς θέας, καὶ οὐ πάντων ἅμα ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ σκοπούντων, εἰ μέν τινες ἴδοιέν πῃ τοὺς σφετέρους ἐπικρατοῦντας κ.τ.λ.

The full construction would be διὰ τὸ ἀνώμαλον τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀνώμαλον καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν αὐτῆς ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἠναγκάζοντο ἔχειν. A second ἀνώμαλον has either dropped out of the text before καὶ τὴν ἔποψιν, or may be supplied from the first.

δι' ὀλίγου γάρ. γάρ explains how 'the varying fortunes of the fight gave the spectators such various impressions.' The battle at which they were looking was close to them; consequently their prospect was limited, and different divisions of the army saw different parts of the engagement,—here victory, there defeat.

ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἀντίπαλόν τι τῆς ναυμαχίας ἀπιδόντες, διὰ τὸ ἀκρίτως 71. 2.
ξυνεχὲς τῆς ἁμίλλης καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτοῖς ἴσα τῇ δόξῃ περιδεῶς ξυναπονεύοντες, ἐν τοῖς χαλεπώτατα διῆγον.

'Others again, looking to some part of the sea-fight which hung in the balance, and, because of the indecisive continuousness' (or 'because of the continuous indecisiveness) of the conflict, in extremity of fear swaying their very bodies in sympathy (ξυν-) at the sight before them (ἀπο-, cp. ἀπονεύω and ἀπιδόντες just above) according to the feeling of the moment, were in the greatest distress of all.'

ἄλλα ὅσα ἐν μεγάλῳ κινδύνῳ μέγα στρατόπεδον πολυειδῆ ἀναγκάζοιτο 71. 4.
φθέγγεσθαι.

Cp. note on iii. 84. 1.

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὑπὸ μεγέθους τῶν παρόντων κακῶν νεκρῶν μὲν πέρι ἢ 72. 2.
ναυαγίων οὐδὲ ἐπενόουν αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν, τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐβουλεύοντο εὐθὺς ἀναχωρεῖν.

οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι, though in form coordinate with οἱ Συρακόσιοι, supra, is really the principal apodosis of the sentence beginning γενομένης δ' ἰσχυρᾶς.

αἰτῆσαι ἀναίρεσιν must be referred to νεκρῶν only. The occurrence of ναυαγίων in the same construction may be explained by the association of the dead bodies with the wrecks upon which they were lying. 'They never thought about the wrecks, or about asking to take up the dead bodies.'

72. 3. λέγων ὅτι πλείους ἔτι αἱ λοιπαί εἰσι νῆες **χρήσιμαι** σφίσιν ἢ τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἦσαν γὰρ τοῖς μὲν Ἀθηναίοις περίλοιποι ὡς ἑξήκοντα, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις ἐλάσσους ἢ πεντήκοντα.

The Athenians had at the commencement of the action 110 ships, and had therefore lost about 50; the Syracusans had about 76 ships, and had lost more than 25.

χρήσιμαι is an afterthought, or 'dragging predicate,' i. e. a predicate equivalent to a relative clause=*αἳ ἦσαν χρήσιμαι*. Cp. note on ii. 100. 2.

73. 1. ἐσηγεῖται ἐλθὼν τοῖς ἐν τέλει οὖσιν ὡς οὐ χρεὼν ἀποχωρῆσαι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς περιϊδεῖν, λέγων ταῦτα ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει, ἀλλὰ ἐξελθόντας ἤδη πάντας Συρακοσίους καὶ τοὺς ξυμμάχους τάς τε ὁδοὺς ἀποικοδομῆσαι καὶ τὰ στενόπορα τῶν χωρίων **προφθάσαντας** φυλάσσειν.

The best MSS., as well as some inferior ones, vary between *καὶ ἅ*, *καὶ ἃ καί*, and the text *ἃ καί*.

1)* *καί* emphasizes the words *αὐτῷ ἐδόκει*, *ταῦτα* referring to *ἀποχωρῆσαι τῆς νυκτός*, which was not only the fact, but had also been divined by Hermocrates: 'he had guessed the truth.' Cp. *ὑπονοήσας αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν*, § 1 supra, which anticipates *ἃ καὶ αὐτῷ ἐδόκει*.

Or 2) *καί* emphasizes *αὐτῷ*, 'which had struck him of himself,' i.e. without information received from others.

Or 3) *καί* is, according to the English idiom, out of place, and the words may=*ἃ ἐδόκει αὐτῷ, ταῦτα καὶ λέγων*. 'He said what had struck him;' cp. note on iv. 62. 4; v. 13. 1.

ἀλλὰ ἐξελθόντας. *ἀλλά* follows *χρεών* understood from *οὐ χρεών*.

προφθάσαντας is found in all the MSS. with the exception of the Vatican, which has *διαλαβόντας*, 'cutting off,' a reading equally good in point of sense, and adopted by Bekker, but probably an old correction.

73. 2. καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἐλπίζειν ἂν σφῶν πείθεσθαι αὐτούς κ.τ.λ.

The genitive *σφῶν* is not used with *πείθεσθαι* in Attic prose; Eurip. Iph. in A. 726 is quoted in support of it,—

πείθεσθαι γὰρ εἴθισμαι σέθεν.

But it is better to take *σφῶν* (=*πρὸς σφῶν*) with *πάντα*, 'they would be more likely to obey in anything that came from them.'

οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ ἄγγελμα ἐπέσχον τὴν νύκτα, νομίσαντες οὐκ ἀπάτην εἶναι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὡς οὐκ εὐθὺς ὥρμησαν, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἡμέραν περιμεῖναι. 74. 1.

καὶ ὡς. Either 1) the reference may be to the preceding words ἐπέσχον τὴν νύκτα, 'and since even after waiting the night they did not start immediately,' or 2)* the phrase may be taken more generally: 'since even in spite of the necessity of the case,' or 'anyhow, they had not started immediately.' Cp. note on iii. 33. 2.

δεινὸν οὖν ἦν οὐ καθ' ἓν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, ὅτι τάς τε ναῦς ἀπολωλεκότες πάσας ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ ἀντὶ μεγάλης ἐλπίδος καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις κινδυνεύοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀπολείψει τοῦ στρατοπέδου ξυνέβαινε τῇ τε ὄψει ἑκάστῳ ἀλγεινὰ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ αἰσθέσθαι. 75. 2.

οὐ καθ' ἓν μόνον τῶν πραγμάτων, 1)* 'the situation was awful, not only when looked at under one aspect of their affairs, but under every aspect; not only had they lost their whole fleet, and, in contrast with their former high hopes, the existence of the city and their own lives were at stake; but, now that they were leaving the camp, painful circumstances fixed themselves on the eyes and mind of every individual.' Cp. Herod. v. 78, δηλοῖ δὲ οὐ κατ' ἓν μοῦνον ἀλλὰ πανταχῇ ἡ ἰσηγορίη ὡς ἔστι χρῆμα σπουδαῖον.

2) The words have also been taken to mean, 'their affairs regarded as one,' i. e. collectively, or as a whole. To this general view the accompanying painful circumstances are opposed. But it is doubtful whether κάθ' ἕν can have this meaning.

καὶ οἱ ζῶντες καταλειπόμενοι τραυματίαι τε καὶ ἀσθενεῖς πολὺ τῶν τεθνεώτων τοῖς ζῶσι λυπηρότεροι ἦσαν καὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀθλιώτεροι. 75. 3.

τῶν τεθνεώτων is opposed to οἱ ζῶντες, while ἀπολωλότων is the more neutral word, which generalizes the idea of death, and implies a slight euphemism, 'those who were now no more,' or 'who had passed away.'

τοῖς ζῶσι, if not a gloss, or a corruption, seems to be intended to contrast those who were alive and starting on their march with those who, although alive, were left to die (οἱ ζῶντες καταλειπόμενοι). The expression, though illogical, has a kind of rhetorical force and pathos.

75. 4. *εἴ τῳ δὲ προλείποι ἡ ῥώμη καὶ τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ ἄνευ ὀλίγων ἐπιθειασμῶν καὶ οἰμωγῆς ἀπολειπόμενοι.*

Unless the text is corrupt, *οὐκ* negatives both *ὀλίγων* and *ἀπολειπόμενοι*, a second *οὐκ*, which is required by the sense, being, through a confusion perhaps due to the sense of euphony, omitted. Cp. note on iii. 49. 2. Classen's explanation, 'not without feeble imprecations,' or 'imprecations uttered in a feeble voice,' is not really defended by the Homeric *φθεγξάμενος ὀλίγῃ ὀπί*, Od. xiv. 492, even if the usage of a word in Thucydides could be supported by Homer.

75. 5. *καὶ τούτων οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ἔφερον ὅ τί τις ἐδύνατο ἕκαστος χρήσιμον, καὶ οἱ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς παρὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς αὐτοὶ τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν σιτία ὑπὸ τοῖς ὅπλοις.*

'And of these forty thousand men every one was taking with him what he could which might be of use; even the heavy-armed and the knights were carrying their own food for themselves (*αὐτοί*). *ὑπὸ τοῖς ὅπλοις*, either 1) 'under their shields,' or 2)* 'while actually under arms.'

75. 6. *ἡ ἰσομοιρία τῶν κακῶν, ἔχουσά τινα ὅμως τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν κούφισιν.*

'The common suffering, having in its very community an element of alleviation.' *τὸ μετὰ πολλῶν*, 'inasmuch as it was common to many;' 'acc. of reference,' explaining in what the consolation consisted; or acc. in apposition with *κούφισιν*. Cp. note on ii. 87. 1.

76. *ὁρῶν δὲ ὁ Νικίας τὸ στράτευμα ἀθυμοῦν καὶ ἐν μεγάλῃ μεταβολῇ ὄν, ἐπιπαριὼν ὡς ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐθάρσυνέ τε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, βοῇ τε χρώμενος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἑκάστοις καθ' οὓς γίγνοιτο ὑπὸ προθυμίας, καὶ βουλόμενος ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον γεγωνίσκων ὠφελεῖν.*

These words are generally supposed to mean, 'raising his voice higher than in his previous speeches,' c. 61–64, 69. But the reference is too distant: it is better to take the words *ἔτι μᾶλλον* closely with *ἑκάστοις*, 'raising his voice higher and higher as he went from one to another.' This explanation is confirmed by the indefiniteness of the optative, *καθ' οὓς γίγνοιτο*, 'to whom, from time to time, he came.'

ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ μὲν ἐλπὶς ὅμως θρασεῖα τοῦ μέλλοντος, αἱ δὲ ξυμφοραὶ οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν δὴ φοβοῦσι. τάχα δὲ ἂν καὶ λωφήσειαν. 77. 3.

ὅμως, 'notwithstanding our miserable plight.' Cp. note on vii. 1. 2.

οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν δή, 1)* 'cause me less fear than they ought to do,' or 'would naturally do.' This explanation accords with the consolatory tone of the speech, although the expression κατ' ἀξίαν is singular.

Or 2) emphasizing οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν, and supplying, not ἐμέ, but ὑμᾶς after φοβοῦσι, 'our misfortunes terrify you more than they ought to do,' i. e. are out of proportion to our offences. (Classen.)

Or 3) κατ' ἀξίαν may be taken, 'do not frighten me as if they were deserved by us,'=οὐ καὶ ἀξίαν εἰσὶ καὶ οὐ φοβοῦσί με.

Or 4) 'although I admit that there is something alarming in the very undeservedness of these calamities. But they may pass away.' Thucydides is supposed to be balancing between opposite points of view. And it is true that he does not always observe rhetorical consistency. But the inconsistency, especially with the words ταῖς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν νῦν κακοπαθείαις supra, is greater than can be admitted. For Nicias, after telling the Athenians not to be alarmed at their undeserved misfortunes, could hardly acknowledge that he was alarmed at them himself. And οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν is more naturally construed with the verb.

At first sight it would appear better to take ἀξία in the same sense in both expressions. But in this, as in many other passages, the memory of the writer supplies the same instead of a more appropriate word, though in another sense. This is not an uncommon phenomenon of tautology. Cp. note on iii. 12. 2, and Plato, Rep. 450 D compared with 451 A, where the words ὥστε εὖ με παραμυθεῖ are the repetition, in a different sense, of καλῶς εἶχεν ἡ παραμυθία.

The fear of Nicias that the army has incurred the jealousy of Heaven is quite in accordance with the feeling which he expressed at the original proposal of the expedition, vi. 9. All his life long he has been guarding against the jealousy of the Gods (cp. πολλὰ ἐς θεοὺς νόμιμα δεδιήτημαι); and now he and the expedition have incurred the anger of some God. But the time has come when

77. 3. they have suffered enough, and he is hopeful that the divine wrath may be pacified.

77. 4. *καὶ ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς νῦν τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐλπίζειν ἠπιώτερα ἔξειν· οἴκτου γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀξιώτεροι ἤδη ἐσμὲν ἢ φθόνου.*

ἀπ' αὐτῶν irregularly refers to *τοῦ θεοῦ*: 'God' and 'gods' being hardly distinguishable in the mouth of a Greek. Or Thucydides may have written *ἀπὸ τοῦ θείου* (Krüger), from which *θεοί* may be supplied.

77. 4. *λογίζεσθε δέ, ὅτι αὐτοί τε πόλις εὐθύς ἐστε ὅποι ἂν καθέζησθε, καὶ ἄλλη οὐδεμία ὑμᾶς τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιόντας δέξαιτο ῥᾳδίως οὔτ' ἂν ἱδρυθέντας που ἐξαναστήσειε.*

ἄλλη, 1) 'no city except Syracuse,' or 2)* opposing *αὐτοί τε πόλις ἔστε* to *ἄλλη οὐδεμία*, 'you will be a city which no other city can match.'

77. 6. *σπουδὴ δὲ ὁμοίως καὶ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἔσται τῆς ὁδοῦ.*

Future in the sense of imperative, 'You will have to hurry forward day and night alike.'

77. 6. *προπέπεμπται δ' ὡς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπαντᾶν εἰρημένον καὶ σιτία ἄλλα κομίζειν.*

προπέπεμπται is the true reading found in the Vatican and two other MSS., nearly all the rest reading *προπέμπετε*, which is unmeaning. *καί* before *ἀπαντᾶν* answers to *καί* before *σιτία*.

77. 7. *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις καὶ οὐ τείχη οὐδὲ νῆες ἀνδρῶν κεναί.*

Cp. Alcaeus, 23 [11, 12] Bergk,—

ἄνδρες πόληος πύργος ἀρεΐϊοι·

Aesch. Pers. 348,—

ἔστ' ἄρ' Ἀθηνῶν ἔστ' ἀπόρθητος πόλις.
ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ὄντων ἔρκος ἐστὶν ἀσφαλές.

Soph. Oed. Tyr. 53 foll.—

ὡς εἴπερ ἄρξεις τῆσδε γῆς, ὥσπερ κρατεῖς,
ξὺν ἀνδράσιν κάλλιον ἢ κενῆς κρατεῖν·
ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν οὔτε πύργος οὔτε ναῦς
ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοικούντων ἔσω.

Eur. Phrixus (Dindorf, 820. 10),—

αἱ γὰρ πόλεις εἶσ' ἄνδρες, οὐκ ἐρημία.

τοὺς δὲ σκευοφόρους καὶ τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον ἐντὸς εἶχον οἱ ὁπλῖται. 78. 2.

τὸν πλεῖστον ὄχλον, the light armed, and the camp followers.

καὶ ἐπειδή τε ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῇ διαβάσει τοῦ Ἀνάπου ποταμοῦ, εὗρον ἐπ' 78. 3.
αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένους τῶν Συρακοσίων καὶ ξυμμάχων, καὶ τρεψάμενοι
αὐτοὺς καὶ κρατήσαντες τοῦ πόρου ἐχώρουν ἐς τὸ πρόσθεν· οἱ δὲ Συρακό-
σιοι παριππεύοντές τε προσέκειντο καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες οἱ ψιλοί.

τέ after ἐπειδή involves an anacoluthon, and is answered either by καὶ τρεψάμενοι αὐτούς (in which case τέ is really to be taken with εὗρον, the main verb of the sentence) or by οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι: 'they both found the Syracusans at the ford, and were harassed by them on the other side of it.'

καὶ ἐσακοντίζοντες οἱ ψιλοί. Scil. τῶν Συρακοσίων, part subsumed under the whole.

καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐπίοιεν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπεχώρουν, εἰ δ' ἀναχωροῖεν, ἐπέκειντο, 79. 5.
καὶ μάλιστα τοῖς ὑστάτοις προσπίπτοντες, εἴ πως κατὰ βραχὺ τρεψάμενοι
πᾶν τὸ στράτευμα φοβήσειαν.

καὶ μάλιστα, scil. ἐπέκειντο. Cp. for similar tactics ii. 79 med., iii. 97 fin., iv. 33.

ἦν δὲ ἡ ξύμπασα ὁδὸς αὕτη οὐκ ἐπὶ Κατάνης τῷ στρατεύματι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ 80. 2.
τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς Σικελίας τὸ πρὸς Καμάριναν καὶ Γέλαν καὶ τὰς ταύτῃ
πόλεις καὶ Ἑλληνίδας καὶ βαρβάρους.

ἡ ξύμπασα, i. e. the whole march since the Athenians left Syracuse, and not merely the new direction which their march took after they were intercepted by the Syracusans. Diodorus indeed says (xiii. 18) that they marched first in the direction of Catana. But it is more likely that he misunderstood this passage of Thucydides than that he had any independent information. The worthlessness of his testimony may be measured by his statement that the divisions of Nicias and Demosthenes both surrendered together at the river Assinarus (xiii. 19).

The Athenians, finding their way blocked at the head of the valley by which they had intended to reach the Sicels of the interior, turned to the south-east first, and then due south. They were intending to take the coast road, till they had got so far from Syracuse that they might hope to find the passes unguarded, and

80. 2. then to turn up by one of the neighbouring valleys into the Sicel country.

80. 5. 6. *ἅμα δὲ τῇ ἕῳ ἀφικνοῦνται ὅμως πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐσβάντες ἐς τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν Ἑλωρινὴν καλουμένην ἐπορεύοντο . . . ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, εὗρον καὶ ἐνταῦθα φυλακήν τινα τῶν Συρακοσίων ἀποτειχίζουσάν [τε] καὶ ἀποσταυροῦσαν τὸν πόρον.*

ἀφικνοῦνται probably, and *ἐπεὶ δ'* κ.τ.λ. certainly, refer only to the first division of the army under Nicias. The Syracusans had occupied the river in accordance with the orders of Gylippus, c. 74. There were many places to be guarded, and the troops at the ford would probably be few. Hence the ease with which, here as at the Anapus, they were dispersed by the Athenians.

The *Ἀκραῖον λέπας* and the three small streams Cacyparis, Erineus, and Assinarus, mark the different stages in the route of the Athenians. After the repulse at the *Ἀκραῖον λέπας*, they returned to the coast by night. The two divisions of the army thus far kept together, but they now parted, and by the middle of the next day Nicias was fifty stadia in advance, though at that time he must still have been at a considerable distance from the river Erineus. It is clear therefore that Demosthenes never passed the Cacyparis, for the distance between the two streams is not more than forty stadia. (See Holm, Geschichte von Sicilien, vol. ii. pp. 400, 401.)

Nicias, after halting during this and the next night at the Erineus, passed on to the Assinarus, where he was compelled to surrender. Why the division under his command continued their march along the coast instead of turning up the valley of the Cacyparis or the Erineus, which would have been the nearest way to the Sicels, it is impossible to say. We are only told that they at first intended to take the way of the Cacyparis, but were led on by their guides to the Erineus (c. 80 fin.)

Among the glens leading from the neighbourhood of Syracuse into the interior, there is, according to Holm (l. c.), only one in which the road passes up a steep hill between two precipitous ravines. This pass, now called Salita delle forche, is identified by him with the *Ἀκραῖον λέπας*. The approach to it, at a distance of about half a mile, runs through a ravine called Cava Spampinato, or Cava di

culatrello, and easily admits of such an operation as the attempted cutting off the Athenian army in the rear by the Syracusans (c. 79 med.) 80. 6.

θᾶσσόν τε γὰρ ὁ Νικίας ἦγε, νομίζων οὐ τὸ ὑπομένειν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἑκόντας εἶναι καὶ μάχεσθαι σωτηρίαν . . . ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης ἐτύγχανέ τε τὰ πλείω ἐν πόνῳ ξυνεχεστέρῳ ὢν διὰ τὸ ὑστέρῳ ἀναχωροῦντι αὐτῷ πρώτῳ ἐπικεῖσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τότε γνοὺς τοὺς Συρακοσίους διώκοντας οὐ προὐχώρει μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μάχην ξυνετάσσετο κ.τ.λ. 81. 3, 4.

ὁ δὲ Δημοσθένης answers to θᾶσσόν τε γὰρ ὁ Νικίας, cp. note on i. 11. 1.

καὶ τότε refers to the time when Demosthenes began to be surrounded, § 2 supra. He had been more constantly in difficulties than Nicias because he marched last, and now he prepared to fight instead of retreating, and so fell into utter confusion.

ἀνειληθέντες γὰρ ἔς τι χωρίον ᾧ κύκλῳ μὲν τειχίον περιῆν, ὁδὸς δὲ ἔνθεν τε καὶ ἔνθεν κ.τ.λ. 81. 4.

ὁδός κ.τ.λ. 'A way round,' or 'on both sides of, the enclosure,' which they missed, and which enabled the enemy to surround them.

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἠπείγοντο πρὸς τὸν Ἀσσίναρον ποταμόν, ἅμα μὲν βιαζόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς πανταχόθεν προσβολῆς ἱππέων τε πολλῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου ὄχλου, οἰόμενοι ῥᾷόν τι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι, ἢν διαβῶσι τὸν ποταμόν, ἅμα δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ὡς δὲ γίγνονται ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἐσπίπτουσιν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ἔτι, ἀλλὰ πᾶς τέ τις διαβῆναι αὐτὸς πρῶτος βουλόμενος, καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπικείμενοι χαλεπὴν ἤδη τὴν διάβασιν ἐποίουν. 84. 2, 3.

1) ἠπείγοντο is the principal verb of both clauses, ἅμα μὲν . . . ἅμα δέ. οἰόμενοι is the chief participle of the first clause, to which βιαζόμενοι (=ἐπειδὴ ἐβιάζοντο) is subordinated. ἠπείγοντο οἰόμενοι . . . ἠπείγοντο ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας. 'They pressed on towards the river, in the first place thinking, as they were harassed by the cavalry and the light armed, that they would be somewhat better off if they crossed it, and in the second place impelled by fatigue and thirst.'

Or 2) βιαζόμενοι may be taken as the chief participle of the first clause, and supplied again with ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας.

84. 3. *βουλόμενος*, scil. *ἐσπίπτει*, although *τέ* and *καί* show that the pressure of the crowd as well as the attacks of the enemy are conceived as increasing the difficulty of the passage.

84. 4. *ἐν κοίλῳ ὄντι τῷ ποταμῷ.*

'In the bed of the river which flowed between high banks.' Cp. c. 87 init. *ἐν κοίλῳ χωρίῳ*, said of the stone quarries, and iii. 107 med. *ἐς ὁδόν τινα κοίλην καὶ λοχμώδη.*

86. 2. *κατεβίβασαν ἐς τὰς λιθοτομίας, ἀσφαλεστάτην εἶναι νομίσαντες τήρησιν.*

Cp. Cicero, Act. Secunda in Verrem, 5. 27 (quoted by Classen):—'Latomias Syracusanas omnes audistis, plerique nostis. Opus est ingens, magnificum, regum et tyrannorum: totum est in saxo in mirandam altitudinem depresso et multorum operis penitus exciso; nihil tam clausum ad exitus, nihil tam septum undique, nihil tam tutum ad custodias, nec fieri nec cogitari potest. In has latomias, si qui publice custodiendi sunt, etiam ex ceteris oppidis Siciliae deduci imperantur.'

86. 2. *Νικίαν δὲ καὶ Δημοσθένην ἄκοντος Γυλίππου ἀπέσφαξαν.*

Various accounts were given by later writers of the deaths of Nicias and Demosthenes. By Justin (iv. 5), Demosthenes is said to have put an end to himself, by Plutarch (Nic. xxvii.) he is stated to have wounded himself when he was taken prisoner. His attempt on his own life was also mentioned by Philistus (Paus. i. 29. 9), *γράφω δὲ οὐδὲν διάφορα ἢ Φίλιστος, ὃς ἔφη Δημοσθένην μὲν σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις πλὴν αὑτοῦ, καὶ ὡς ἠλίσκετο, αὐτὸν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποκτεῖναι.* Plutarch (Nic. xxviii.) tells us that, according to Timaeus (circ. 300 B. C.), Demosthenes and Nicias were not put to death by the order of the Syracusans, as Philistus and Thucydides related, but that Hermocrates gave them an opportunity of committing suicide. By Diodorus (xiii. 33), Nicias and Demosthenes are said to have been put to death at the instigation of Gylippus. But such witnesses (with the single exception of Philistus, if he is rightly cited) are not worth adducing either in opposition to the authority of Thucydides, or in support of him. Pausanias (l. c.) further relates that the name of Demosthenes was inserted, and the name of Nicias omitted, on the column at Athens which commemorated those who

fell at Syracuse. The omission of the latter was attributed to his voluntary surrender. 86. 2.

τοὺς γὰρ ἐκ τῆς νήσου ἄνδρας τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ὁ Νικίας προὐθυμήθη σπονδάς, πείσας τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, ποιήσασθαι ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι. 86. 3.

In ὥστε ἀφεθῆναι, 'and then the prisoners would have been liberated,' there is a confusion of the object and result. Nicias wanted to make peace, and the indirect effect of this would have been to liberate the prisoners.

ποιήσασθαι is governed by προὐθυμήθη. The commas should be placed, not after προὐθυμήθη and ποιήσασθαι, but after σπονδάς and Ἀθηναίους. For Thucydides can hardly have meant to say that the liberation of the prisoners was the object which Nicias had in view when negotiating the treaty of peace.

οἱ μὲν δείσαντες, ὅτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεκοινολόγηντο, μὴ βασανιζόμενος διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο ταραχὴν σφίσιν ἐν εὐπραγίᾳ ποιήσῃ. 86. 4.

διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτο, scil. ὅτι ὑπωπτεύθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκοινολογῆσθαι.

ἐν εὐπραγίᾳ. It is singular that the Syracusan traitors should have considered this a time of prosperity for them.

καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτῃ ἢ ὅτι ἐγγύτατα τούτων αἰτίᾳ ἐτεθνήκει, ἥκιστα δὴ ἄξιος ὢν τῶν γε ἐπ' ἐμοῦ Ἑλλήνων ἐς τοῦτο δυστυχίας ἀφικέσθαι διὰ τὴν πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν. 86. 5.

The words πᾶσαν ἐς ἀρετήν are found only in five good (Cass., Ven., Vat., C. and F.) and three indifferent MSS. (Gr., D. and I.) But their omission leaves a poor sense. For the words διὰ τὴν νενομισμένην ἐπιτήδευσιν can only mean, 'because of his customary practice.' The perception of their feebleness has probably led to the insertion of ἐς τὸ θεῖον after νενομισμένην in a few MSS. Lit. 1)* 'because his practice had habitually conformed to all virtue.' Or 2) taking πᾶσαν with ἐπιτήδευσιν, 'because his whole course of life had been regularly passed in conformity to virtue,' or in other words, 'his whole life had been a continual practice of virtue.' Or 3) νενομισμένη ἐπιτήδευσις may be opposed to παρανομία. 'Because he ever practised virtue, or lived virtuously, in the observance of customary obligations.' But the construction of ἐς ἀρετήν (=ἀρετῆς), and the meaning of νενομισμένη (=νομίμη), are forced.

87. 1. *καὶ αἱ νύκτες ἐπιγιγνόμεναι τοὐναντίον μετοπωριναὶ καὶ ψυχραὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ ἐς ἀσθένειαν ἐνεωτέριζον.*

'Produced violent changes which resulted in sickness.'

87. 4. *ἐλήφθησαν δὲ οἱ ξύμπαντες, ἀκριβείᾳ μὲν χαλεπὸν ἐξειπεῖν, ὅμως δὲ οὐκ ἐλάσσους ἑπτακισχιλίων.*

Yet the whole number, on the eighth day before the capture, had been not less than 40,000, c. 75 med. The number of Demosthenes' army who surrendered was 6000, c. 82 med. It seems to follow that the public prisoners brought in from Nicias' army, i. e. the prisoners exclusive of those whom the Syracusan soldiers appropriated, were only about 1000. Of those who escaped to Catana c. 85 fin., a trace is found in Lysias (?) pro Polystrato (xx.) 26, where Polystratus says, *ἐπειδὴ δὲ διεφθάρη* (scil. *τὸ στρατόπεδον*) *καὶ ἀνεσώθην εἰς Κατάνην, ἐληΐζόμην ὁρμώμενος ἐντεῦθεν καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κακῶς ἐποίουν, ὥστε τῇ θεῷ τε τὰς δεκάτας ἐξαιρεθῆναι πλέον ἢ τριάκοντα μνᾶς καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις εἰς σωτηρίαν, ὅσοι ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦσαν.*

BOOK VIII.

We are told by Marcellinus, the unknown Greek writer whose life of Thucydides is commonly prefixed to his works, that the genuineness of the eighth Book was denied by some ancient critics. When they had once entertained the doubt their fertile imagination readily invented fictions in support of their opinion: some attributing the composition of it to his daughter, others to Xenophon, others to Theopompus. Marcellinus is at some pains to refute them:—'The work was not within the compass of a woman's genius:' 'the style shows unmistakeably (*μόνον οὐχὶ βοᾷ*) that it could not have been Xenophon's,' and 'it could not have been Theopompus';' 'the finer judgments rightly attributed it to Thucydides.' Such queries, and the answers to them, are valuable, not for their own sake, but for the light which they throw on the manner of reasoning or thinking prevalent among ancient critics.

It is unnecessary to refute seriously an opinion which has no serious basis. The eighth Book is quoted by ancient writers: it is found in all MSS. except those which, like H. and Vind., are incomplete: it contains minute references to the previous history, (viii. 96 and i. 70 and vii. 55; viii. 15 and ii. 24,) unlikely to have been made by a forger. The love of truth, the power of thought, the absence of moral approbation or disapprobation, the irony, the perception of character, the moderation of statement, the general excellence, no less than the mechanical arrangement into summers and winters, and the minutiae of language and phraseology, 'cry aloud,' in the words of Marcellinus, that the eighth Book is the composition of Thucydides.

It is remarked by Dionysius (De Thuc. Hist. Jud. c. xvi) that no speeches are found in the eighth Book; and it is not unlikely that so trifling an accident may have given rise to the suspicion of its genuineness. If it were worth while to consider such a difficulty at all, it might be remarked that in the fifth and the seventh

Books the speeches are few and unimportant, and that the matter of the eighth is of a kind more suited to the 'oratio obliqua,' of which Thucydides has already given a striking example in ii. 13 and elsewhere. The turbulent assembly, the general thought, the policy of Alcibiades and Tissaphernes, the intentions of the oligarchy, are best described in this new manner. So far was Cratippus, the contemporary of Thucydides, from being right (if indeed he be correctly reported by Dionysius, l. c.) in saying that the historian, having arrived at the conclusion that the speeches were wearisome to the hearers, ceased to introduce them in the latter part of his history.

Even if the eighth Book were in some degree inferior to the previous ones, that would be no real reason for ascribing it to another author. For no author is in every part of his work up to his highest level: he may often fall considerably below it. But no such inferiority is justly chargeable against the eighth Book. The first stunning effect of the great blow, the reviving courage of the citizens, the revolution and counter-revolution, the characters of Antiphon, Phrynichus, Theramenes, and Peisander, the 'scare' at Athens when the Peloponnesian fleet was hovering about the coast: the interview of Tissaphernes with the Athenian envoys, the 'inevitableness' of Alcibiades, life in the camp at Samos and Miletus, are among the most perfect and graphic descriptions to be found in Thucydides.

It is another question whether the eighth Book may not bear some marks of haste and want of finish. The licence of language, which is great in previous books, seems to exceed all bounds in some passages of the eighth, and we cannot reasonably ascribe the irregularity to MS. corruptions alone. We must not, indeed, suppose that, however often Thucydides had rewritten his history, he would have conformed precisely to the rules of a modern Greek Grammar. On the other hand, like every other author, though not 'sitting down at a desk to write,' he must have composed, either in thought or with pen in hand, many of his sentences more than once, adding and altering for the sake of perspicuity and force. That is a process which takes time: nor is it unlikely that the same cause which left the work a fragment may have interfered with the

final revision of it. And the hypothesis of such haste or incompleteness is the most natural account of the more frequent anacolutha and other anomalies of language exhibited in this part of his work.

A few examples will remind the reader of some of the facts on which the above remarks are based:—

viii. c. 14, the *τέ*'s are in great disorder.

„ c. 23, confusion of reading: *παρέπλει* and *παραπέμπει*: difficulty of *ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός*.

„ c. 29, the extra payment of the ships *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς*.

„ c. 45 med. *οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες κ.τ.λ.*

„ c. 63 med. difficulty and confusion of reading.

„ c. 71 med. *ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεί κ.τ.λ.*

„ c. 89 med. *οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν.*

Cp. also the examples collected in Poppo, ed. min. Introduction to Book viii, and Krüger, Dionysii Historiographica, p. 250 foll.

ἐς δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐπειδὴ ἠγγέλθη, ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπίστουν καὶ τοῖς πάνυ **l. 1.** *τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου διαπεφευγόσι καὶ σαφῶς ἀγγέλλουσι, μὴ οὕτω γε ἂν πανσυδὶ διεφθάρθαι.*

τοῖς πάνυ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, 1) 'the most trustworthy soldiers.' It is hard however to extract this or any other suitable meaning from *οἱ πάνυ στρατιῶται*. The expression *τοῦ πάνυ Περικλέους*, 'the great Pericles,' Xen. Mem. iii. 5. 1, is not sufficiently parallel. It is better 2)* to take the word *πάνυ* with *διαπεφευγόσι*, 'they disbelieved the actual,' or 'very, soldiers who had escaped from the scene of action;' and so probably *τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν*, viii. 89 init.

χαλεποὶ μὲν ἦσαν τοῖς ξυμπροθυμηθεῖσι τῶν ῥητόρων τὸν ἔκπλουν, ὥσπερ **l. 1.** *οὐκ αὐτοὶ ψηφισάμενοι.*

Either 1) 'who had joined with the people,' or 2) 'who had vied with one another, in promoting the expedition.' Cp. *οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων ξύμμαχοι ξυμπροθυμηθέντες*, c. 2 med., either 'joining in the universal excitement,' or 'united among themselves.'

ὠργίζοντο δὲ καὶ τοῖς χρησμολόγοις τε καὶ μάντεσι καὶ ὁπόσοι τι τότε **l. 1.** *αὐτοὺς θειάσαντες ἐπῆλπισαν ὡς λήψονται Σικελίαν.*

μάντις is the more general term, including divination of all kinds.

1. 1. The *μάντις* is opposed by Plato in a fanciful passage of the Timaeus (72 A, B) to the *προφήτης*, who only announces the result of divination. The *χρησμολόγος* is the promulgator or circulator of oracles, spoken of not without a certain contempt, ii. 8 med. *πολλὰ μὲν λόγια ἐλέγοντο, πολλὰ δὲ χρησμολόγοι ᾄδον* : ii. 21 med. *χρησμολόγοι τε ᾄδον χρησμοὺς παντοίους. μάντις* being a general term for 'diviner,' is also used for a state or official diviner, as frequently by the Tragedians, and by Thucydides, vi. 69 med. *μάντεις σφάγια προὔφερον τὰ νομιζόμενα*: vii. 50 fin. *πρίν, ὡς οἱ μάντεις ἐξηγοῦντο, τρὶς ἐννέα ἡμέρας μεῖναι.*

ἐπήλπισαν, scil. *αὐτούς*, 'made them believe' by divination; used actively by late authors, Appian, Lucian, and Dio Cassius, and cited by Suid. s. v. *ἐπελπίζων* and *Πυθαγόρας Ἐφέσιος*.

2. 2. *καὶ μηδ' ὑπολείπειν λόγον αὐτοῖς ὡς τό γ' ἐπιὸν θέρος οἷοί τε ἔσονται περιγενέσθαι.*

'They would not leave them any ground for saying that they would last over the coming summer,' or 'they would not hear of their lasting.' In the phrase *ὑπολείπειν λόγον* the feeling of the allies respecting the Athenians is transferred with a certain additional force to the Athenians themselves. Cp. for the thought vii. 28 med., and for *ὑπολείπειν λόγον* Antiph. Tetral. B. *β*. (iii.) 4, *εἰ μὲν γὰρ τὸ ἀκόντιον ἔξω τῶν ὅρων τῆς αὐτοῦ πορείας ἐπὶ τὸν παῖδα ἐξενεχθὲν ἔτρωσεν αὐτόν, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν λόγος ὑπελείπετο μὴ φονεὺς εἶναι* (Krüger).

2. 3. *καὶ μάλιστα, ὅτι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας αὐτοῖς ξύμμαχοι πολλῇ δυνάμει, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἤδη τοῦ ναυτικοῦ προσγεγενημένου, ἅμα τῷ ἦρι, ὡς εἰκός, παρέσεσθαι ἔμελλον.*

In the early part of the war the Sicilian Greeks, though invited to send ships (ii. 7, cp. iii. 86 init.), had never thought of complying with the request, whereas 1)* they had now been compelled by circumstances to add a fleet to their army (*προσ-*).

The words *κατ' ἀνάγκην κ.τ.λ.* have also been referred 2) to the increased efforts of the Peloponnesians themselves; but they can hardly be said to have 'acquired a navy of necessity,' like the Sicilians.

πρασσόντων δὲ ταῦτα ἀμφοτέρων καὶ ὄντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὥσπερ ἀρχο- **5. 1.**
μένων ἐν κατασκευῇ τοῦ πολέμου.

κατασκευή is a stronger word than the more usual παρασκευή. 'Laying the foundation for a new war, as if they were just beginning.'

The use of κατασκευάζεσθαι and παρασκευάζεσθαι is well illustrated by ii. 85 init. κελεύοντες ἄλλην ναυμαχίαν βελτίω **κατασκευάζεσθαι**, compared with ii. 86 med. μελετῶντές τε καὶ **παρασκευαζόμενοι** τὴν ναυμαχίαν, where παρασκευάζεσθαι applies to the immediate preparation for the battle, and κατασκευάζεσθαι to the creation of the circumstances under which it was to be brought about.

ὑπὸ βασιλέως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε πεπραγμένος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ **5. 5.**
ἀρχῆς φόρους, οὓς δι' Ἀθηναίους ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενος
πράσσεσθαι ἐπωφείλησε.

This passage has been supposed to show that, although the Greek cities had long ceased to pay tribute to the King (for it would be ridiculous to imagine that they paid two tributes, one to the King and the other to the Athenians for liberating them from the King); yet that the tribute account was kept, as before the defeat of the Persians, in the King's books, and that encouraged by the rumour of the Athenian reverses he had now at length begun to think of collecting it. It is true that Herodotus, in a well-known passage (vi. 42, see Professor Rawlinson), speaks of the tribute which was imposed on the Ionian cities after the revolt, B.C. 493, as continuing to his own day, φόρους ἔταξε ἑκάστοισι, οἳ κατὰ χώρην διατελέουσι ἔχοντες ἐκ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου αἰεὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμέ, ὡς ἐτάχθησαν ἐξ Ἀρταφέρνεος. But he is supposed to mean, not that the tribute was paid, but only that the assessment remained the same. See note in Grote, Part II. ch. xlv. ad fin. The orators and historians also spoke of a perhaps fabulous Peace of Cimon or Callias, not mentioned in Thucydides, by which the cities in Asia were freed from the tribute. For authorities see Grote, and cp. note on viii. 56. 4.

It must be admitted, on the other hand, that this conception of the fact does violence to the text of Herodotus, who certainly implies that the tribute continued to the time at which he wrote his history, that is to say, to the middle or end of the Peloponnesian war. It is improbable that he should have confused the

5. 5. mere entry of the tribute with the payment of it. He must have known whether it was paid or not, and if he had intended to distinguish between the assessment and the payment he would not have expressed himself so ambiguously. Not that there is anything improbable in the supposition that such a register of unpaid debts may have been kept for some generations by an oriental monarch; and the existence of such a register would agree with the words of Thucydides, who here tells us that in the nineteenth year of the war, 412 B.C., the Persian tribute was still considered by the Persians to be a debt owing from the Greek cities of Asia. On the other hand, the theory, however probable in itself, is not needed to explain the fact that in a time of Athenian reverses the Great King made an attempt to recover some of his ancient privileges. Nor is there any proof of its truth. The decline of the tribute may have been gradual. All the Greek cities in Asia were not freed from it immediately after the Persian War. For Thucydides informs us that the revenues of Lampsacus and Myus, two towns on or near the sea coast, beside those of Magnesia in the interior of the country, were assigned by the King about the year 465 for the maintenance of Themistocles (i. 138 fin.)

At what point the claims of the Athenian confederacy came into collision with the Persian demand we are not informed. It is probable that no very exact limits separated them. We may certainly infer from the tenor of the history that, at some time between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars, the tribute had ceased to be paid to the King by the Greek cities. But whether they were all freed at the same date, e. g. by the 'treaty of Cimon or Callias,' or at various times, we have no means of determining. The cities of the interior would probably have paid long after the cities on the coast, and it may have been from some of them that Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus were endeavouring to collect the revenue due to the King. The passage of Herodotus we must leave unexplained.

6. 3. *ξυνέπρασσε γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ* Ἀλκιβιάδης, *Ἐνδίῳ ἐφορεύοντι πατρικὸς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ξένος ὤν, ὅθεν καὶ τοὔνομα Λακωνικὸν ἡ οἰκία αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν ξενίαν ἔσχεν·* Ἔνδιος γὰρ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐκαλεῖτο.

'And this was the reason why a name which was Lacedaemo- 6. 3.
nian came into their family' (i.e. into the family of Alcibiades), 'because of the friendship; for Alcibiades was the name of Endius' father,' lit. 'he was called Endius the son of Alcibiades,' i.e. the two names alternated in his family. The word Λακωνικόν shows that αὐτῶν refers to the family of Alcibiades, and not of Endius; for there would be nothing memorable in the family of Endius bearing a Spartan name: v. 43 med. shows that the connection was ancient, having existed in the time of Alcibiades' grandfather, whose name was also Alcibiades (Herod. viii. 17), if not earlier.

πέμψαντες Φρῦνιν ἄνδρα περίοικον. 6. 4.

See note on c. 22. 1.

τοῦ δ' ἐπιγιγνομένου θέρους εὐθὺς ἐπειγομένων τῶν Χίων ἀποστεῖλαι τὰς 7. 1.
ναῦς, καὶ δεδιότων μὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ πρασσόμενα αἴσθωνται (πάντες γὰρ κρύφα αὐτῶν ἐπρεσβεύοντο), ἀποπέμπουσιν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐς Κόρινθον ἄνδρας Σπαρτιάτας τρεῖς.

ἀποστεῖλαι with the middle *ἐπειγομένων* should properly express an action of the Chians themselves. But the middle or reflexive sense may still be retained, 'being eager in their own interest that the Lacedaemonians should send ships,' or, 'being eager that the Lacedaemonians should send ships to themselves,' i.e. the Chians.

ἦσαν δὲ αἱ ξύμπασαι τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν νῆες αὐτόθι μιᾶς δέουσαι τεσ- 7. 1.
σαράκοντα.

αἱ ξύμπασαι τῶν ξυμμαχικῶν νῆες, 'all the ships belonging to the contingents of the allies.' Cp. Xen. Cyr. iii. 3. 12, *ἐδίδασκεν ἥ ἕκαστον ἰσχυρὸν ἦν τῶν συμμαχικῶν* (Krüger).

οὐκ ἐκοινωνοῦντο τὸν στόλον. 8. 1.

Two or three MSS. read *ἐκοινοῦντο*. But the weight of authority is in favour of *ἐκοινωνοῦντο*. Though this verb is usually followed by a genitive, there is nothing in its meaning which would make it incapable of taking an accusative with a word of cognate signification. Cp. Eur. El. 1048,—

τίς ἂν πατρὸς σοῦ φόνον ἐκοινώνησέ μοι;

Nor can we argue that in the time of Thucydides, when the

8. 1. usage of the verb generally was far from fixed, the middle κοινωνεῖσθαι may not have been employed as well as the active κοινωνεῖν.

8. 4. καταφρονήσαντες τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀδυνασίαν.

The acc. and gen. are governed by the idea of καταγνόντες contained in καταφρονήσαντες. Cp. vi. 34 fin. δικαίως κατεγνωκότες ὅτι αὐτοὺς οὐ μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐφθείρομεν, = ἐγνωκότες καθ' ἡμῶν, where the meaning of κατεγνωκότες approaches that of καταφρονήσαντες.

9. 1. οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι, ἐπειγομένων αὐτῶν τὸν πλοῦν, οὐ προὐθυμήθησαν ξυμπλεῖν πρὶν τὰ Ἴσθμια, ἃ τότε ἦν, διεορτάσωσιν.

αὐτῶν, scil. the other members of the confederacy.

As it is difficult to suppose that the Peloponnesians would have allowed three months of the summer to pass in doing nothing, we must assume that the Isthmian games were celebrated in this year not later than the month of May. They occurred at intervals of two years; at the end of the fourth or beginning of the first year of an Olympiad, and at the end of the second or beginning of the third. It has been thought that in the former case they took place in the middle of summer, in the latter case in spring, of which there is some indirect evidence in ancient writers. (See Krause, Pyth. Nem. Isthm. iii. § 3, and on the other side, Hermann, Lehrb. der gottesdienstl. Alterthümer, 49. 14, 15.) But this hypothesis, even if it could be substantiated, would not help us here, as the year 412 is the first of an Olympiad. The difficulty must therefore be left unsolved. We have no direct statement as to the time of the Isthmian games, and the authorities usually cited, Schol. on Pind. Ol. 9. 83, Xen. Hell. iv. 5, Liv. xxxiii. 27, 32, 33, Curtius, iv. 22, Hesychius, s. v. Ἰσθμίασι, and Suidas, are untrustworthy, or only show that they were held either in the spring or summer.

9. 2. τὸ πιστὸν ναῦς σφίσι ξυμπέμπειν ἐκέλευον ἐς τὸ ξυμμαχικόν.

τὸ πιστὸν κ.τ.λ., 'as the pledge which the Athenians required of their fidelity to the alliance.' Cp. iii. 11 init. τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος μόνον πιστὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν.

10. 1. ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἴσθμια ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι (ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ) ἐθεώρουν ἐς αὐτά.

ἐπηγγέλθησαν, scil. οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, or αἱ σπονδαί understood from τὰ Ἴσθμια, or τὰ Ἴσθμια may be the nominative, names of feasts being frequently used with plural verbs, cp. Κάρνεια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἐτύγχανον ὄντα, v. 75 init. 10. 1.

ὕστερον ἄλλας προσπληρώσαντες ἑπτὰ καὶ τριάκοντα κ.τ.λ. 10. 3.

Not, 'having manned in addition to the twenty-one ships thirty-seven others;' but the Athenians, after they had returned home, manned an increased fleet (προσ-), making in all thirty-seven ships. The expression is curious, but the meaning is required by the context.

ἔπειτα ὡρμημένων αὐτῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ τῶν νεῶν καταφυγὴν ἠγγέλθη. 11. 3.

That ὡρμημένων αὐτῶν must mean, not 'after they had started,' but 'when they had resolved to start,' is clear from the words at the end of the chapter, τὰς ναῦς τὰς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν οὐκέτι διενοοῦντο πέμπειν, ἀλλὰ καί τινας προαπηγμένας μετακαλεῖν.

Ἐνδίῳ τε αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ ἔλεγε καλὸν εἶναι δι' ἐκείνου ἀποστῆσαί τε Ἰωνίαν καὶ βασιλέα ξύμμαχον ποιῆσαι Λακεδαιμονίοις, καὶ μὴ Ἄγιδος τὸ ἀγώνισμα τοῦτο γενέσθαι. 12. 2.

1)* τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους, or τινά, must be supplied as the subject to ἀποστῆσαι, 'that the Lacedaemonians should make the Ionians revolt,' or 'that the revolt of Ionia should be effected,' δι' ἐκείνου, 'through the instrumentality of Endius.' Or 2) δι' ἐκείνου is referred to Alcibiades. But in this case the words are to be regarded as subordinate or explanatory. Not 'it would bring glory to Endius that he stirred up a revolt in Chios through the instrumentality of Alcibiades,'—for the assistance of Alcibiades would diminish the glory of Endius—but 'it would bring glory to Endius to stir up a revolt in Chios, and Alcibiades would assist him in effecting this.'

καὶ οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ ἐν θαύματι ἦσαν καὶ ἐκπλήξει· τοῖς δ' ὀλίγοις παρεσκεύαστο ὥστε βουλήν τε τυχεῖν ξυλλεγομένην, καὶ λεγομένων λόγων ἀπό τε τοῦ Χαλκιδέως καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου ὡς ἄλλαι τε νῆες πολλαὶ προσπλέουσι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῶν ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ νεῶν οὐ δηλωσάντων, ἀφίστανται Χῖοι καὶ αὖθις Ἐρυθραῖοι Ἀθηναίων. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τρισὶ ναυσὶ πλεύσαντες καὶ Κλαζομενὰς ἀφιστᾶσι. 14. 2. 3.

14. 3. *βουλήν τε.* Grammatically there is nothing answering to *τε*, which really couples 'the sitting of the council' with 'the announcement of reinforcements' as though *καὶ λέγεσθαι λόγους* followed.

In *ἄλλαι τε νῆες*, again, it is hard to trace the missing clause. *καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρόθυμοί εἰσι*, or some similar expression, may have been intended to follow. Or the connection may be, 'speeches were made, intimating the approach of reinforcements, and concealing the detention of the ships.' But in both these instances the irregularity is softened to the ear by the *καί* which follows, though grammatically unconnected with the preceding *τέ*. Cp. note on i. 9. 3, §§ 2, 3, and for *τέ* before *τοῦ Χαλκιδέως*, § 1.

ξυλλεγομένην, either 1)* 'had assembled;' for the present or imperfect participle may indicate a state as well as a process. Or 2) 'had been assembling,' as in the so-called use of the imperfect for the pluperfect, ii. 23, *ἀπέστειλαν τὰς ἑκατὸν ναῦς ἅσπερ παρεσκευάζοντο* and elsewhere. Cp. note on v. 50. 3. Or 3) 'that the council should be assembling,' i. e. just assembled, neither long before nor after the appearance of Alcibiades.

ἀφιστᾶσι. Either the Chians, or Chalcideus and Alcibiades.

15. 1. *τά τε χίλια τάλαντα, ὧν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ πολέμου ἐγλίχοντο μὴ ἅψασθαι, εὐθὺς ἔλυσαν τὰς ἐπικειμένας ζημίας τῷ εἰπόντι ἢ ἐπιψηφίσαντι ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἐκπλήξεως, καὶ ἐψηφίσαντο κινεῖν.*

The imperfect construction of *τὰ χίλια τάλαντα* which, in the language of the old grammarians, would have been called an accusative absolute, i. e. without construction, is somewhat tardily supplied by the verb *κινεῖν*. Cp. note on ii. 62. 1.

16. 2. *προαισθόμενος δὲ ὁ Στρομβιχίδης προανήγετο· καὶ μετεωρισθεὶς ἐν τῷ πελάγει, ὡς ἑώρα τὰς ναῦς πολλὰς τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς Χίου φυγὴν ἐποιεῖτο ἐπὶ τῆς Σάμου.*

Strombichides, the Athenian admiral, sighted from Teos the ships under Chalcideus, and 'proceeded to put out into the open sea before they arrived' (*προανήγετο*). When out of reach he took an observation of their numbers, and made a hasty retreat.

16. 3. *καὶ ἐπέσχον μὲν οἱ πεζοί, καὶ Χαλκιδέα ἐκ τῆς διώξεως περιμένοντες.*

καί, 'waiting for Chalcideus who was to join them,' or 'who was to be there as well as themselves.' **16. 3.**

καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατὰ πόδας μιᾶς δεούσαις εἴκοσι ναυσὶν ἐπιπλεύσαντες κ.τ.λ. **17. 3.**

We should expect twenty ships (not nineteen), eight under Strombichides, and twelve under Thrasycles; cp. c. 24 init. One of them may have been left behind at Samos. So c. 23 init. twenty-five Athenian ships are mentioned where we should expect twenty-six. Cp. note on c. 10. 3, c. 20. 1: also note on c. 99.

μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα οἱ Χῖοι ... ἔπλευσαν ἐς Ἄναια, ... καὶ ἐλθούσης παρὰ Χαλκιδέως ἀγγελίας αὐτοῖς ἀποπλεῖν πάλιν, καὶ ὅτι Ἀμόργης παρέσται κατὰ γῆν στρατιᾷ κ.τ.λ. **19. 1. 2.**

Anaea was friendly (iv. 75 med.), Amorges hostile (viii. 5 fin., 28 med.), to the Chians and Peloponnesians.

Classen is disposed to omit *καί* before *ὅτι*, on the dangerous principle of improving the meaning without regard to the authority of the MSS. But there is no necessity to suppose that the expected arrival of their enemy Amorges was the sole reason why Chalcideus desired the Chian squadron to withdraw.

ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ εἴκοσι νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων, καταδιωχθεῖσαι τότε καὶ ἐφορμούμεναι ἴσῳ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων κ.τ.λ. **20. 1.**

ἴσῳ ἀριθμῷ. These words would seem to show that the blockading squadron had not been filled up to its original strength (thirty-seven ships, c. 10. med.) as c. 15 fin. *ἑτέρας δ' ἀντὶ πασῶν τῶν ἀπελθουσῶν νεῶν ... διὰ τάχους πληρώσαντες ἀντέπεμψαν* might be thought to imply.

ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας τοὺς πάντας τῶν δυνατῶν ἀπέκτεινε τετρακοσίους δὲ φυγῇ ζημιώσαντες κ.τ.λ. **21.**

ἐς διακοσίους μέν τινας τοὺς πάντας, 'amounting to some two hundred in all.' This narrative, as Grote remarks, shows that an oligarchical government was allowed to exist under the Athenian democracy. See his note, Part II. ch. lxi. med.

Ἀθηναίων σφίσιν αὐτονομίαν μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς βεβαίοις ἤδη ψηφισαμένων. **21.**

21. A few words of this decree have been found on the Acropolis (Kirchhoff, C. I. A. 56). See Appendices to Introduction.

22. 1. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ αὐτοῦ θέρους οἱ Χῖοι, ὥσπερ ἦρξαντο, οὐδὲν ἀπολείποντες προθυμίας, ἄνευ τε Πελοποννησίων πλήθει παρόντες ἀποστῆσαι τὰς πόλεις, καὶ βουλόμενοι ἅμα ὡς πλείστους σφίσι ξυγκινδυνεύειν, στρατεύονται αὐτοί τε τρισκαίδεκα ναυσὶν ἐπὶ τὴν Λέσβον κ.τ.λ.*

The words *ἀποστῆσαι τὰς πόλεις*, 1)* are governed by *ὥσπερ ἦρξαντο*. Two motives influenced the Chians in sending the expedition: *a*) they had begun to act independently, *b*) they wanted to draw as many cities as they could into their own danger. *τέ* and *καί* join *ὥσπερ ἦρξαντο ἀποστῆσαι* with *βουλόμενοι*. *τέ* might have followed *ὥσπερ*, but is joined with *ἄνευ Πελοποννησίων*, either because this is the more emphatic part of the sentence, or because the writer may not have thought of opposing the clause *καὶ βουλόμενοι ἅμα* to *ὥσπερ ἦρξαντο*, until he arrived at these words. Cp. note on i. 9. 3. §§ 1, 4. *ἀποστῆσαι* has also been taken 2) with *παρόντες*, 'coming to make the cities revolt.' But the infinitive after *παρόντες* cannot be defended.

22. 1. *ἦρχε δ' αὐτοῦ Εὐάλας Σπαρτιάτης, τῶν δὲ νεῶν Δεινιάδας περίοικος.*

There appears to be no reason for translating, as in the English text, 'one of the Chian Perioeci.' For another example of the employment of the Lacedaemonian Perioeci in high places cp. c. 6 med. *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . κατάσκοπον ἐς τὴν Χῖον πέμψαντες Φρῦνιν ἄνδρα περίοικον, εἰ αἵ τε νῆες αὐτοῖς εἰσὶν ὅσασπερ ἔλεγον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἡ πόλις ἱκανή ἐστι πρὸς τὴν λεγομένην δόξαν.*

23. 4. *ἀλλὰ τὴν Ἔρεσον ἀποστήσας καὶ ὁπλίσας, καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ νεῶν ὁπλίτας πεζῇ παραπέμπει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν, ἄρχοντα Ἐτεόνικον προστάξας· καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς τε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ ναυσὶ καὶ ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπλει, ἐλπίζων τοὺς Μυτιληναίους κ.τ.λ.*

This passage can hardly be defended as it stands in most of the MSS. *πεζῇ παρέπλει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν*:—*ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς Χίαις παρέπλει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν*: the similarity of *ὁπλίσας* and *ὁπλίτας*, the repetition of *παρέπλει*, and of *ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν* after the second *παρέπλει*, and the absence of any construction for *ὁπλίτας* (to govern which, if we read *παρέπλει*, no

verb can be supplied from the context), indicate some corruption. 23. 4. One MS., the Vatican, has παραπέμπει (one inferior MS. παράπεμπε τέ) instead of παρέπλει, and omits the second ἐπὶ τὴν Ἄντισσαν καὶ Μήθυμναν: from this reading a fair sense may be elicited. 'He instigated Eresus to revolt, and armed the inhabitants; then he sent by land the hoplites belonging to his own ships, under the command of Eteonicus, to Antissa and Methymna, while he himself, with his own ships and the three Chian, sailed along the shore thither.' παρέπλει corresponds to πεζῇ παραπέμπει, the movement of the land forces accompanying that of the ships. καί before τοὺς ἀπό marks the relation between the following and the preceding clause (τὴν Ἔρεσον ἀποστήσας), and also connects ὁπλίτας with ὁπλίσας.

ὡς δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ ἐν τῇ Λέσβῳ πάντα ἠναντιοῦτο, ἀπέπλευσε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ 23. 5. στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἐς τὴν Χίον. ἀπεκομίσθη δὲ πάλιν κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός, ὃς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐμέλλησεν ἰέναι.

1) ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός seems to mean the troops of the Asiatic cities (c. 22 med., cp. 16 init.) which had marched along the coast in the direction of Clazomenae and Cymè in order to cooperate with the Chian fleet. But, in order to explain the words ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, we must assume that they had been afterwards taken on board the Chian fleet, carried to Lesbos, and there disembarked; and that they were now conveyed home by Astyochus.

On the other hand *a*) it is difficult to suppose that if these troops had been conveyed to Lesbos, the fact of their disembarkation would have been omitted. And *b*) κατὰ πόλεις would apply only to the forces from the Asiatic cities; there would be no mention of the Peloponnesians who accompanied them.

2) The first objection may be removed if we take the words ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός as referring to the circumstance that the Peloponnesian troops had been disembarked from the ships of Chalcideus, and their place taken by Chians. For this fact has been mentioned, c. 17 init. But then the expression ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός is inconsistent with κατὰ πόλεις. For the forces of the Asiatic cities (to whom alone the latter words apply) were not taken from the ships of Chalcideus.

Or once more, 3) ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν πεζός means the troops who may

23. 5. have escaped from the Chian ships taken by the Athenians at Mitylene (c. 23 med.), and who are said to have been 'about to proceed to the Hellespont' (cp. c. 22 med.), in order to distinguish them from the forces of Astyochus. But still the expression is defective; and we hear nothing of the return of the Asiatic and Peloponnesian forces on the mainland.

24. 2. *πόλεμον ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἐποιοῦντο.*

I. e. made descents on the land and then returned to their ships.

24. 2. *εἶχον δ' ἐπιβάτας τῶν ὁπλιτῶν ἐκ καταλόγου ἀναγκαστούς.*

The *ἐπιβάται* were generally drawn from the fourth or lowest class of citizens, who were not regular hoplites *ἐκ καταλόγου*, but only armed for the time; cp. vi. 43 med. On this occasion the hoplites were compelled to serve owing to the exigency of the crisis.

24. 4. *καὶ ὅσῳ ἐπεδίδου ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον, τόσῳ καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρώτερον.*

'In the same degree did they organize their state more securely.' Cp. for the expression c. 72 fin. *μένειν ἐν τῷ ὀλιγαρχικῷ κόσμῳ.*

24. 5. *μετὰ πολλῶν, οἷς ταὐτὰ ἔδοξε, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ταχὺ ξυναιρεθήσεσθαι, τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ξυνέγνωσαν.*

τὴν ἁμαρτίαν, a cognate accusative after *ξυνέγνωσαν*, 1)* 'they shared this error of judgment.' Cp. vii. 73 init. *οἱ δὲ ξυνεγίγνωσκον μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐχ ἧσσον ταῦτα ἐκείνου.* Or 2) 'they, like the other allies, found out their mistake.'

ξυναιρεθήσεσθαι, 'would be utterly overthrown.' For the intensive force of *ξυν-* cp. note on ii. 41. 4.

25. 2. *οἱ μετὰ Χαλκιδέως ἐλθόντες Πελοποννήσιοι.*

Probably not the crews, whom he had armed and left in Chios (c. 17 init.) where they reappear (c. 32 init.), but the *ἐπιβάται*, or marines, of his five ships.

25. 3. *Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τούς τε Πελοποννησίους πρώτους νικήσαντες, καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καὶ τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον ὡσάμενοι κ.τ.λ.*

τὸν ἄλλον ὄχλον, the inferior part of the army, either light armed

troops belonging to the Milesians, or the mercenaries of Tissa- 25, 3.
phernes.

ἐν τούτῳ δὲ περὶ δείλην ἤδη ὀψίαν ἀγγέλλεται αὐτοῖς τὰς ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου καὶ Σικελίας πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα ναῦς ὅσον οὐ παρεῖναι. 26. 1.

πέντε καὶ πεντήκοντα is not to be taken closely with the article. The meaning is, 'the Peloponnesian and Sicilian fleet, which might have been expected, numbering fifty-five ships,' i. e. twenty-two Sicilian and thirty-three Peloponnesian ships. Even thus *τάς* has no definite antecedent, which can only be supplied in the most general sense from the context, the expression indicating the natural sequence of events in the writer's mind rather than in the actual narrative. The number originally intended had been forty (c. 6): of these ten were to be supplied by the Lacedaemonians, but after the earthquake the ten were reduced to five; which were sent off with Chalcideus. Why the number here is thirty-three and not thirty we cannot tell.

κατέπλευσαν ἐς Λέρον πρῶτον τὴν πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσον. 26. 1.

Λέρον, the reading of the Vatican MS., instead of *Ἔλεον*, a name otherwise unknown, must here be read. It is confirmed by the words at the beginning of the following chapter, *ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς Λέρου ἐπύθετο*, and by *ἐς τὸν Ἰασικὸν κόλπον πλεύσαντες* just below, for Leros lay opposite the mouth of the Gulf of Iasus. The objection that Leros is about forty miles distant from Miletus, and could hardly have been described as *ἡ πρὸ Μιλήτου νῆσος*, is sufficiently answered by referring to the general want of accuracy in Thucydides about places and distances.

ὅπου γὰρ ἔξεστιν ἐν ὑστέρῳ, σαφῶς εἰδότας πρὸς ὁπόσας τε ναῦς πολεμίας καὶ ὅσαις πρὸς αὐτὰς ταῖς σφετέραις, ἱκανῶς καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν παρασκευασαμένοις ἔσται ἀγωνίσασθαι, οὐδέποτε τῷ αἰσχρῷ ὀνείδει εἴξας ἀλόγως διακινδυνεύσειν. 27. 2.

The simplest way of explaining this passage, in which there is no material variation of the MSS., is to suppose that *ἔξεστιν* is forgotten in consequence of the length of the sentence, and has been repeated in *ἔσται*. For the repetition cp. note on v. 22. 2. *τῷ*

27. 2. *αἰσχρῷ ὀνείδει*, 'the discreditable reproach,' of which the other generals seemed to be afraid.

27. 3. *οὐ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι Ἀθηναίους ναυτικῷ μετὰ καιροῦ ὑποχωρῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ ὁτουοῦν τρόπου αἴσχιον ξυμβήσεσθαι ἢν ἡσσηθῶσι.*

μετὰ ὁτουοῦν τρόπου answers to *μετὰ καιροῦ*, 'when circumstances required,' and 'under any circumstances.'

• *αἴσχιον*, a resolved comparative; not 'more base,' but 'base rather.' See note on ii. 40. 1.

27. 3. *καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὐ μόνον τῷ αἰσχρῷ ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ περιπίπτειν, ἢ μόλις ἐπὶ ταῖς γεγενημέναις ξυμφοραῖς ἐνδέχεσθαι μετὰ βεβαίου παρασκευῆς καθ' ἑκουσίαν, ἢ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκῃ, προτέρᾳ ποι ἐπιχειρεῖν, ποῦ δὴ μὴ βιαζομένῃ γε πρὸς αὐθαιρέτους κινδύνους ἰέναι;*

ἢ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκῃ, 1)* 'the state, even if she had a sufficient force, should hardly take the aggressive voluntarily,' but then, as if this statement were too strong, a correction is made, 'or only from absolute necessity,' i. e. 'and should only do so at all from absolute necessity.' The correction is itself slightly incorrect, for in the alternative we have to omit the words *μετὰ βεβαίου παρασκευῆς* and *καθ' ἑκουσίαν*.

Or 2) repeating the words *μετὰ βεβαίου παρασκευῆς*, but not *καθ' ἑκουσίαν*, with *ἢ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκῃ* (the expression being still somewhat incorrect), 'even with a sufficient force' (which they had not) 'they could only venture to fight when absolutely compelled;' *ἢ πάνυ γε ἀνάγκῃ*, 'or only when compelled,' = 'but only when compelled.'

ποῦ has the sense of *πῶς*. Cp. Soph. Aj. 1100,—

ποῦ σὺ στρατηγεῖς τοῦδε;

Herod. ii. 11, *κοὐ γε δή, ἐν τῷ προαναισιμωμένῳ χρόνῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι, οὐκ ἂν χωσθείη κόλπος καὶ πολλῷ μέζων ἔτι τούτου ὑπὸ τοσούτου τε ποταμοῦ καὶ οὕτως ἐργατικοῦ*; where the reading has been unnecessarily changed into *ἢ κου* as here into *ἢ που*.

Lindau's emendation *ἢ που*, adopted by Stahl and Classen, rests on what may be called the fallacy of parallel passages: i. 142 init. and vi. 37 fin. For there is no reason why Thucydides should have written in one passage as he had written in another.

27. 5. *καὶ ἔδοξεν οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὕστερον, οὐκ ἐς τοῦτο μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς ὅσα ἄλλα Φρύνιχος κατέστη, οὐκ ἀξύνετος εἶναι.*

Thucydides here passes a judgment on the political life of Phrynichus, including his future career as a leading member of the 400 (*οὐκ ἐν τῷ αὐτίκα μᾶλλον ἢ ὕστερον*, cp. c. 68 fin.), similar to that which he elsewhere pronounces upon Antiphon (c. 68 init.) **27. 5.**

καὶ μείναντες ἡμέραν μίαν, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ καὶ τὰς Χίας ναῦς προσλαβόντες **28. 1.** *τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδέως τὸ πρῶτον ξυγκαταδιωχθείσας, ἐβούλοντο πλεῦσαι ἐπὶ τὰ σκεύη, ἃ ἐξείλοντο, ἐς Τειχιοῦσσαν πάλιν.*

τὰς μετὰ Χαλκιδέως. The ships which had been chased by Strombichides into Miletus, c. 17 fin. *τὰ σκεύη ἃ ἐξείλοντο*, i. e. the superfluous sails and tackle, which had been taken out in preparation for a sea-fight. Cp. Xen. Hell. i. 1. 13, *Ἀλκιβιάδης δέ, εἰπὼν καὶ τούτοις διώκειν αὐτόν, ἐξελομένοις τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία, αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν ἐς Πάριον*: vi. 2. 27, *τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία αὐτοῦ κατελιπεν, ὡς ἐπὶ ναυμαχίαν πλέων.*

πείθει αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴασον, ἐν ᾗ Ἀμόργης πολέμιος ὢν κατεῖχε, πλεῦσαι. **28. 2.**

κατεῖχε, neuter, a stronger form of *εἶχε*, 'maintained himself.' Cp. note on viii. 100. 2.

ἐπειδὴ τὴν Ἴασον κατεστήσατο ὁ Τισσαφέρνης ἐς φυλακήν. **29. 1.**

'When he had set a guard in Iasus,' lit. 'when he had reduced Iasus into the condition of being guarded,' like *ἐς ἀπορίαν, ἐς ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάναι*. Cp. viii. 1 fin. *τὰ τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐς ἀσφάλειαν ποιεῖσθαι.*

ὅμως δὲ παρὰ πέντε ναῦς πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ἢ τρεῖς ὀβολοὶ ὡμολογήθησαν. ἐς γὰρ πέντε ναῦς καὶ πεντήκοντα τρία τάλαντα ἐδίδου τοῦ μηνός· καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅσῳ πλείους νῆες ἦσαν τούτου τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ, κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τοῦτον ἐδίδοτο. **29. 2.**

1)* *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς*, 'for every five ships,' lit. 'along with every five ships,' this being the unit of measurement. It may be asked; why should the rate of pay be reckoned by five ships rather than by any other number? The answer is, because the pay of this number of ships happened to give the lowest sum in talents. 3 talents = 108,000 obols, which divided by 1000 (5 × 200, the crew of each ship being taken at 200), gives 108 obols as the pay of each man per month and $3\frac{3}{5}$ obols as his pay per day.

For the number 200 cp. vi. 8 init. *ἄγοντες ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα ἀσήμου*

29. 2. *ἀργυρίου ὡς ἐς ἑξήκοντα ναῦς μηνὸς μισθόν*, where, if the crews be reckoned at 200 men, the pay offered will be a drachma per day, as in iii. 17, viii. 29 init. Cp. also Herod. vii. 184. 1 (in the calculation of the numbers of Xerxes' army), *ὡς ἀνὰ διηκοσίους ἄνδρας λογιζομένοισι ἐν ἑκάστῃ νηΐ*: viii. 17, *Ἀθηναίων Κλεινίης ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδεω, ὃς δαπάνην οἰκηΐην παρεχόμενος ἐστρατεύετο ἀνδράσι τε διηκοσίοισι καὶ οἰκηΐῃ νηΐ*. A like result follows from Xen. Hell. i. 5. 4–7, where 30 minae a month to each ship = 3 obols a day to each man.

The words *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς* are out of place with *πλέον ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ ὡμολογήθησαν*, and would go better with the next sentence after *τρία τάλαντα*. Thucydides has not clearly separated the two facts—*a*) that three talents instead of two and a half talents were given for every five ships, and *b*) that the bounty extended at first to fifty-five ships, that being the number of the Peloponnesian and Sicilian fleet then at Miletus, not reckoning the ships at Chios (viii. 23 init., fin.), and the other fleet of twenty-five at Miletus, i. e. twenty Chian ships, and five Lacedaemonian ships manned by Chians (viii. 12 fin. and 17 init.).

καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κ.τ.λ. The bounty was to be further extended in the same ratio to additional ships. Probably the Chians are not included in the convention; since they beset Tissaphernes on their own account, c. 45 med.

2) The conjecture of Madvig (originally Meibomius), *τριάκοντα* for *τρία*, which is omitted by the Vat., is ingenious and the change slight (Λ′ for Γ′). 'Nevertheless it was agreed that more than three obols, by five ships, should be given to each man. For, to fifty-five ships, thirty talents a month were to be given.' Two-and-a-half talents, i. e. five ships' pay, more than the regular pay of the fleet, which would have been half a talent a ship, were to be given to the whole fleet of fifty-five, or a little more than three obols a day to each man. *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς* will then retain its usual meaning, 'by five ships,' like *παρὰ πολύ*, *παρ' ὀλιγόν*: fifty-five ships were paid as if they had been sixty. But the addition thus made to the pay, one-eleventh of three obols, or about a farthing, is slight, and, though the sense given to *παρά* is more natural, the words *παρὰ πέντε ναῦς*, which refer to the whole fleet, are still incongruous with *ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ*.

τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίοις, προσαφιγμέναι γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ οἴκοθεν ἄλλαι νῆες πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ στρατηγοὶ Χαρμῖνος καὶ Στρομβιχίδης καὶ Εὐκτήμων, καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Χίου καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πάσας ξυναγαγόντες ἐβούλοντο διακληρωσάμενοι ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ Μιλήτῳ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἐφορμεῖν κ.τ.λ. 30. 1.

The dative τοῖς ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίοις implies that ἔδοξεν ἐφορμεῖν is to follow, but in the process of writing the construction is changed to ἐβούλοντο, and the dative is left to be supported by προσαφιγμέναι γὰρ ἦσαν only.

ὁ δ' Ἀστύοχος ὡς τότε ἐν τῇ Χίῳ ἔτυχε διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν τοὺς ὁμήρους καταλεγόμενος κ.τ.λ. 31. 1.

διὰ τὴν προδοσίαν, 'with a view to,' i. e. 'in order to prevent, the intended betrayal of the island.'

λαβὼν τάς τε τῶν Κορινθίων (ναῦς) πέντε. 33. 1.

'The Corinthian ships, being five.' The Corinthian ships have been mentioned before (c. 23 fin., cp. c. 32 init.), but not their number.

οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Σάμου Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ τὴν Χίον πλέοντες τῇ στρατιᾷ, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα λόφου διείργοντο καὶ καθωρμίσαντο, καὶ ἐλελήθεσαν ἀλλήλους. 33. 2.

Two disparate ideas are here united by καί before καθωρμίσαντο. 'The Athenians were only separated from the Peloponnesians by being on the other side of a hill, and,' or, as we should say, 'when, they put in, and neither had been observed by the other.' ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα λόφου, scil. ὄντες: or dependent on καθωρμίσαντο, διείργοντο being in that case thrown in by the way.

καὶ αὐτοί, 'they too moored their ships close to Corycus.'

The genitive λόφου is to be taken after the pleonastic expression ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα. Cp. vii. 37 med. καὶ οἱ ἱππῆς καὶ ἡ γυμνητεία τῶν Συρακοσίων ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ θάτερα προσῄει τῷ τείχει.

ὡς εὗρον ἅπαν ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς Σάμου προφασισθέν. 33. 4.

These Erythraeans appear to have been taken prisoners by the Athenians and to have been liberated by them on condition of drawing over Erythrae to the Athenian alliance. Cp. the case of

33. 4. Corcyra, iii. 70 init. The escaped prisoners succeeded in satisfying the Lacedaemonians that they were only practising upon Athenian credulity.

34. 1. : *ἐν τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων στρατιὰ ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου περιπλέουσα κατ' Ἀργῖνον ἐπιτυγχάνει τρισὶ ναυσὶ τῶν Χίων μακραῖς· καὶ ὡς εἶδον, ἐπεδίωκον.*

ἐκ τοῦ Κωρύκου, 1)* i. e. sailing round Corycus from their station on the south side of it, and making for the promontory of Arginus, southward from the town of Chios, on the opposite coast. Cp. iv. 25. 8 and note, *τῇ δ' ὑστεραίᾳ ταῖς μὲν ναυσὶ περιπλεύσαντες κατὰ τὸν Ἀκεσίνην ποταμὸν τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν.* Or 2) *κατ' Ἀργῖνον* may be taken with *ἐπιτυγχάνει*, not with *περιπλέουσα*.

ὡς εἶδον, ἐπεδίωκον. No good meaning can be given to *ὥσπερ ἰδόντες* (or *ὥσπερ ἰδόντες αὐτὰς*) *ἐπεδίωκον*, which is the reading of all the MSS. but one. It is better therefore to adopt *ὡς εἶδον* from the Vatican, which reads *ὡς εἶδον ἐδίωκον*, retaining *ἐπεδίωκον* from the other MSS.

35. 1. *ἡ δ' ἀφειστήκει ἤδη ἀπὸ Τισσαφέρνους.*

1) 'Had revolted from Tissaphernes.' Cp. c. 109 init. *αἰσθόμενος καὶ τοῦτο τῶν Πελοποννησίων τὸ ἔργον, καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἐν Μιλήτῳ καὶ Κνίδῳ (καὶ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν οἱ φρουροί)*—where the garrison of Tissaphernes is said to have been driven, with the connivance of the Peloponnesians, out of Cnidus; also viii. 41 med. 2)* *ἀπό* has been altered (by Palmer) into *ὑπό*, 'the Cnidians had revolted at the instigation of Tissaphernes.' For Thucydides has not as yet mentioned the revolt of Cnidus from Athens, of which we know from the tribute lists that it was a subject, and the revolt of Cnidus from Tissaphernes is referred to as if for the first time in the passage just quoted, 109 init. But *a*) we need not suppose that in describing the general defection of the Ionian cities from Athens, Thucydides has mentioned every case, and *b*) the revolt from Tissaphernes implies a previous revolt from Athens: *c*) *ἀφειστήκει* used absolutely is here obscure. *d*) The Cnidians only did what the Milesians and Adramyttians afterwards did, c. 84 med. and c. 108: they remained allies of the Peloponnesians while they separated from Tissaphernes, who was

their somewhat treacherous ally. And *e*) the coincidence of the words of this passage with the fact mentioned in c. 109 is, to say the least, striking. On the whole, therefore, it seems more probable that in c. 109 Thucydides (who uses the pluperfect, *ἐξεπεπτώκεσαν*) is referring to an event which had happened some time before, and is alluded to here. Cp. Krüger, Studien, ii. p. 197. **35.** 1.

ξυνθῆκαι Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων πρὸς βασιλέα Δαρεῖον καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Τισσαφέρνην. **37.** 1.

The 'sons of the King' are Artaxerxes and Cyrus, who were at this time young men of about twenty.

Both treaties show an almost brutal disregard of great Hellenic interests, cp. c. 43. The first treaty (c. 18) professed to surrender to the King all that had ever belonged to him and to his ancestors. In the second treaty it is only said 'that neither the Lacedaemonians nor their allies shall attack or demand tribute of any country which has ever belonged to the King or to his ancestors.' And they are no longer bound to prevent the King's subjects from revolting.

καὶ ἤν τις τῶν ἐν τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ ἢ ὅσης βασιλεὺς ἄρχει ἐπὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἴῃ ἢ τῶν ξυμμάχων, βασιλεὺς κωλυέτω καὶ ἀμυνέτω κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν. **37.** 5.

If the expression is not the mere pleonasm of an official document, *τῇ βασιλέως χώρᾳ* may signify the country which was more distinctly under the King's rule; *ὅσης βασιλεὺς ἄρχει*, that over which he claimed authority, e. g. the Greek cities of Asia Minor.

μετὰ δὲ ταύτας τὰς ξυνθήκας Θηραμένης μὲν παραδοὺς Ἀστυόχῳ τὰς ναῦς ἀποπλέων ἐν κέλητι ἀφανίζεται. **38.** 1.

ἀφανίζεται, 'he disappeared,' as in Xenophon, Hell. i. 6. 33, *Καλλικρατίδας ἐμβαλούσης τῆς νεὼς ἀποπεσὼν ἐς τὴν θάλατταν ἠφανίσθη.* He attempted to cross the Aegean in a small boat, and was probably lost at sea. At any rate no one knew what became of him. This explanation is far more likely than the suggestion of Dr. Arnold, that for good reasons Theramenes 'went off in the course of his voyage home.'

40. 2. *οἱ γὰρ οἰκέται τοῖς Χίοις πολλοὶ ὄντες καὶ μιᾷ γε πόλει πλὴν Λακεδαιμονίων πλεῖστοι γενόμενοι κ.τ.λ.*

It has been questioned whether the slaves in Chios could have been more numerous than those in Attica. Relatively to the number of freemen they may have been, and probably Thucydides has not distinguished clearly between their relative and absolute number.

40. 3. *ἔφασαν οὖν χρῆναι οἱ Χίοι, ἕως ἔτι ἐλπὶς καὶ δυνατὸν κωλῦσαι, τειχιζομένου τοῦ Δελφινίου καὶ ἀτελοῦς ὄντος, καὶ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ ναυσὶν ἐρύματος μείζονος προσπεριβαλλομένου, βοηθῆσαι σφίσιν.*

The present participle gives the notion of incompleteness, 'while the fortification of Delphinium and the extension of the Athenian lines were in progress,' is another way of saying 'before they were completed.'

προσ- in *προσπεριβαλλομένου* repeats *μείζονος*, 'a larger' or 'higher fortification being drawn round the camp and fleet in addition to what there was before.'

42. 3. 4. *μέχρι οὗ ἐπεφάνησαν αὐτοῖς παρὰ δόξαν αἱ πλείους τῶν νεῶν καὶ πανταχόθεν ἀπεκλήοντο. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐς φυγὴν καταστάντες, ἓξ μὲν ναῦς ἀπολλύασι κ.τ.λ.*

The misfortune of Charminus is ridiculed by Aristophanes, Thesm. (acted in the following year 411, or in 410), 801,—

βάσανον δῶμεν, πότεροι χείρους. ἡμεῖς μὲν γάρ φαμεν ὑμᾶς,
ὑμεῖς δ' ἡμᾶς. σκεψώμεθα δή, κἀντιτιθῶμεν πρὸς ἕκαστον,
παραβάλλουσαι τῆς τε γυναικὸς καὶ τἀνδρὸς τοὔνομ' ἕκαστον.
Ναυσιμάχης μέν γ' ἥττων ἐστὶν Χαρμῖνος· δῆλα δὲ τἄργα.

43. 3. *ἐνῆν γὰρ καὶ νήσους ἁπάσας πάλιν δουλεύειν καὶ Θεσσαλίαν καὶ Λοκροὺς καὶ τὰ μέχρι Βοιωτῶν.*

ἐνῆν, not literally, 'was contained,' but, 'was involved' in the treaties. The sentence may be 1) a reflection of Thucydides; 2)* part of the words of Lichas, the mood being changed for the sake of variety: cp. note on viii. 76. 5. There is no incongruity, as Classen supposes, in Lichas urging this argument on the Persian satrap, though it was very likely to arouse his wrath. Bekker and Arnold unnecessarily alter *ἐνῆν* into *ἐνεῖναι*.

οἱ δ' ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον, ἐπικηρυκευομένων ἀπὸ τῶν δυνατωτάτων ἀνδρῶν, τὴν γνώμην εἶχον πλεῖν. 44. 1.

1) ἐπικηρυκευομένων (scil. τινῶν) ἀπὸ τῶν κ.τ.λ., 'some of the most powerful men making proposals to them.' Or 2) ἐπικηρυκευομένων may be taken as an impersonal passive, like ἐσαγγελθέντων, i. 116 fin.

A summary of the rather complicated events which followed upon the renewal of the war in Hellas may assist the reader in threading his way through the narrative.

Twenty-one Peloponnesian ships are blockaded in Piraeum. But Chalcideus and Alcibiades cross the Aegean with five ships, and induce first Chios, and then Miletus, to revolt. Strombichides and Thrasycles, with small squadrons from Athens, pursue them to Miletus, but arrive too late, and take up their station at Ladè. 1st period, cc. 10–21; summer of 412.

Diomedon brings up sixteen ships from Athens. Chalcideus at Miletus concludes the first treaty with Persia. The fleet blockaded in Piraeum gets away to Cenchreae. The Samians establish a democracy.

A Chian fleet, followed by a small squadron under Astyochus, the new Spartan admiral, who has just arrived from Cenchreae, tries to gain over Lesbos. The attempt is frustrated by the energy of Diomedon and Leon (who has just brought ten more ships from Athens). The two admirals now make descents upon Chios and reduce the inhabitants to great extremities. 2nd period, cc. 22–28; summer of 412.

The Athenians at Ladè make a descent upon Miletus; Chalcideus is killed. Phrynichus and two others arrive with forty-eight ships and a large army from Athens, defeat the Milesians, and are about to blockade the city, when the approach of fifty-five Peloponnesian and Sicilian ships is announced, and the Athenians retire to Samos. —The Peloponnesian fleet, which had been entrusted to Theramenes, until it could be handed over to Astyochus, takes Iasus.

The Peloponnesians now remain at Miletus, when they come to an agreement with Tissaphernes about their pay. Thirty-five Athenian ships arrive at Samos. A muster of the fleet takes place, and thirty ships are sent northward against Chios; seventy-four remain at Samos. Meanwhile Astyochus, after an unsuccessful expedition against Clazomenae, departs for Miletus in order to 3rd period, cc. 29–38; winter of 412–411.

assume command of the whole fleet, Pedaritus having come from Miletus to take his place in Chios. Before his departure he quarrels with Pedaritus and the Chians, who refuse to aid him in a second attempt to raise a revolt in Lesbos. On his voyage he narrowly escapes an encounter with the thirty Athenian ships sailing to Chios. Pedaritus writes home to complain of him.

The Athenian fleet from Samos captures six newly-arrived ships of the enemy, but is foiled in an attempt upon Cnidus, which has revolted. The Peloponnesians at Miletus conclude a second treaty with Tissaphernes. Theramenes disappears. Astyochus obstinately refuses to aid the Chians.

4th period, cc. 39–44; winter of 412–411.

Astyochus is at length induced to relieve Chios. When about to proceed thither, he hears of the approach of twenty-seven Peloponnesian ships under Antisthenes, intended ultimately to assist Pharnabazus at the Hellespont, and conveying Lichas and ten other commissioners, who are to report upon his own conduct. He sails southward to meet them: Charminus, one of the Athenian commanders from Samos, who is likewise on the look out for the expected fleet, encounters Astyochus in the fog, and is routed. Astyochus and Antisthenes put into Cnidus, where Lichas denounces the treaties with Persia and quarrels with Tissaphernes. The Peloponnesians sail to Rhodes, which revolts from Athens; they there remain inactive for eleven weeks.

45. 2. *καὶ διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος τήν τε μισθοφορὰν ξυνέτεμεν, ἀντὶ δραχμῆς Ἀττικῆς ὥστε τριώβολον, καὶ τοῦτο μὴ ξυνεχῶς, δίδοσθαι, λέγειν κελεύων τὸν Τισσαφέρνην πρὸς αὐτούς, ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου ἐπιστήμονες ὄντες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τριώβολον τοῖς ἑαυτῶν διδόασιν, οὐ τοσοῦτον πενίᾳ, ὅσον ἵνα αὐτῶν μὴ οἱ ναῦται, ἐκ περιουσίας ὑβρίζοντες, οἱ μὲν τὰ σώματα χείρω ἔχωσι, δαπανῶντες ἐς τοιαῦτα ἀφ' ὧν ἡ ἀσθένεια ξυμβαίνει, οἱ δὲ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείπωσιν [οὐχ] ὑπολιπόντες ἐς ὁμηρείαν τὸν προσοφειλόμενον μισθόν.*

ἀπολείπωσιν οὐχ ὑπολιπόντες is the reading of Vat. only. Ven. reads *ἀπολείπωσιν ὑπολείποντες*. Two good (It. Cl.) and one bad MS. (Lugd.) show traces of a similar reading in the margin. All the rest read *ἀπολιπόντες* alone.

45. 2. 1) Arnold translates (omitting *οὐκ*), 'lest others of the seamen

should leave their ships, leaving behind them their arrears of pay as a pledge:' that is to say, the trierarchs would be more willing to grant leave of absence and connive at irregularity generally when the pay was high; because the sailors who were receiving the higher pay would be less likely to desert. But this is far-fetched, and the words *τὰς ναῦς ἀπολείπωσιν* would naturally mean 'desert' rather than 'leave their ships for a time.'

2)* The rendering in the English text, partly taken from Poppo, notwithstanding some difficulties of language, is preferable. 'And the pay was given irregularly, that the men, leaving behind them their arrears of pay as a pledge, might not desert,' i. e. might not desert because they would lose their arrears of pay: *οὐκ* being omitted and *ἀπολείπωσιν* closely connected with the preceding *μή*.

If *οὐκ* be read we must translate, giving the same sense, 'that the men might not desert because they did not leave behind them their arrears of pay as a pledge:' *οὐ*, not *μή*; 'because,' not 'if.' *οὐχ ὑπολίποντες* must be taken closely with *ἀπολείπωσιν*, and, like the part. *δαπανῶντες* in the clause above, comes under the influence of the preceding *μή*.

καὶ τοῦτο οὐ ξυνεχῶς is understood, though not repeated, after *διδόασιν*. It is not necessary to suppose that Alcibiades told Tissaphernes the exact truth. But that the practice of keeping back part of the pay prevailed not long afterwards in the Athenian army is stated by Polyaen. Strateg. iii. 9. 51, *Ἰφικράτης ἦρξε τοῦ πλείστου στρατεύματος πεζοῦ καὶ ναυτικοῦ, ἐν τῇ δόσει τοῦ μισθοῦ, καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ὑφαιρῶν τὸ τέταρτον μέρος, ὥσπερ ἐνέχυρον ἑκάστου κατέχων, ἵνα μὴ λίποιεν τὸ στρατόπεδον.*

Though the general meaning of the passage is clear, two different points of view are slightly confused. *a*) the money is a pledge that the sailors will not desert; *b*) if they do desert they will forfeit it. These two are brought together in one sentence. 'The pay which was due to them was a pledge that they would not desert; for they would leave it behind them if they did so.'

τούτων δὲ Ἑρμοκράτης [τε] ἠναντιοῦτο μόνος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ξύμπαντος ξυμμα- **45. 3.**
χικοῦ. τάς τε πόλεις δεομένας χρημάτων ἀπήλασεν αὐτὸς ἀντιλέγων ὑπὲρ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ὡς οἱ μὲν Χῖοι ἀναίσχυντοι εἶεν κ.τ.λ.

45. 3. τέ after Ἑρμοκράτης, although found in every MS. but one, has to be explained by a *tour de force*. 'Hermocrates was the only person who spoke on behalf of the confederacy, and Alcibiades, speaking on behalf of Tissaphernes, drove away the petitioners who came to him from the revolted cities.' In other words, 'Hermocrates stood alone, and the representatives of the cities were easily disposed of by Alcibiades.' Cp. note on i. 9. 3 ad fin. But the transition from Hermocrates to Alcibiades is very harsh. τέ is better omitted. The words τούτων δὲ . . . ξυμμαχικοῦ are thus a parenthesis, and the clause τάς τέ πόλεις κ.τ.λ. follows regularly after ἐδίδασκεν.

46. 1. καὶ βασιλεῖ ἐξεῖναι ἀεὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ λυπηροὺς τοὺς ἑτέρους ἐπάγειν.

Four good MSS. and a few others read αὐτοῦ, the rest αὐτούς. λυπηρούς, like κακοῦργος in Xenophon, Mem. i. 5. 3, κακοῦργος μὲν τῶν ἄλλων, quoted by Arnold, and δυσμενής in Hell. v. 2. 33, τοῖς ὑμετέροις δυσμενέσι, quoted by Böhme, appears to be used as a substantive.

46. 2. ἢν μὴ αὐτὸς βούληται μεγάλῃ δαπάνῃ καὶ κινδύνῳ ἀναστάς ποτε διαγωνίσασθαι. εὐτελέστερα δὲ τὰ δεινά, βραχεῖ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης, καὶ ἅμα μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας, αὐτοὺς περὶ ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας κατατρῖψαι.

βραχεῖ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης is opposed to μεγάλῃ δαπάνῃ in the preceding sentence, as μετὰ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀσφαλείας is to κινδύνῳ. βραχεῖ μορίῳ . . . κατατρῖψαι is in apposition with τὰ δεινά, 'the danger would be less costly if he were to wear out the Greeks against one another,' lit. 'the danger of wearing out, etc. would be cheaper.'

The expression εὐτελέστερα τὰ δεινά, . . . κατατρῖψαι, though somewhat harsh, is in the manner of Thucydides: and the ingenious correction τάδ' εἶναι for τὰ δεινά, which seems to have occurred independently to Madvig, Classen, and Stahl, is therefore unnecessary.

46. 3. τὸν λόγον τε ξυμφορώτατον καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἔχοντας πολεμεῖν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ξυγκαταδουλοῦν ἂν σφίσι τε αὐτοῖς τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης μέρος καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ βασιλέως Ἕλληνες οἰκοῦσι, τοὺς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἐλευθερώσοντας ἥκειν. καὶ οὐκ εἰκὸς εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίους ἀπὸ μὲν σφῶν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθεροῦν νῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας, ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνων τῶν βαρβάρων, ἢν μή ποτε αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐξέλωσι, μὴ ἐλευθερῶσαι.

τὸν λόγον κ.τ.λ. 'Both the principles on which they went to war, **46.** 3. and their practice in the war itself, were most suitable to the interests of the King.'

ξυγκαταδουλοῦν, either 1)* 'they would unite with the King in subjecting,' or 2) 'they would subject, at the same time, the sea to themselves, and the Hellenes who dwelt in his country to him:' *ξυν-* thus referring to the object, not to the subject, of the verb. The adverbial use of the preposition in composition is singular, but gives a more forcible sense.

1)* *σφῶν* is used after *Λακεδαιμονίους* because *Ἑλλήνων* includes both themselves and the Athenians. Or 2) *σφῶν* may refer to the Athenians as the countrymen of Alcibiades, who is the speaker.

ἢν μή ποτε αὐτοὺς μὴ ἐξέλωσι. The reading of the MSS., though obscure, is not indefensible. Thucydides means that the Lacedaemonians would certainly liberate the Hellenic subjects of the king, except in one case; i. e. 1)* unless they were prevented from getting the Athenians out of the way. Or translating the two negatives into an affirmative, 'If they got the Athenians out of the way.' The double *μή* is accounted for, as Böhme remarks, by the negative form of the whole sentence. 'It was not likely that the Lacedaemonians would abstain from freeing the subjects of the King unless they failed to overthrow the Athenians,'='the Lacedaemonians would certainly free the subjects of the King if ever they succeeded in overthrowing the Athenians.' 2) *μὴ ἐξέλωσι* may also be referred to the Persians, 'unless the Persians allowed the Athenians to remain:' *μὴ ἐξέλωσι*=a positive idea, *διασώσωσι.*

πότε really qualifies, not the clause as it stands, but the affirmative idea contained in the clause: 1) 'if ever the Lacedaemonians destroyed Athens,' or 2) 'if ever the Persians left Athens to its fate.' For the reduplicated negative cp. ii. 13 init. *μὴ πολλάκις . . . τοὺς ἀγροὺς αὐτοῦ παραλίπῃ καὶ μὴ δῃώσῃ*: Lycurg. c. Leocr. 144, *εἰ μὴ νὴ Δία μὴ ταὐτὰ τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τούτοις ἐστὶ συμφέροντα.*

Once more 3) *αὐτούς* may be referred to the Lacedaemonians. The two *μή*'s may strengthen instead of cancelling each other (Hermann). 'Unless they, the Persians, got them out of the way.' This rendering agrees with the words which follow: *ἔπειτ' ἤδη τοὺς Πελοποννησίους ἀπαλλάξαι ἐκ τῆς χώρας.*

46. 3. *ἐλευθερῶσαι.* The aorist, according to Classen, distinguishes the particular case from the general policy of the Lacedaemonians, *ἐλευθεροῦν*. But it may also be ascribed to the desire of avoiding the repetition of exactly the same word: cp. note on vi. 23. 3.

47. 1. *ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης ταῦτα ἅμα μὲν τῷ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὢν παρ' ἐκείνοις, ἄριστα εἶναι νομίζων παρῄνει κ.τ.λ.*

One bad MS. (Mosqu.) omits *τῷ* before *βασιλεῖ*. That the article is not always omitted with *βασιλεύς* when the Great King is referred to is shown by c. 37 init., 48 med., and by passages in Xenophon and the Orators quoted by Poppo on c. 37. 2. Cp. *θεός* and *ὁ θεός*.

ὢν παρ' ἐκείνοις, 'being now on their side,' or 'under their protection,' not to be taken locally in reference to the King any more than the advice of Alcibiades was literally given to the King.

47. 2. *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ᾔσθοντο αὐτὸν ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων στρατιῶται, τὰ μὲν καὶ Ἀλκιβιάδου προσπέμψαντος λόγους ἐς τοὺς δυνατωτάτους αὐτῶν ἄνδρας, ὥστε μνησθῆναι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐς τοὺς βελτίστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι ἐπ' ὀλεγαρχίᾳ βούλεται καὶ οὐ πονηρίᾳ οὐδὲ δημοκρατίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτὸν ἐκβαλούσῃ κατελθὼν καὶ παρασχὼν Τισσαφέρνην φίλον αὐτοῖς ξυμπολιτεύειν, τὸ δὲ πλέον καὶ ἀπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ τριήραρχοί τε τῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ δυνατώτατοι ὥρμηντο ἐς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν.*

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ᾔσθοντο. At first Thucydides speaks of the army or fleet generally, who were attracted by the magic name of Alcibiades and the report of his influence over the Persian satrap. But when he goes on to refer to the overthrow of the democracy he speaks only of the trierarchs or chief men, who availed themselves of the feeling which prevailed in the fleet to carry out their own purposes, instigated partly by Alcibiades, still more by the natural feeling of men in their position. *τὰ μέν* κ.τ.λ. gives the reason for what follows, *ὥρμηντο ἐς τὸ καταλῦσαι τὴν δημοκρατίαν*, not for what precedes, *ᾔσθοντο αὐτὸν ἰσχύοντα παρ' αὐτῷ*.

οἱ βέλτιστοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων, a flattering term, like *οἱ ἀγαθοί* in Theognis, or the common place *οἱ καλοὶ κἀγαθοί*, by which the aristocratical party loved to describe themselves. Cp. Theogn. 289,—

νῦν δὲ τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κακὰ γίνεται ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν 47. 2.
ἀνδρῶν· ἡγέονται δ' ἐκτραπέλοισι νόμοις:

and c. 48 fin. infra, *τοὺς καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους.*

οὐ πονηρίᾳ οὐδὲ δημοκρατίᾳ κ.τ.λ. cp. vi. 89 fin. *οἱ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὄχλον,* and 92 init. *φυγάς εἰμι τῆς τῶν ἐξελασάντων πονηρίας:* where the same word occurs in the mouth of Alcibiades.

πολλὰς ἐλπίδας εἶχον **αὐτοί τε αὐτοῖς** *οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν τὰ πράγ-* 48. 1.
ματα, οἵπερ καὶ ταλαιπωροῦνται μάλιστα, ἐς αὐτοὺς περιποιήσειν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπικρατήσειν.

The sense shows that we must read *αὐτοῖς,* and not, with a majority of MSS., *αὐτοῖς. τέ* answers to *καί* before *τῶν πολεμίων.* Two motives animate the oligarchs, their personal interests, and their hopes of victory over the Peloponnesians.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ὄχλος, εἰ καί τι παραυτίκα ἤχθετο τοῖς πρασσομένοις, διὰ τὸ 48. 3.
εὔπορον *τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ [παρὰ] βασιλέως μισθοῦ ἡσύχαζεν.*

τὸ εὔπορον τῆς ἐλπίδος, either 1) the readiness with which the hope of the King's pay suggested itself to them, or 2)* the attractiveness to them, in their present poverty and distress, of the hope of good pay, 'the comfortable condition suggested by the hope.'

οἱ δὲ ξυνιστάντες τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ πλήθει ἐκοίνωσαν, αὖθις **κἂν** 48. 3.
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ τῷ πλέονι τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐσκόπουν.

ἐκοίνωσαν, which has the lesser MS. authority, seems to be required by the sense, instead of *ἐκοινώνησαν.* And Dobree's conjecture *κἂν* must be substituted for *καί,* the reading of all the MSS.

τούς τε καλοὺς κἀγαθοὺς ὀνομαζομένους οὐκ ἐλάσσω αὐτοὺς νομίζειν σφίσι 48. 6.
πράγματα παρέξειν τοῦ δήμου, **ποριστὰς** *ὄντας καὶ ἐσηγητὰς τῶν κακῶν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐξ ὧν τὰ πλείω αὐτοὺς ὠφελεῖσθαι.*

The oligarch Phrynichus himself acknowledges that the allies had no reason to expect any alleviation of their lot from a change of government. For the injustices which the Athenian people had committed against them were instigated by oligarchical leaders. Yet there is little in the history of Athens, so far as it is known to us, which justifies such a statement. There is no reason to

48. 6. suppose that the fate of Aegina or Mitylene is to be ascribed to the oligarchical party; though it is true that Thessalus, Pisander, Charicles, and other oligarchs had stimulated the popular fanaticism against Alcibiades, (cp. vi. 89 fin. *οἳ ἐπὶ τὰ πονηρότερα ἐξῆγον τὸν ὅχλον, οἵπερ καὶ ἐμὲ ἐξήλασαν.*)

πορισταὶ . . . τῶν κακῶν, either providing the ways and means, or creating the occasions, of crime.

48. 6. *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους εἶναι καὶ ἄκριτοι ἂν καὶ βιαιότερον ἀποθνήσκειν.*

ἐπ' ἐκείνους. The dat. is the more usual construction, but *ἐκείνους* is the reading of many of the best MSS. Cp. iv. 28 init. *τὸ ἐπὶ σφᾶς εἶναι*: Lys. in Agor. (xiii.) 64, *καὶ τό γε ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον εἶναι ἐσώθης*: Eur. Or. 1345,—

σώθηθ' ὅσον γε τοὐπ' ἔμ':

and so *τοὐπὶ σ'*, in Hec. 514, Alcest. 666, Rhesus 397.

ἄκριτοι. The accusative would be more regular; but the nominative is used as if *ὅτι ἐνόμιζον* and not *νομίζειν* had preceded. They said to themselves, 'As far as the oligarchy are concerned we shall be put to death without trial and in a more unscrupulous manner.'

49. 1. *οἱ δὲ ξυλλεγέντες τῶν ἐν τῇ ξυμμαχίᾳ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐδόκει, τά τε παρόντα ἐδέχοντο καὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρέσβεις Πείσανδρον καὶ ἄλλους παρεσκευάζοντο πέμπειν.*

ξυμμαχίᾳ, which is the reading of all the MSS., is indefensible; the word is never used in the sense required. Most editors have therefore adopted Haacke's conjecture *ξυνωμοσίᾳ*.

50. 4. *πέμπει κατὰ Φρυνίχου γράμματα ἐς τὴν Σάμον πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τέλει ὄντας οἷα δέδρακε.*

οἷα δέδρακε follows the idea of *γράφει* implied in *πέμπει γράμματα*.

50. 5. *θορυβούμενος δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος, καὶ πάνυ ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὢν διὰ τὸ μήνυμα, ἀποστέλλει αὖθις πρὸς τὸν Ἀστύοχον.*

καὶ πάνυ may be taken, either 1) with *θορυβούμενος*, in which case *ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὤν* will supply the reason—'for he was in the very greatest danger.' But *πάνυ* or *καὶ πάνυ*, though very common in Thucydides, do not occur after the verb or participle to which

they belong, and ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ κινδύνῳ ὤν is very abrupt. Better 50. 5.
2)* with ὤν—'and indeed he was in the greatest danger.'

καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸν τειχισμόν τε παρεσκευάζοντο, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου καὶ ὡς 51. 2.
μέλλουσα Σάμος θᾶσσον ἐτειχίσθη· αἱ δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἐπιστολαὶ
οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἦκον.

παρεσκευάζοντο answers to ἦκον, the historical fact of the completion of the wall being thrown in by the way. 'While they were engaged in fortifying the place, the expected letter came' (lit. had come) 'from Alcibiades;' τέ answering to καί and μέν to δέ.

'Hence Samos, which was going to be fortified in any case, was sooner fortified.' Cp. note on iii. 33. 2.

δόξας δὲ ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης οὐ πιστὸς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων προει- 51. 3.
δὼς τῷ Φρυνίχῳ ὡς ξυνειδότι κατ' ἔχθραν ἀνατιθέναι, οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν αὐτόν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ξυνεμαρτύρησε μᾶλλον ταὐτὰ ἐσαγγείλας.

The imagined coincidence between the information of Alcibiades and the precautionary measures taken by Phrynichus tended to re-establish the credit of the latter. The Athenians at the time were not likely to understand that the intended attack on Samos, against which Phrynichus had forewarned them, was a trick of his own, designed to save himself.

When the attack after all did not take place, it might be thought that suspicion would be aroused. But Phrynichus, finding himself in great danger, probably took his chance of the result. And the Athenians may have supposed that the attempt would naturally be given up when the news that Samos was put in a state of defence reached Miletus.

Notwithstanding the words of Alcibiades, οἱ πολέμιοι μέλλουσιν ἐπιθήσεσθαι, the idea of the attack on Samos never existed at all except in the brain of Phrynichus, who suggested it to Astyochus, and he, as Phrynichus foresaw, betrayed it to Alcibiades. Alcibiades made use of the fiction to show his zeal in the cause of the Athenians and to point his accusation against Phrynichus. He could not inform the Athenians that his information was due to the treachery of Astyochus without at the same time betraying the fact that it was valueless, and that the attack of which he warned

51. 3. them was not intended by the Spartan commander to be carried out.

52. 1. *βουλόμενον δὲ ὅμως, εἰ δύναιτό πως, πεισθῆναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τὴν ἐν τῇ Κνίδῳ διαφορὰν περὶ τοῦ Θηραμένους σπονδῶν ᾔσθετο τοῦ Πελοποννησίων (ἤδη γάρ, κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ὄντων αὐτῶν, ἐγεγένητο), ἐν ᾗ τὸν τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου λόγον πρότερον εἰρημένον . . . ἐπηλήθευσεν ὁ Λίχας.*

'For, they being at this time at Rhodes, the quarrel had already taken place.' The manner in which Lichas had behaved at Cnidus, before the Peloponnesians departed to Rhodes, had impressed the mind of Tissaphernes, and made him incline more and more towards the ideas of Alcibiades.

Thucydides had gone back in order to give a full account of Alcibiades' intrigues (c. 45 init. *ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, τάδε ἐπράσσετο*). He now returns to the point of departure, and connects them with the main thread of his history.

ἐπειδὴ ᾔσθετο, 1) 'when Tissaphernes saw,' not, 'when he was informed of,' for he was present, c. 43, and 'went away in a rage;' or 2) when Alcibiades saw the opportunity given to him by the differences which had occurred at Cnidus.

53. 2. *ἠρώτα ἕνα ἕκαστον παράγων τῶν ἀντιλεγόντων.*

παράγων answers to *παρελθών*, 'calling him up.'

53. 3. *καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας τὸ πλεῖον* **βουλεύσωμεν** *ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἢ περὶ σωτηρίας· ὕστερον γὰρ ἐξέσται ἡμῖν καὶ μεταθέσθαι, ἢν μή τι ἀρέσκῃ· κ.τ.λ.*

From a variety of readings, several of them unmeaning, Dobree elicits *βουλεύσωμεν*, a very slight alteration of *βουλεύσομεν* (Vat.) The clause *καὶ μὴ περὶ πολιτείας . . . ἀρέσκῃ* may be regarded as a parenthesis, which gives life to the passage. The Vat. *βουλεύσομεν* would correspond to *ποιήσομεν* supra and *κατάξομεν* infra.

54. 1. *δείσας καὶ ἅμα* [ἐπ]ελπίζων, *ὡς καὶ μεταβαλεῖται.*

ἐπελπίζων is the reading of the best MSS. If correct, it must be explained in a neuter sense, 'hoping besides,' or 'having hopes for the future,' though in the other passage where it occurs in Thucydides it is active, viii. 1 init. *θειάσαντες ἐπήλπισαν ὡς καὶ λήψονται Σικελίαν.*

ἀπεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Χάλκην, καὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐντεῦθεν μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῆς Κῶ ἐποιοῦντο. 55. 1.

The context shows that μᾶλλον ἤ, not μᾶλλον, is the true reading. ἤ was inserted by Palmer, and has since been found in one MS. (M in the British Museum).

δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ ὁ Τισσαφέρνης τὸ αὐτὸ βουληθῆναι, αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τὸ δέος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ἐπειδὴ ἑώρα ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὡς οὐ ξυμβασείοντα, δοκεῖν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐβούλετο μὴ ἀδύνατος εἶναι πεῖσαι, ἀλλ' ὡς πεπεισμένῳ Τισσαφέρνει καὶ βουλομένῳ προσχωρῆσαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους μὴ ἱκανὰ διδόναι. 56. 3.

τὸ αὐτὸ βουληθῆναι. In the first instance Alcibiades and Tissaphernes did not want the same thing, for Alcibiades wanted Tissaphernes to assist the Athenians. To this Tissaphernes was afraid to commit himself through fear of the Lacedaemonians. But, if Tissaphernes would not assist the Athenians, they were both agreed that the negociations should be broken off. τὸ αὐτό, scil. μὴ ξυμβῆναι. Further, if agreement were in any case (καὶ ὡς) hopeless, Alcibiades, in order to screen his failure, thought that, instead of breaking off themselves, they should make the Athenians break off by increasing their demands. This new motive is introduced into the clause ὁ δὲ Ἀλκιβιάδης, which therefore does not correspond exactly, either in sense or construction, to αὐτὸς μὲν διὰ τὸ δέος.

ἦτει γὰρ τοσαῦτα ὑπερβάλλων ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, λέγων αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ παρόντος Τισσαφέρνους, ὥστε τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καίπερ ἐπὶ πολὺ ὅ τι αἰτοίη ξυγχωρούντων, ὅμως αἴτιον γενέσθαι. 56. 4.

If, with Vat. and Bekker, we insert the article τό before τῶν Ἀθηναίων, it may be taken either 1) with τῶν Ἀθηναίων, 'the Athenian side,' or 'the conduct of the Athenians,' or 2) with αἴτιον, 'so that it became the fault of the Athenians,' scil. ὥστε γενέσθαι τὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων αἴτιον. The order of the words is in favour of 1).

But the omission of the article is not indefensible. We must, as in 2), supply an indefinite subject with γενέσθαι, 'so that it,' scil. the breaking off of the negociations, 'was chargeable to the Athenians.'

Ἰωνίαν τε γὰρ πᾶσαν ἠξίουν δίδοσθαι, καὶ αὖθις νήσους τε τὰς ἐπικειμένας καὶ ἄλλα, οἷς οὐκ ἐναντιουμένων τῶν Ἀθηναίων, τέλος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ 56. 4.

56. 4. ἤδη ξυνόδῳ, δείσας μὴ πάνυ φοραθῇ ἀδύνατος ὤν, ναῦς ἠξίου ἐᾶν βασιλέα ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν γῆν ὅπῃ ἂν καὶ ὅσαις ἂν βούληται.

ναῦς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ παραπλεῖν=ναῦς ποιησάμενον παραπλεῖν. The MS. authority is strongly in favour of ἑαυτοῦ. The sense favours ἑαυτῶν. For it can hardly have been considered an extravagant demand on the part of Alcibiades, after the Athenians had given up Ionia and the adjacent islands, that the King should be allowed to sail along his own coasts. The case would have been different if he had claimed to sail about the Greek coasts. The islands would have been a useless possession if he had not been allowed to sail to them. Like Agamemnon, i. 9. fin., if he were to rule them, 'he would have required a considerable navy.'

The demand may certainly have been one which, though not in itself extravagant, Alcibiades knew that the Athenians, perhaps as a matter of sentiment, would be indisposed to grant. Whether the treaty of Cimon or Callias, by which the King was forbidden to send ships of war along the west coast of Asia Minor, is a historical reality or not—it was doubted by ancient writers, Theopompus (Fragm. 167, 168), Callisthenes (Plut. Cim. xiii.), both writing about the middle of the fourth century B. C.—it is plain that between the date of the supposed truce (about 466 or 449) and 411 no Persian vessels are heard of in the waters of the Aegean.

But, on the other hand, it may be asked, why should Athenian oligarchs, who were willing to betray Athens itself (viii. 91 fin.), have taken offence at any such stipulation?

Upon the whole it seems better to adopt the less supported reading ἑαυτῶν (ἑαυτῶν not σφῶν, for the sake of emphasis, although referring to the remoter subject Ἀθηναίους.) See Krüger, Studien (i. 86–91), who gives many strong reasons (pp. 74–143) for rejecting the treaty of Callias. Curtius also is disposed to reject the peace: see Eng. Trans. vol. ii. p. 408 foll. Mr. Grote, note on Part II. ch. xlv., takes the opposite view, but on insufficient grounds.

56. 5. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι τι, ἀλλ' ἄπορα νομίσαντες οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κ.τ.λ.

An ellipse, with which may be supplied συγχωροῦσι, from ἐπὶ πολὺ ξυγχωρούντων above.

57. 1. καὶ μὴ παντάπασιν ἐκπεπολεμῆσθαι.

'Not to have war made upon him outright.' The reading *ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι*, which is found in the Vatican, is an unnecessary correction. Cp. note on iv. 20. 2. **57. 1.**

δεδιὼς μή, ἢν ἀπορῶσι πολλαῖς ναυσὶ τῆς τροφῆς, ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἀναγκασθέντες ναυμαχεῖν ἡσσηθῶσιν, ἢ, κενωθεισῶν τῶν νεῶν, ἄνευ ἑαυτοῦ **γένηται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἃ βούλονται.** **57. 1.**

γένηται τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἃ βούλονται is a variation of *ἡσσηθῶσιν*, and in sense, though not in construction, goes with both clauses.

πάντων οὖν τούτων λογισμῷ καὶ προνοίᾳ, ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο ἐπανισοῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τοὺς Πελοποννησίους κ.τ.λ. **57. 2.**

ὥσπερ ἐβούλετο, 'in accordance with his intentions.' *ἐπανισοῦν*, infin. after *ἐβούλετο*. *οὖν* after *μεταπεμψάμενος* is a resumption of *οὖν* after *πάντων*.

ξυνθῆκαι ἐγένοντο ἐν Μαιάνδρου πεδίῳ Λακεδαιμονίων καὶ τῶν ξυμμάχων **58. 1.** *πρὸς Τισσαφέρνην καὶ Ἱεραμένην καὶ τοὺς Φαρνάκου παῖδας.*

Hieramenes, probably the brother-in-law of Darius, mentioned Xen. Hell. ii. 1. 9. The sons of Pharnaces were Pharnabazus (viii. 6 init.) and his brothers.

χώραν τὴν βασιλέως, ὅση τῆς Ἀσίας ἐστί, βασιλέως εἶναι· καὶ περὶ τῆς **58. 2.** *χώρας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βουλευέτω βασιλεύς, ὅπως βούλεται.*

The clause of the treaty which expresses the claims of the King is so ambiguously worded as to be practically innocuous. 'The King's country' would mean, according to the Lacedaemonian reading of the words, only that part of Asia in which he had been able to maintain his authority since the Persian war. But the representatives of the King probably mean to include all the territory which the King had ever held, and of which he was again beginning to demand the tribute from his satraps.

τροφὴν δὲ ταῖς ναυσὶ ταῖς νῦν παρούσαις Τισσαφέρνην παρέχειν κατὰ τὰ **58. 5.** *ξυγκείμενα μέχρι ἂν αἱ νῆες αἱ βασιλέως ἔλθωσι.*

The words *κατὰ τὰ ξυγκείμενα* refer either to c. 5. 5, or to c. 29, or to c. 37. 4, or to some agreement which was understood to be made on the present occasion.

61. 2. *Λεόντα ἄνδρα Σπρατιάτην ὃς Ἀντισθένει ἐπιβάτης ξυνεξῆλθε.*

Either 1)* 'who came out with Antisthenes as a marine:' as in the Athenian service, Thrasyllus, who was only a hoplite, becomes one of the *στρατηγοί* at Samos (c. 73 med., 76 init.) Or 2) more simply, 'who came out in the ship of Antisthenes as a private passenger.' There is no proof that *ἐπιβάτης* was the title of an inferior naval officer in the Spartan service.

61. 2. *ναῦς δώδεκα, αἳ ἔτυχον φύλακες Μιλήτου οὖσαι.*

These ships must have been left behind to guard Miletus when the main fleet removed to Rhodes (c. 44).

62. 3. *ἐς τὸ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Ἀβύδου ἀποπλεύσας, Σηστὸν πόλιν τῆς Χερσονήσου, ἣν τότε Μῆδοι εἶχον, καθίστατο φρούριον καὶ φυλακὴν τοῦ παντὸς Ἑλλησπόντου.*

All but a few MSS. (among which is Vat.) read *τότε* not *πότε*. But *τότε* cannot be taken in the sense of 'in those days,' meaning the days of the Persian war (i. 89 med.)

That the reference of *τότε* is often exceedingly lax, and can only be *a*) imperfectly gathered from the context, or *b*) in some cases explained by what follows, may be seen from the following passages,—

a) iii. 69 init. *αἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων, αἱ* **Λεσβίοις βοηθοὶ ἐλθοῦσαι**, *ὡς τότε φεύγουσαι διὰ τοῦ πελάγους . . . πρὸς τὴν Πελοπόννησον κατηνέχθησαν*: viii. 20 init. *ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους αἱ ἐν τῷ Πειραιῷ εἴκοσι νῆες τῶν Πελοποννησίων, καταδιωχθεῖσαι τότε καὶ ἐφορμούμεναι ἴσῳ ἀριθμῷ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων*: cp. i. 101 med., v. 4 med.

b) iv. 46 init. *οἱ τότε μετὰ τὴν στάσιν διαβάντες ἐκράτουν τε τῆς γῆς καὶ πολλὰ ἔβλαπτον*: vii. 31 med. *ὅτι δ' αὐτῷ περὶ ταῦτα ὁ Εὐρυμέδων ἀπαντᾷ ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας ἀποπλέων, ὃς* **τότε τοῦ χειμῶνος** *τὰ χρήματα ἄγων τῇ στρατιᾷ ἀπεπέμφθη.*

But none of these instances show that *τότε* is ever used by Thucydides absolutely without an antecedent or explanation. In viii. 73 init. *οἱ γὰρ τότε τῶν Σαμίων ἐπαναστάντες τοῖς δυνατοῖς*, which is the harshest instance, the circumstance referred to in *τότε* (viii. 21) has been recalled to the mind in c. 63 med.

The sense here decides against the greater weight of MS.

authority. Either *τότε* is a corruption of *πότε*; or possibly the words *ἦν τότε Μῆδοι εἶχον* are an unmeaning gloss referring to i. 89 med. 62. 3.

πυθόμενος τὰ περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας καὶ τὸν Στρομβιχίδην καὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀπεληλυθότα. 63. 1.

ἀπεληλυθότα refers to the principal subject, like *βουλόμενος* in iv. 112, *Βρασίδας μὲν οὖν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος . . . βουλόμενος κ.τ.λ.*

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πείσανδρον πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Τισσαφέρνους ἐς τὴν Σάμον ἦλθον, τά τε ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ στρατεύματι ἔτι βεβαιότερον κατέλαβον, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν Σαμίων προὐτρέψαντο τοὺς δυνατοὺς ὥστε πειρᾶσθαι μετὰ σφῶν ὀλιγαρχηθῆναι, καίπερ ἐπαναστάντας αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγαρχῶνται. 63. 3.

κατέλαβον κ.τ.λ. Either 1) 'got a still firmer grasp upon the army;' or 2)* 'strengthened still more completely their interests in the army.'

Sufficient authority may be gathered for the reading *προὐτρέψαντο* (instead of *προτρεψάντων*) from the Vatican MS. from a MS. in the British Museum, and from the corruption *προὐτρεψάντων*, which is found in four good MSS. Although *ἐπαναστάντες αὐτοί*, or *αὐτοῖς*, has considerable MS. authority, the sense decides in favour of *ἐπαναστάντας αὐτούς* (Vat.).

τοὺς δυνατούς may refer 1) to the Samian oligarchy, 2)* to the chiefs of the democracy now in power.

In either case *ἀλλήλοις* shows that the words *ἐπαναστάντας αὐτούς* refer to the whole Samian people, including both parties. They are therefore to be taken, not with *τοὺς δυνατούς*, but as an accusative absolute. Cp. for a similar confusion vi. 74 med. *οἱ δὲ τούς τε ἄνδρας διέφθειραν πρότερον καὶ τότε στασιάζοντες καὶ ἐν ὅπλοις ὄντες ἐπεκράτουν μὴ δέχεσθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους οἱ ταῦτα βουλόμενοι.* There is however some inaccuracy in the words *ἵνα μὴ ὀλιγαρχῶνται*; for, not both parties, but only the democracy, could be said to have risen up 'in order to put down the oligarchy.'

In the second case the words *οἱ δυνατοί* are used in a different sense from *οἱ δυνατοί* in cc. 21, 73. But this is not impossible. The meaning of the word is naturally determined by the context.

63. 3. And the comparison of c. 73 init. referring to the same incidents, in which stress is laid on the fact of the Samian democrats having joined the Athenian oligarchs, decides in favour of 2)*.

63. 4. ἐσκέψαντο Ἀλκιβιάδην μέν, ἐπειδήπερ οὐ βούλεται, ἐᾶν κ.τ.λ.

ἐσκέψαντο is here used in a pregnant sense for ἐβούλοντο or ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς.

64. 4. καὶ γὰρ καὶ φυγὴ αὐτῶν ἔξω ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων.

φυγή for φυγάδες, abstract for concrete, as in Isoc. de Pace (viii.) 149, καὶ τὰς φυγὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τυράννων καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα γενομένας οὐ διὰ τοὺς συκοφάντας κατελθούσας.

64. 5. σωφροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσομένων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἄντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὕπουλον αὐτονομίαν οὐ προτιμήσαντες.

'The cities obtaining a more sober,' or 'constitutional, form of government;' cp. iii. 82. 8, ἀριστοκρατίας σώφρονος προτιμήσει, and viii. 53 fin. εἰ μὴ πολιτεύσομέν τε σωφρονέστερον καὶ ἐς ὀλιγοὺς μᾶλλον τὰς ἀρχὰς ποιήσομεν. The term was readily appropriated by the oligarchs themselves, and is here adopted by Thucydides with a certain degree of approval.

αὐτονομίαν, for which εὐνομίαν has been substituted on the authority of Dionysius (De iis quae Thuc. propria sunt, c. xi.), who reads τῆς ὑπούλου εὐνομίας, though difficult to explain, is probably correct. It has been argued that the Athenians did not give their allies 'independence.' But they may well have given them a 'deceitful independence,' i. e. they may have promised to give them an independence which they never expected to obtain, such as that which the Lesbians at Olympia ironically describe themselves as already enjoying (iii. 10 fin. αὐτόνομοί δὴ ὄντες καὶ ἐλεύθεροι τῷ ὀνόματι.) The reading in Dionysius is probably a slip of memory.

65. 3. λόγος τε ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ προσείργαστο αὐτοῖς ὡς οὔτε μισθοφορητέον εἴη ἄλλους ἢ τοὺς στρατευομένους, οὔτε μεθεκτέον τῶν πραγμάτων πλείοσιν ἢ πεντακισχιλίοις, καὶ τούτοις οἳ ἂν μάλιστα τοῖς τε χρήμασι καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ὠφελεῖν οἷοί τε ὦσιν.

πρυσείργαστο, i. e. besides acts of violence they had specious professions to meet the public ear. **65. 3.**

ὡς οὔτε μισθοφορητέον κ.τ.λ. The natural effect of the non-payment of dicasts and ecclesiasts would be to exclude the poorer classes from the dicasteria and the ecclesia. Moreover the numbers of the ecclesia were in no case to exceed 5000, cp. c. 72.

πεντακισχιλίοις. Under the Thirty Tyrants a similar device was adopted of a council of 3000, Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 18, *ἐκ τούτου μέντοι Κριτίας καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν τριάκοντα, ἤδη φοβούμενοι καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τὸν Θηραμένην, μὴ συῤῥυῶσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πολῖται, καταλέγουσι τρισχιλίους τοὺς μεθέξοντας δὴ τῶν πραγμάτων.*

ἐπεὶ ἔξειν γε τὴν πόλιν οἵπερ καὶ μεθιστάναι ἔμελλον. **66. 1.**

ἔξειν, emphatic: 'they were really intending to be masters of the city who were going to effect the revolution.' For *καί* see note on iv. 62. 4.

ἐβούλευον δὲ οὐδὲν ὅ τι μὴ τοῖς ξυνεστῶσι δοκοίη, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ λέγοντες **66. 1.** *ἐκ τούτων ἦσαν, καὶ τὰ ῥηθησόμενα πρότερον αὐτοῖς προὔσκεπτο.*

αὐτοῖς, a dat. of relation. Either 1) 'they had had what was to be spoken previously submitted to them.' Or 2) reading, with the MSS., *προὐσκέπτετο*, 'they used to have it submitted to them.' There is no reason for rejecting such a form in a passive sense, though no instance of it is found, cp. *ἐργάζομαι, εἴργασμαι, εἰργαζόμην* (pass.) and *ὠνούμενα* (Plat. Phaed. 69 B), *ἐωνεῖτο* (Xen. de Re Equest. 8. 2); see Matth. Gr. Gr. 495 d. *προὔσκεπτο* is the conjecture of Bauer and Elmsley.

ἀλλ' ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν ὁ δῆμος καὶ κατάπληξιν τοιαύτην ὥστε κέρδος ὁ μὴ **66. 2.** *πάσχων τι βίαιον, εἰ καὶ σιγῴη, ἐνόμιζε.*

εἰ καὶ σιγῴη. The optative, here signifying 'repeated action in past time,' carries on the indefiniteness of *ὁ μὴ πάσχων*. Cp. *εἰ δέ τις καὶ ἀντείποι . . . εἰ ὑποπτεύοιντο* just above. *καί*, 'if he were silent too,' or 'silent though he were:' 'even although he were silent,' would be *καὶ εἰ*. Cp. note on iv. 22. 3.

καὶ τὸ ξυνεστηκὸς πολὺ πλέον ἡγούμενοι εἶναι, ἢ ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, **66. 3.**

66. 3. *ἠσσῶντο ταῖς γνώμαις, καὶ ἐξευρεῖν αὐτὸ ἀδύνατοι ὄντες διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς πόλεως καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀλλήλων ἀγνωσίαν οὐκ εἶχον.*

ὄν, the reading in the text, was conjectured by Portus, and is found in one inferior MS. (I), and in the margin of another MS. (Lugd.). *ὃ ἦν*, which is found in all the rest, though singular, is not absolutely indefensible; 'than the whole strength of what there was.'

The MSS. are divided between *αὐτοί* and *αὐτό* after *ἐξευρεῖν*, and many of them, including the best, repeat *αὐτοί* (or *αὐτό*) *ἐξευρεῖν* after *οὐκ εἶχον*. The repetition, and the parallelism of *ἀδύνατοι ὄντες* and *οὐκ εἶχον*, suggest either a dittography or a gloss.

As the text stands, *ἐξευρεῖν* is dependent on *ἀδύνατοι ὄντες*, and also on *οὐκ εἶχον*, which pleonastically repeats the same idea. *αὐτό*, scil. *ὅσον ἐτύγχανεν ὄν*, not simply the conspirators, but the fact about them.

ἀγνωσίαν. Compare Aristotle, Pol. vii. 4. 13, *πρὸς δὲ τὸ κρίνειν περὶ τῶν δικαίων, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀρχὰς διανέμειν κατ' ἀξίαν, ἀναγκαῖον γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους, ποῖοί τινές εἰσι, τοὺς πολίτας, ὡς ὅπου τοῦτο μὴ συμβαίνει γίγνεσθαι, φαύλως ἀνάγκη γίγνεσθαι τὰ περὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς κρίσεις· περὶ ἀμφότερα γὰρ οὐ δίκαιον αὐτοσχεδιάζειν, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ πολυανθρωπίᾳ τῇ λίαν ὑπάρχει φανερῶς.*

66. 4. *κατὰ δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ προσολοφύρασθαί τινι ἀγανακτήσαντα, ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι ἐπιβουλεύσαντα, ἀδύνατον ἦν.*

1) 'So that he could defend himself against an opponent who had a design upon him.' *ἐπιβουλεύσαντα* without the article is indefinite, 'any one who had a design upon him.' Or 2)* *ἐπιβουλεύσαντα* is the subject; 'to defend or revenge himself by a plot.'

66. 5. *ἀλλήλοις γὰρ ἅπαντες ὑπόπτως προσῇσαν οἱ τοῦ δήμου, ὡς μετέχοντά τινα τῶν γιγνομένων.*

The accusative *μετέχοντα* is used as though some transitive verb, such as *ὑπώπτευον*, had preceded; or is governed by the idea of *νομίζοντες* contained in *ὡς*, see Jelf, § 703, c.

66. 5. *καὶ τὸ ἄπιστον οὗτοι μέγιστον πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐποίησαν, καὶ πλεῖστα ἐς τὴν τῶν ὀλίγων ἀσφάλειαν ὠφέλησαν, βέβαιον τὴν ἀπιστίαν τῷ δήμῳ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν καταστήσαντες.*

The repetition of *ἄπιστον* and *ἀπιστία* suggests that this is one of the unfinished passages of Book VIII. Thucydides means to say that the surprising changes of opinion which occurred gave the popular party a determined or settled mistrust of one another. 66. 5.

εἶπον γνώμην δέκα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι ξυγγραφέας αὐτοκράτορας. 67. 1.

Scil. Decemviros legibus scribendis. Arnold compares the formula by which the Thirty were appointed, Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 2, *ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ τριάκοντα ἄνδρας ἑλέσθαι, οἳ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ξυγγράψουσι, καθ' οὓς πολιτεύσουσι.*

ἔπειτα ἐπειδὴ ἡ ἡμέρα ἐφῆκε, ξυνέκλῃσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐς τὸν Κολωνόν· 67. 2.
ἔστι δὲ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος ἔξω πόλεως, ἀπέχον σταδίους μάλιστα δέκα.

ξυνέκλῃσαν, which is found, with some variations of form, in many good and a few inferior MSS., the others having *ξυνέλεξαν*, is difficult to explain. For, though it may be true that assemblies of the people were shut up or enclosed in a given space, 'to shut up' is not synonymous with 'to summon' or 'assemble.' The meaning may be 1) that 'the assembly was confined to the temple at Colonus,' which would only have contained a small proportion of the whole people. Or 2)* we may read *ξυνέλεξαν*.

ὁ μέντοι ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ξυνθείς, ὅτῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη ἐς τοῦτο, καὶ ἐκ 68. 1.
πλείστου ἐπιμεληθεὶς Ἀντίφων ἦν, ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀρετῇ τε οὐδενὸς ὕστερος καὶ κράτιστος ἐνθυμηθῆναι γενόμενος καὶ ἃ γνοίη εἰπεῖν.

ὅτῳ τρόπῳ introduces an indirect statement, which is the expansion of *ἅπαν τὸ πρᾶγμα*. 'He who contrived the whole matter, how it came to this.' In other words, 'he who contrived the means by which the whole design was accomplished.' Cp. iii. 59. 1, and note, *ὡς ἀστάθμητον τὸ τῆς ξυμφορᾶς, ᾧ τινί ποτ' ἂν κ.τ.λ.*

ἀρετῇ. It has excited surprise that Thucydides should speak of Antiphon, the traitor to the democracy, and the employer of assassins, as 'a man inferior in virtue to none of his contemporaries.' But neither here nor elsewhere does Thucydides pass moral judgments. The virtue of which he is speaking is virtue in the more general or ancient sense; a virtue such as distinguished the Lacedaemonians, who are said to have been exceedingly virtuous at home, while they were lawless among strangers (i. 77 fin.,

68. 1. v. 105 fin.); or, the family of Pisistratus, who are said to have been distinguished for the practice of virtue (vi. 54 med.) The word means, in the case of Antiphon, ability, force of character, and faithfulness to party ties—in the case of the Pisistratidae, political moderation—of the Lacedaemonians, order and discipline.

The statement of Suidas that Thucydides uses *ἀρετή* for *εὐδοκία* clearly refers, not to this passage, but to i. 33 med. *φέρουσα ἐς μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἀρετήν, οἷς δ' ἐπαμυνεῖτε, χάριν.*

Aristophanes alludes to the 'hungriness' (Wasps 1270), and to the 'drunkenness' (Wasps 1299) of Antiphon, if the same person be intended, as the mention of *οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον* in the latter passage seems to imply,—

οὐ γὰρ ὁ γέρων ἀτηρότατον ἄρ' ἦν κακὸν
καὶ τῶν παρόντων πολὺ παροινικώτατος;
καίτοι παρῆν Ἵππυλλος, Ἀντιφῶν, Λύκων,
Λυσίστρατος, Θούφραστος, οἱ περὶ Φρύνιχον,
τούτων ἁπάντων ἦν ὑβριστότατος μακρῷ.

The Life of Antiphon by Pseudo-Plutarch, Decem Rhetores, p. 832 C, Wyttenbach, iv. i. p. 339, which confuses him with others of the same name, is a worthless fiction. According to this writer, Lysias and Theopompus said that Antiphon was not put to death until the time of the Thirty Tyrants. The author himself is aware that this is not the same Antiphon (Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 40.) But he immediately falls into the almost incredible blunder of saying that Antiphon was put to death by the Four Hundred (*ἀναιρεθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων*), though he had stated the matter correctly a few lines above.

68. 1. *ὑπόπτως τῷ πλήθει διὰ δόξαν* **δεινότητος** *διακείμενος.*

δεινότης, not 'eloquence,' for that term would not apply to a mere writer of speeches, and the word is not used in this sense apart from the context, but rather 'sharp wit,' 'astuteness,' as contrasted with moral qualities: cp. Arist. Nic. Eth. vi. 12. 9–13. 2.

68. 2. *καὶ αὐτός τε, ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν ὑστέρῳ μεταπεσόντα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ἐκακοῦτο, ἄριστα φαίνεται τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τούτων αἰτιαθεὶς ὡς ξυγκατέστησε, θανάτου δίκην ἀπολογησάμενος.*

τέ nearly equivalent to the English 'too,'—'and on his own behalf too, as well as on that of others.' See note on i. 9. 3. 68. 2.

καὶ Θηραμένης ὁ τοῦ Ἀγνωνος ἐν τοῖς ξυγκαταλύουσι τὸν δῆμον πρῶτος ἦν. 68. 4.

See note on iii. 17. 1.

ἦσαν δ' Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες ἀεὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τείχει, οἱ δ' ἐν τάξει, τῶν ἐν Δεκελείᾳ πολεμίων ἔνεκα, ἐφ' ὅπλοις. τῇ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τοὺς μὲν μὴ ξυνειδότας εἴασαν, ὥσπερ εἰώθεσαν, ἀπελθεῖν κ.τ.λ. 69. 1.

ἐφ' ὅπλοις may be taken 1) with ἐν τάξει (scil. at their regular posts), 'close to their arms,' as in vii. 28 init.: or 2)* in a more general sense, with ἐπὶ τείχει and ἐν τάξει, including both 'under arms,' and 'close to their arms'='on duty.'

ἀπελθεῖν, 'to go away,' from the assembly which had just been held at Colonus, either to their homes, or to their post.

καὶ οἱ εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν μετ' αὐτῶν Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι, οἷς ἐχρῶντο, εἴ τί που δέοι χειρουργεῖν. 69. 4.

Ἕλληνες νεανίσκοι, as distinguished from slaves or Scythian bowmen. They were probably young oligarchs, the 'jeunesse dorée' of Athens. The word Ἕλληνες is wanting in several of the best MSS.

καὶ εἶπον αὐτοῖς ἐξίεναι λαβοῦσι τὸν μισθόν· ἔφερον δὲ αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπολοίπου χρόνου παντὸς αὐτοί, καὶ ἐξιοῦσιν ἐδίδοσαν. 69. 4.

Not, as Dukas suggests, the arrears of pay due to them; this gives no meaning to παντός, but the pay for the whole of the remainder of the year (about four months; cp. c. 60 fin., 63 med.), in short, they received a douceur. Their pay was a drachma for every day on which the council sat. See Boeckh, Staatsh. i. 327.

ὕστερον δὲ πολὺ μεταλλάξαντες τῆς τοῦ δήμου διοικήσεως, πλὴν τοὺς φεύγοντας οὐ κατῆγον τοῦ Ἀλκιβιάδου ἕνεκα, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἔνεμον κατὰ κράτος τὴν πόλιν. 70. 1.

τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἔνεμον is said by attraction to οὐ κατῆγον, as if the parenthesis which precedes were part of the main sentence. Cp. vii. 33 init. σχεδὸν γάρ τι ἤδη πᾶσα ἡ Σικελία, πλὴν Ἀκραγαντίνων, (οὗτοι δ' οὐδὲ μεθ' ἑτέρων ἦσαν,) οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους . . . ἐβοήθουν.

71. 1. *ὁ δὲ νομίζων τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ἡσυχάζειν, οὐδὲ εὐθὺς οὕτω τὸν δῆμον τὴν παλαιὰν ἐλευθερίαν παραδώσειν, εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν, οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ παρόντι πάνυ τι πιστεύων μὴ οὐκέτι ταράσσεσθαι αὐτούς κ.τ.λ.*

ἡσυχάζειν . . . οὐκ ἂν ἡσυχάσειν. The want of another word has led Thucydides to repeat *ἡσυχάζειν*, 'he, thinking that they were in a state of excitement, and would be still further excited by the appearance of a Peloponnesian army,' But see next note.

εἴ τε στρατιὰν πολλὴν ἴδοι σφῶν, i. e. not the Athenian large army (Haacke), which would be inconsistent with the situation, but the large army which Agis was about to summon from Sparta.

μὴ οὐκέτι ταράσσεσθαι, 'and doubting whether the tumult,' which he supposed to have occurred, 'had yet subsided.'

71. 1. *ἐλπίσας ἢ ταραχθέντας αὐτοὺς μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι σφίσιν, ᾗ βούλονται, ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεὶ ἂν διὰ τὸν ἔνδοθέν τε καὶ ἔξωθεν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς γενησόμενον θόρυβον· τῶν γὰρ μακρῶν τειχῶν διὰ τὴν κατ' αὐτὰ ἐρημίαν λήψεως οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν.*

1)* In the prevailing state of anarchy the Athenians would be likely to fall more entirely into the hands of the Peloponnesians (*μᾶλλον*, 'more than if they had not been in a state of anarchy,' or, 'more completely than by any agreement with the oligarchy.') Agis might even take the city without striking a blow. For the Long Walls could hardly be guarded, and the capture of them would involve the capture of Athens.

The two clauses *μᾶλλον ἂν χειρωθῆναι* and *ἢ καὶ αὐτοβοεί a*) are not strictly alternatives, although this is the logical form under which Thucydides presents them, cp. note on i. 122. 3. The flaw is concealed from the writer by the defective expression of the second clause, with which *αἱρεθῆναι* has to be supplied from *χειρωθῆναι*. It is possible also *b*) that *χειρωθῆναι* may be taken in the more special sense of 'reduced,' or 'brought to terms,' in which case the capitulation of the city is opposed to its capture by storm.

2) It may be objected that the taking of the Long Walls did not involve the instantaneous capture of the city, any more than in the case of Nisaea and Megara, iv. 69 foll. If this objection is thought valid we must alter the text, either simply omitting *γάρ*, or reading,

with two good MSS., *τῆς τῶν* instead of *τῶν γάρ*. In the latter case we may translate, 'either they would get the Athenians completely into their power; or, assuredly they would not fail in taking, almost without a blow, the Long Walls, which, in the confusion, would be unguarded.' But there is a degree of weakness *a*) in using the words *καὶ αὐτοβοεί* of the taking of the Long Walls after the taking of the city has been already suggested, and *b*) in connecting such emphatic words with the negative *οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτεῖν*. 71. 1.

The confusion of this passage, and the tautology in that which precedes, may reasonably lead to the inference that this portion of the work has not received the last corrections from the author's hand.

ἐν γὰρ τῇ Σάμῳ ἐνεωτερίζετο ἤδη τὰ περὶ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν. 73. 1.

γάρ is the explanation of *ὅπερ ἐγένετο* at the end of the preceding chapter. 'For at this very time a counter-revolution was in progress at Samos.'

καὶ Ὑπέρβολόν τέ τινα τῶν Ἀθηναίων, μοχθηρὸν ἄνθρωπον, ὠστρακισμένον οὐ διὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἀξιώματος φόβον, ἀλλὰ διὰ πονηρίαν καὶ αἰσχύνην τῆς πόλεως, ἀποκτείνουσι. 73. 3.

The slight disparaging mention of Hyperbolus in this passage agrees with the notices of him in Aristophanes. He is the butt of the comic poets, and one of the hackneyed themes which Aristophanes (Clouds 551 foll.) would rather leave to others, who rejoice in 'pummelling' Hyperbolus and his mother. Yet he does not always maintain this high tone. Hyperbolus, if you meet him, is the man to get up a suit against you (Ach. 846, cp. Wasps 1007, Clouds 876). He has made immense sums by his rascality (*διὰ πονηρίαν*, Clouds 1066). He is a rogue of a citizen (*ἄνδρα μοχθηρὸν πολίτην*, Knights 1304), the villanous chief of the people (*πονηρὸς προστάτης*, Peace 684), at the mention of whom Peace turns away her face (cp. 921, 1319), and whom they only took up with because they had nobody better:—

ἀλλὰ νῦν
ἀπορῶν ὁ δῆμος ἐπιτρόπου καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν
τοῦτον τέως τὸν ἄνδρα περιεζώσατο.

73. 3. His mother 'has no business to sit in the theatre by the mother of Lamachus' (Thesm. 840,—probably after his murder—cp. the joke upon Cleophon's mother in the Frogs 679). Finally, he is the protector of the distressed landlady in the world below (Frogs 570).

Plutarch (Aristid. vii., Alcib. xiii., Nic. xi.) says that Hyperbolus was ostracised by a coalition between Nicias and Alcibiades, who, to save themselves, turned upon him. We have no means of proving or disproving the truth of this story. It is not necessarily inconsistent with the statement of Thucydides.

73. 5. *καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα τοὺς* **Παράλους**, *ἄνδρας* **Ἀθηναίους τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους πάντας ἐν τῇ νηῒ πλέοντας** *καὶ ἀεὶ δήποτε ὀλιγαρχίᾳ* **καὶ μὴ παρούσῃ** *ἐπικειμένους.*

Cp. Aristoph. Birds, 1071—

τῇδε μέντοι θἠμέρᾳ μάλιστ' ἐπαναγορεύεται,
ἢν ἀποκτείνῃ τις ὑμῶν Διαγόραν τὸν Μήλιον,
λαμβάνειν τάλαντον, ἤν τε τῶν τυράννων τίς τινα
τῶν τεθνηκότων ἀποκτείνῃ τάλαντον λαμβάνειν.

ἄνδρας **Ἀθηναίους** *κ.τ.λ.*, unlike the crews of other vessels, who were for the most part metics and slaves (Boeckh, Staatshaush. i. p. 365), these were freeborn Athenian citizens, 'to a man.'

75. 1. *ἔπειτα μέντοι ὑπὸ τῶν διὰ μέσου κωλυθέντες καὶ* **διδαχθέντες, μὴ** *τῶν πολεμίων ἀντιπρώρων ἐγγὺς ἐφορμούντων* **ἀπολέσωσι** *τὰ πράγματα, ἐπαύσαντο.*

The construction of *διδαχθέντες* is somewhat harsh if the word is taken with *μή*. On the other hand, the meaning is weak if it is left to stand by itself.

75. 3. *νομίζοντες οὔτε ἐκείνοις* **ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας** *οὔτε σφίσιν εἶναι ἀλλ' ἐάν τε οἱ τετρακόσιοι κρατήσωσιν ἐάν τε οἱ ἐκ Μιλήτου πολέμιοι διαφθαρήσεσθαι.*

ἀποστροφὴν σωτηρίας, 'any refuge of safety,' i. e. 'in which they could find safety.'

Although the Athenians are here said to feel that whether their enemies at home or whether their enemies abroad conquer they are equally lost, in the next chapter they console one another with the thought that, at the worst, they can retire with their fleet and found a colony elsewhere.

καὶ δι' ἑαυτούς τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ προκαθημένους καὶ πρότερον αὐτοὺς κρατεῖν 76. 5.
τοῦ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔσπλου, καὶ νῦν ἐς τοσοῦτον καταστήσονται μὴ βουλομένων σφίσι πάλιν τὴν πολιτείαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὥστε αὐτοὶ δυνατώτεροι εἶναι εἴργειν ἐκείνους τῆς θαλάσσης ἢ ὑπ' ἐκείνων εἴργεσθαι.

καταστήσονται, 'and now the result will be,' lit. 'they,' the fleet at Samos, 'will come to such a point.' Or, taking καταστήσονται actively (cp. vi. 83 fin. τὰ ἐνθάδε . . . ἀσφαλῶς καταστησόμενοι), 'will bring matters to such a point.' This is better than taking καταστήσονται of the oligarchy at Athens, who are the subject of the genitive absolute immediately following. The change from the infinitive to the indicative gives variety and liveliness. Cp. note on c. 43. 3.

οἵ γε μήτε ἀργύριον ἔτι εἶχον πέμπειν, (ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἐπορίζοντο οἱ στρα- 76. 6.
τιῶται,) μήτε βούλευμα χρηστόν, οὗπερ ἕνεκα πόλις στρατοπέδων κρατεῖ. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τοὺς μὲν ἡμαρτηκέναι τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καταλύσαντας, αὐτοὶ δὲ σώζειν καὶ ἐκείνους πειράσεσθαι προσαναγκάζειν.

οὗπερ ἕνεκα κ.τ.λ., either 1)* 'for the sake of which,' i. e. 'for the sake of giving which, 'cities rule over armies,' or 2) 'in respect of which a city is superior to an army.'

καὶ ἐν τούτοις, 'in the matter of giving counsel also,' the plural referring loosely to the singular βούλευμα. The speaker means to say that the oligarchy had as little moral strength as they had material means.

τοιαῦτα ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐκκλησιάσαντες καὶ παραθαρσύναντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς 77.
καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου παρεσκευάζοντο οὐδὲν ἧσσον.

The old opposition of λόγος and ἔργον here reappears under a disguised form: 'while they talked they also acted,' 'while they encouraged one another they made their preparations for war all the same.'

ὅτε . . . αἱ νῆες αὐτῶν οὐδέπω ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ εἰσιν. 78.

'While the Athenian ships are not as yet in one place;' i. e. before the return of Strombichides and his squadron from the Hellespont (c. 62).

τὰς παρὰ Τισσαφέρνους Φοινίσσας ναῦς μένοντες, ἄλλως ὄνομα καὶ οὐκ 78.
ἔργον.

78. ἄλλως may be joined either 1) with *μένοντες*, or 2)* with *ὄνομα*: in the latter case it is equivalent to *μάταιον ὄνομα*. Cp. Eur. Troades, 476,—

οὐκ ἀριθμὸν ἄλλως, ἀλλ' ὑπερτάτους Φρυγῶν.

79. 2. *διέχει δὲ ὀλίγον ταύτῃ ἡ Σάμος τῆς ἠπείρου πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην.*

πρὸς τὴν Μυκάλην, 'in the direction of Mycalè.'

79. 3. *καὶ ἅμα ... προσεδέχοντο καὶ τὸν Στρομβιχίδην ἐκ τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου σφίσι ταῖς ἐκ τῆς Χίου ναυσὶν ἐπ' Ἀβύδου ἀφικομέναις προσβοηθήσειν.*

ἐπ' Ἀβύδου. The genitive with *ἐπί* after a verb denoting arrival at a place, though irregular, is sufficiently defended by *καταπλεύσαντες ἐπὶ τῆς Μυκάλης*, infra, and *ἀφικνοῦνται ἐπὶ Θράκης*, i. 60 fin.

80. 1. *οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐπειδὴ ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσὶν οὐκ ἀξιόμαχοι νομίζοντες εἶναι οὐκ ἀντανήγοντο.*

The words *ἀθρόαις ταῖς ναυσίν* may apply either 1)* to the Peloponnesians, or 2) to the Athenians; in the first case they are an ablative of accompaniment, in the second case a dative, to be taken either with *ἀξιόμαχοι* or with *ἀντανήγοντο*.

80. 3. *καὶ αἱ μὲν τῶν Πελοποννησίων αὗται νῆες ἀπάρασαι ἐς τὸ πέλαγος, ὅπως λάθοιεν ἐν τῷ πλῷ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, χειμασθεῖσαι, καὶ αἱ μὲν Δήλου λαβόμεναι αἱ πλείους μετὰ Κλεάρχου, καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι ἐς Μίλητον, (Κλέαρχος δὲ κατὰ γῆν αὖθις ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον κομισθεὶς ἦρχεν,) αἱ δὲ μετὰ Ἐλίξου τοῦ Μεγαρέως στρατηγοῦ δέκα ἐς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον διασωθεῖσαι Βυζάντιον ἀφιστᾶσι.*

The main subject of the sentence (*καὶ αἱ μὲν ... χειμασθεῖσαι*) is distributed into two clauses, and the finite verb (*ἀφιστᾶσι*), of which an expectation is raised in the first part of the sentence, instead of applying to both, applies only to the second of them. The change of construction is aided by the parenthesis *Κλέαρχος ... ἦρχεν*. The sentence would have been regular if Thucydides had omitted *καί* after *χειμασθεῖσαι*, and, instead of *καὶ ὕστερον πάλιν ἐλθοῦσαι*, had written *ὕστερον πάλιν ἦλθον*.

81. 1. *οἱ δὲ προεστῶτες ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ, καὶ μάλιστα Θρασύβουλος, [καὶ] ἀεί τε τῆς αὐτῆς γνώμης ἐχόμενος, ἐπειδὴ μετέστησε τὰ πράγματα, ὥστε κατάγειν*

'Αλκιβιάδην, καὶ τέλος ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας ἔπεισε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν, καὶ ψηφισαμένων αὐτῶν 'Αλκιβιάδῃ κάθοδον καὶ ἄδειαν, πλεύσας ὡς τὸν Τισσαφέρνην κατῆγεν ἐς τὴν Σάμον τὸν 'Αλκιβιάδην. 81. 1.

For αὐτῆς all the MSS. except Vat. and Cl. read αὐτοῦ or αὑτοῦ. αὑτοῦ, 'his own opinion,' is probably the true reading.

Most editors, including Bekker and Poppo, omit καί, which is found in numerous MSS., though not in Vat., before ἀεί, and some insert it where it is not found (except in one inferior MS., D) before ἐπειδή.

1) Though somewhat awkward, καὶ ἀεί τε gives a sufficient sense. καί before ἀεί is to be connected with καὶ ψηφισαμένων . . . κατῆγε below, and τέ after ἀεί with καὶ τέλος ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας. ἀεί corresponds to τέλος, 'he had always thought, and at last he held an assembly and proposed,' etc.

The structure of the clauses is in any case irregular, τέ—καί joining a participle and a finite verb, ἀεί τε ἐχόμενος . . . καὶ ἔπεισε. Cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 5. The main idea of the sentence is that Thrasybulus persuaded the multitude and brought Alcibiades to Samos. But this thought is complicated by the further thought, that Thrasybulus had ever since the overthrow of the oligarchs entertained the intention of restoring Alcibiades, which he at last persuaded the soldiers to entertain in an assembly. Hence the construction of the latter words is ambiguous, the clause τέλος . . . τῶν στρατιωτῶν looking backwards to ἐχόμενος and forward to κατῆγε, and the attraction of the latter word having led to the substitution of the finite verb ἔπεισε for the participle πείσας.

2)* If this explanation appears too involved, the only alternative is to omit καί. And the confusion of readings in this passage (see Poppo, ed. maj.) is a reason for suspecting a corruption of the text.

γενομένης δὲ ἐκκλησίας τήν τε ἰδίαν ξυμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς ἐπῃτιάσατο καὶ ἀνωλοφύρατο ὁ 'Αλκιβιάδης, καὶ περὶ πολιτικῶν πολλὰ εἰπὼν ἐς ἐλπίδας γε αὐτοὺς οὐ μικρὰς τῶν τε μελλόντων καθίστη κ.τ.λ. 81. 2.

Bekker, following the Vatican, omits γέ. But may it not be supposed to throw into the passage a shade of irony? 'there was certainly no lack of hopes which he offered them,' or, 'as far as

81. 2. hopes went, he raised plenty of them.' Cp. c. 82 init., and the prominent position of the word *ἐλπίδας* in 89 init. *ἐλπίδας τε ὅτι πολλὰς ἔχει* likewise referring to Alcibiades.

81. 2. *ἵνα... οἱ πολέμιοι τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ὡς μάλιστα διαβάλλοιντο.*

'That the hostility between the Lacedaemonians and Tissaphernes might be increased to the utmost.' The relation expressed in *διαβάλλοιντο* is mutual. Cp. Plat. Phaedo, 68 A, *ᾧ διεβέβλητο* (scil. *σώματι*) *τούτου ἀπηλλάχθαι.*

81. 3. *ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' οὖν τάδε μέγιστα ἐπικομπῶν ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, ὡς Τισσαφέρνης αὐτῷ ὑπεδέξατο ἢ μήν, ἕως ἄν τι τῶν ἑαυτοῦ λείπηται, ἢν Ἀθηναίοις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ ἀπορήσειν αὐτοὺς τροφῆς.*

ὑπισχνεῖτο δ' οὖν is a return from the exposition of Alcibiades' motives to his acts, 'and so,' or 'having these objects in view.' *τάδε* is to be taken with *μέγιστα* after *ἐπικομπῶν*, referring to what follows. For the extravagant promises of Tissaphernes cp. Xen. Hell. i. 5. 3, *ἔχων δὲ ἥκειν* (Κῦρος *ἔφη*) *τάλαντα πεντακόσια· ἐὰν δὲ ταῦτα ἐκλίπῃ, τοῖς ἰδίοις χρήσεσθαι ἔφη, ἃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ ἔδωκεν· ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν θρόνον κατακόψειν ἐφ' ᾧ ἐκάθητο, ὄντα ἀργυροῦν καὶ χρυσοῦν*: Anab. vii. 5. 5, *δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Ἡρακλείδη, οὐχ ὡς δεῖ κήδεσθαι Σεύθου· εἰ γὰρ ἐκήδου, ἦκες ἂν πλήρη φέρων τὸν μισθόν, καὶ προσδανεισάμενος, εἰ μή γ' ἄλλως ἐδύνω, καὶ ἀποδόμενος τὰ σαυτοῦ ἱμάτια.*

81. 3. *πιστεῦσαι δ' ἂν μόνως Ἀθηναίοις, εἰ αὐτὸς κατελθὼν αὐτῷ ἀναδέξαιτο.*

The MSS. are here in considerable confusion. They vary between *εἰ ὡς αὐτός, εἰδὼς αὐτός, εἰ σῶς αὐτός.* The Vat. reads *εἰ ὡς αὐτούς.* *ὡς* is omitted in some MSS., and by Suidas, s. v. Μιλτιάδης. Several MSS., both good and bad, read *αὐτοῖς* for *αὐτῷ* below.

We may either read *εἰ αὐτός*, or with the Vat. *εἰ ὡς αὐτοὺς κατελθών*, perhaps changing, as Poppo suggests, *αὐτῷ* into *αὐτός*, for an emphatic subject seems to be required with *ἀναδέξαιτο.*

83. 1. *οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ πυνθανόμενοι τὴν Ἀλκιβιάδου κάθοδον, καὶ πρότερον τῷ Τισσαφέρνει ἀπιστοῦντες, πολλῷ δὴ μᾶλλον ἔτι διεβέβλητο. ξυνηνέχθη γὰρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Μίλητον τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπίπλουν, ὡς οὐκ ἠθέλησαν ἀνταναγαγόντες ναυμαχῆσαι, πολλῷ ἐς τὴν μισθοδοσίαν τὸν*

Τισσαφέρνην ἀῤῥωστότερον γενόμενον, καὶ ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν πρό- 83. 1.
τερον ἔτι τούτων διὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἐπιδεδωκέναι.

The word μᾶλλον refers to πρότερον. ξυνηνέχθη γάρ explains καὶ πρότερον κ.τ.λ.

The MSS. read καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν. The emendation κατά (adopted by Poppo and in the English text) or μετὰ τὸν ἐπίπλουν is unnecessary. τὸν ἐπίπλουν was intended to be the subject of some word meaning 'caused' or 'contributed to' the increased hatred between Tissaphernes and the Peloponnesians, which indirectly arose out of the Athenian expedition against Miletus. But, owing to a change in the form of the sentence, the accusative is left without a construction, and the subject of the whole sentence has become Tissaphernes, who is said, ἐπιδεδωκέναι, 'to have grown in the hatred which had been previously entertained for him.' The Peloponnesians had previously distrusted Tissaphernes on two grounds: first, because of his connection with Alcibiades; secondly, because of his slackness in giving the pay after the Peloponnesians had refused to fight the Athenian fleet: and now the reconciliation of Alcibiades with the Athenians made them hate him more than ever. πρότερον ἔτι τούτων διὰ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην is to be taken, not with ἐπιδεδωκέναι (Arn.), but with ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι. καί before ἐς τὸ μισεῖσθαι='consequently.'

καὶ εἰ μή τις ἦ διαναυμαχήσει, ἢ ἀπαλλάξεται ὅθεν τροφὴν ἕξει, ἀπο- 83. 3.
λείψειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰς ναῦς· πάντων τε Ἀστύοχον εἶναι αἴτιον
ἐπιφέροντα ὀργὰς Τισσαφέρνει διὰ ἴδια κέρδη.

Four first-rate MSS. (with trifling variations) read ἰδίᾳ ναυμαχήσει. The word ἰδίᾳ may perhaps mean, as Classen suggests, 'individually,' or 'by themselves,' but requires the antithesis, 'without the assistance of Tissaphernes,' to be more clearly expressed. It is better to read with the other MSS. ἢ διαναυμαχήσει. διαναυμαχήσει= not merely 'fight at sea,' but 'fight a decisive battle.'

The context seems to show that the words ἐπιφέρειν ὀργάς, lit. 'supplying tempers,' i. e. adapting his temper to Tissaphernes, are taken in the sense of χαρίζεσθαι, according to the explanation of the Scholiast; although the words quoted by him from Cratinus are far from proving this to be their meaning: τὸ ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ

83. 3. χαρίζεσθαι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ἔταττον οἱ ἀρχαῖοι· μάρτυς Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωνι λέγων τὴν μουσικὴν ἀκορέστους ἐπιφέρειν ὀργὰς βροτοῖς σώφροσιν.

84. 3. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὡς εἶδον, οἷα δὴ ναῦται, ὥρμησαν ἐκραγέντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀστύοχον, ὥστε βάλλειν· ὁ δὲ προϊδὼν καταφεύγει ἐπὶ βωμόν τινα· οὐ μέντοι ἐβλήθη γε, ἀλλὰ διελύθησαν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων.

οὐ μέντοι may be referred to the general sense of the preceding words, or, more particularly, to ὥστε βάλλειν.

84. 4. καὶ τοὺς ἐνόντας φύλακας αὐτοῦ ἐκβάλλουσιν.

Either 1) 'the guards who were there inside;' or 2) 'the guards of Tissaphernes who were inside.'

85. 2. ξυνέπεμψε δὲ καὶ Τισσαφέρνης αὐτῷ πρεσβευτὴν τῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ . . . κατηγορήσοντα τῶν τε Μιλησίων περὶ τοῦ φρουρίου καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἅμα ἀπολογησόμενον, εἰδὼς τούς τε Μιλησίους πορευομένους ἐπὶ καταβοῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμοκράτην μετ' αὐτῶν κ.τ.λ.

Tissaphernes sent to accuse the Milesians, 'he knowing that the Milesians,' i. e. some of them, the whole city being here as elsewhere put for the representatives of the city, 'were going to accuse him:' cp. i. 31 med. ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς (scil. τοῖς Κερκυραίοις) ἐλθοῦσιν ὡς τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι, . . . οἱ δὲ Κορίνθιοι πυθόμενοι ταῦτα ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πρεσβευσόμενοι.

85. 3. ἔχθρα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦν αὐτῷ ἀεί ποτε περὶ τοῦ μισθοῦ τῆς ἀποδόσεως.

πρὸς αὐτόν refers to Hermocrates, αὐτῷ to Tissaphernes.

85. 3. κατηγόρει ἄλλα τε καὶ ὡς χρήματά ποτε αἰτήσας αὐτὸν καὶ οὐ τυχὼν τὴν ἔχθραν οἱ πρόθοιτο.

προτίθεσθαι ἔχθραν, 1)* 'to entertain or conceive hatred,' lit. to put before, or propose to, oneself. Or 2)* 'to display hatred,' cp. iii. 64 fin. ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνων κακῷ ἀνδραγαθίαν προὔθεσθε.

These words do not prove Hermocrates to have been the author of the quarrel (Poppo, ed. maj. from Krüger), since they only contain the insinuation of Tissaphernes.

86. 3. οἱ δ' ἀπήγγελλον ὡς οὔτε ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τῆς πόλεως ἡ μετάστασις γένοιτο, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ, οὔθ' ἵνα τοῖς πολεμίοις παραδοθῇ· ἐξεῖναι γάρ, ὅτε ἐσέβαλον

ἤδη σφῶν ἀρχόντων, τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· τῶν τε πεντακισχιλίων ὅτι πάντες ἐν τῷ μέρει μεθέξουσιν. 86. 3.

Either 1)* 'that all should in turn share in the body of 5000,' though how this was to be accomplished is not explained. Or 2) 'that all the 5000 should in turn have their share,' i. e. in the government or in the body of 400; to which it was afterwards promised that they should be elected in turn. Cp. c. 93 med. λέγοντες τούς τε πεντακισχιλίους ἀποφανεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτων ἐν μέρει, ᾗ ἂν τοῖς πεντακισχιλίοις δοκῇ, τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἔσεσθαι. μεθέξουσιν, scil. τῆς πόλεως, which is easily supplied from the context.

καὶ ἐδόκει Ἀλκιβιάδης πρῶτος τότε καὶ οὐδενὸς ἔλασσον τὴν πόλιν ὠφελῆσαι· ὡρμημένων γὰρ τῶν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀθηναίων πλεῖν ἐπὶ σφᾶς αὐτούς, ἐν ᾧ σαφέστατα Ἰωνίαν καὶ Ἑλλήσποντον εὐθὺς εἶχον οἱ πολέμιοι, κωλυτὴς γενέσθαι. 86. 4.

ἐδόκει ὠφελῆσαι, 'appeared to have benefited.' This is Thucydides' impersonal way of expressing his own opinion. Cp. note on ii. 65. 7. The sense seems to require some still stronger word to be supplied from ἐδόκει with κωλυτὴς γένεσθαι, = κωλυτὴς γενόμενος δῆλος ἦν.

Either 1)* reading πρῶτος, with most MSS., 'Alcibiades was in the first rank of benefactors.' Or 2) accepting πρῶτον, the reading of the Vatican and a few other MSS., 'then for the first time Alcibiades did good service to the state,' meaning that he never did so before. The sense is in favour of 1)*, the Greek of 2). Against 2) it may be urged that the words 'for the first time' would be inappropriate to the case of Alcibiades, who had already done his country many services, e. g. by securing the alliance of Argos, and by setting Tissaphernes against the Peloponnesians. Nor is it likely that Thucydides, who abstains elsewhere from condemning him (cp. especially the remarkable passage in which he is described rather as sinned against than sinning, vi. 15), should have passed this summary sentence in a single word.

On the other hand, it is not clear that the word πρῶτος standing alone, and still less when followed by τότε, can be used to signify 'in an eminent degree.'

εὐθὺς εἶχον. The indicative without ἄν expresses the certainty of the fact. 'In which case they had undoubtedly been masters of

86. 4. Ionia and the Hellespont,' cp. note on vi. 55. 3, and Lycurg. c. Leocr. 23, *εἰ μὲν οὖν ζῶν ἐτύγχανεν ὁ Ἀμύντας, ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν παρειχόμην· νυνὶ δὲ ὑμῖν καλῶ τοὺς συνειδότας.*

86. 9. *ἀφίκοντο δὲ οἱ Ἀργεῖοι μετὰ τῶν Παράλων, οἳ τότε ἐτάχθησαν ἐν τῇ στρατιώτιδι νηΐ ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων περιπλεῖν Εὔβοιαν, καὶ ἄγοντες Ἀθηναίων ἐς Λακεδαίμονα ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων πεμπτοὺς πρέσβεις, Λαισποδίαν καὶ Ἀριστοφῶντα καὶ Μελησίαν, [οἳ] ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο πλέοντες κατ' Ἄργος, τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ξυλλαβόντες τοῖς Ἀργείοις παρέδοσαν κ.τ.λ.*

πέμπουσι, the reading of the great majority of MSS., is indefensible, unless *πέμπουσι πρέσβεις* can be taken as a dativus commodi agreeing with a subject to be supplied from *ἀπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων*, 'conducting envoys from the Four Hundred for the Four Hundred who were sending them.' But this is harsh, and it is better either to omit the word (with one good MS., C.) or to read *πεμπόντων*, or, with two or three MSS. and Bekker, *πεμπτούς*.

οἱ ἐπειδή κ.τ.λ. Either we must omit *οἵ*, or the construction of the sentence is irregular, *οἵ* being put as if *τῶν τότε ταχθέντων καὶ ἀγόντων*, not *οἱ τότε ἐτάχθησαν καὶ ἄγοντες*, had preceded. *οἵ* may very likely have been inserted by a copyist from an imperfect apprehension of the structure of the sentence.

87. 3. *οἱ δέ, ἵνα τοὺς Φοίνικας προαγαγὼν ἐς τὴν Ἀσπενδον ἐκχρηματίσαιτο ἀφεὶς· καὶ γὰρ ὡς αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν ἔμελλε χρήσεσθαι.*

καὶ ὡς, 'in any case,' see note on iii. 33. 2, not, 'although he had brought them so far.'

87. 3. *ἄλλοι δ', ὡς καταβοῆς ἕνεκα τῆς ἐς Λακεδαίμονα, τὸ λέγεσθαι ὡς οὐκ ἀδικεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ σαφῶς οἴχεται ἐπὶ τὰς ναῦς ἀληθῶς πεπληρωμένας.*

The acc. *τὸ λέγεσθαι* is a further explanation of *καταβοῆς ἕνεκα*, and seems to be dependent upon some general notion, gathered from the whole sentence, of the purpose or idea with which Tissaphernes went to Aspendus. 'Some thought that he went on account of the complaints which had reached Lacedaemon, in the hope that it might be said of him that he was honest.'

More commonly the genitive would follow, and the alteration of *τό* into *τοῦ* has been adopted by Poppo and other editors. But

this seems unnecessary, since the idea of purpose may be expressed by a simple acc. of the remoter object, 'touching its being said.' Cp. note on ii. 87. 1. τῷ is also read, on some MS. authority; but gives no good sense. 87. 3.

καταβοή cannot possibly be taken in a neutral sense (Classen). Cp. c. 85 med. ἐπὶ καταβοῇ τῇ αὐτοῦ μάλιστα, likewise referring to Tissaphernes, i. 67 init., 73 init., 115 init., v. 45 fin.

ἐπεί, εἴγε ἐβουλήθη διαπολεμῆσαι, ἐπιφανὲς δήπου οὐκ ἐνδοιαστῶς. 87. 4.

The expression is cramped. The comma should be placed after, not before, διαπολεμῆσαι. Some clause such as ὅτι διεπολέμησεν ἄν, or διαπολεμῆσαι ἄν, has to be supplied from διαπολεμῆσαι after ἐπιφανές. ἐπιφανείς has been ingeniously conjectured by Reiske.

καὶ ὁ μὲν ἅρας εὐθὺ τῆς Φασήλιδος καὶ Καύνου ἄνω τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιεῖτο. 88.

There is a slight geographical inaccuracy in the order of the places mentioned: for in going from Samos to Aspendus Alcibiades would have come first to Caunus and then to Phaselis. Cp. infra c. 108 init., where a corresponding inaccuracy occurs in the description of Alcibiades' return voyage. And see Introduction on the Geography of Thucydides.

καὶ ξυνίσταντό τε ἤδη καὶ τὰ πράγματα διεμέμφοντο, ἔχοντες ἡγεμόνας 89. 2.
τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων, οἷον Θηραμένην τε τὸν Ἀγνωνος καὶ Ἀριστοκράτην τὸν Σκελλίου, καὶ ἄλλους, οἳ μετέσχον μὲν ἐν πρώτοις τῶν πραγμάτων, φοβούμενοι δ', ὡς ἔφασαν, τό τε ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ στράτευμα καὶ τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην σπουδῇ πάνυ, τούς τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους, μή τι ἄνευ τῶν πλειόνων κακὸν δράσωσι τὴν πόλιν, οὗ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν τοῦ ἄγαν ἐς ὀλίγους ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς πεντακισχιλίους ἔργῳ καὶ μὴ ὀνόματι χρῆναι ἀποδεικνύναι, καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ἰσαιτέραν καθιστάναι.

τῶν ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀρχαῖς ὄντων is to be taken closely with τῶν πάνυ στρατηγῶν, 'the very generals who were of the party of the oligarchy and members of the government.' See note on viii. 1. 1. πάνυ, though attracted to στρατηγῶν, really belongs to ὄντων.

The sentence which follows, φοβούμενοι δέ κ.τ.λ. is in strange confusion. It may be one of those which has not received the

89. 2. last corrections of the author. 1) Retaining, with nearly all the MSS., ἔπεμπον after τούς τε ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα πρεσβευομένους, we must translate, 'Fearing, as they said, the army at Samos, and in good earnest afraid of Alcibiades, (or more literally, 'and Alcibiades, of whom they were in good earnest afraid), they were sending,' i.e. they joined in sending, 'the ambassadors (c. 71 fin., 86 fin.: cp. also 90 init.) to Lacedaemon, lest, if they were despatched without the consent of the majority of the oligarchy, the city might be betrayed by them: their object being (as they professed) not to get rid of the extreme oligarchy,' (or, 'to avoid falling under an extreme oligarchy;) but they thought that the 5000 ought to be established in reality and not in name,' etc. Such appears to be the sense of this disputed passage. But there still remain many difficulties of detail.

The words σπουδῇ πάνυ qualify, not τὸ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ στράτευμα, but only τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην. They professed a fear of the democracy at Samos, which, inclining to democracy themselves, they did not really feel; and of Alcibiades, which they did really feel, for the reasons mentioned at the end of the chapter:—σαφέστατα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῆρε τὰ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ κ.τ.λ. For he might become a dangerous rival to themselves. It may be observed *a*) that τέ (which is omitted by the Vatican MS.) after τούς is redundant; this, however, is an objection which here, as elsewhere, may be removed by supposing a change of construction, cp. note on v. 26. 2. *b*) The sense 'joined in sending' does not precisely agree with the Greek. But the minority of the 400 may be said to 'send the embassy,' just as the representatives of a state are put for the whole state (see note on c. 85. 2 supra). *c*) The clause οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν may be taken as a remote accusative after the whole sentence, expressing the general aim which the moderate party avowed (cp. τὸ λέγεσθαι, c. 87. 3 above), 'their object being (as they said), not to get rid of the extreme oligarchy.' *d*) With χρῆναι again the construction changes, and some such word as λέγοντες, or νομίζοντες, has to be introduced: 'they said only that the 5000 should be established.'

If 2)* we omit ἔπεμπον with one fair (F) and two bad MSS. (Lugd. Mosq.), another way of taking the passage offers which gets rid of several of these anomalies: 'Fearing, as they said, the

army at Samos, and in good earnest afraid of Alcibiades, fearing too the ambassadors sent to Lacedaemon' (or, in accordance with the more common meaning of the middle *πρεσβεύεσθαι*, 'those who were sending ambassadors to Lacedaemon,' i. e. the extreme oligarchical party), 'lest they should do some injury to the state if unauthorized by the majority, they professed, not indeed that they meant to deliver themselves from coming to an extreme oligarchy, but that the 5000 ought to be established in reality and not in name,' etc. Adopting this interpretation, we must construe the clause *οὐ τὸ ἀπαλλάξειν κ.τ.λ.* as dependant on *ἔφασαν* understood; the sentence continuing as if, not *φοβούμενοι δ' ὡς ἔφασαν*, but *φοβούμενοι δ' ἔφασαν*, had preceded. 89. 2.

Still the presence of the article before *ἀπαλλάξειν* creates a difficulty which might be overcome by reading, instead of *οὐ τό, οὗτοι* (Poppo); three good MSS. having *οὐ τῶι*.

The occurrence of so many harsh expressions, and so many changes of construction, leads to the conclusion that we are analysing the ideas of Thucydides, not in their final form, but as they first occurred to him and were roughly put down.

ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν σχῆμα πολιτικὸν τοῦ λόγου αὐτοῖς κ.τ.λ. 89. 3.

Either 1)* 'this was the constitutional pretence which they put forward,' or 2) 'this was the form of government which they upheld in words; but in fact,' etc. Cp. infra c. 91 med. *διαβολὴ τοῦ λόγου.*

πάντες γὰρ αὐθημερὸν ἀξιοῦσιν οὐχ ὅπως ἴσοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πρῶτος 89. 3. *αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εἶναι· ἐκ δὲ δημοκρατίας αἱρέσεως γιγνομένης, ῥᾷον τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα ὡς οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἐλασσούμενός τις φέρει.*

ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων has been referred 1) to things, 2) to persons.

According to 1) the meaning would be that a man is less annoyed at a defeat under a democratical form of government because he has not failed in an equally matched contest, but has been overpowered by the force of the multitude. In a similar spirit Thucydides argues elsewhere that violence is more tolerable than specious injustice (i. 77 med.). Still the sentiment is a paradox.

According to 2) *ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων* would mean, 'on the part of his

89. 3. equals,' nearly=*ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων*. Cp. i. 141 init., where *τῶν ὁμοίων* is also masculine, *τὴν γὰρ αὐτὴν δύναται δούλωσιν ἥ τε μεγίστη καὶ ἐλαχίστη δικαίωσις ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων πρὸ δίκης τοῖς πέλας ἐπιτασσομένη*. The argument would be that in an oligarchy, which is a small body, every one is his neighbour's equal and rival, and thinks that he has a right to an equal share of office and power. But in a democracy there is no such narrow notion of equality. Though politically they have the same rights, the citizens know that they are not really equal, and do not consider exclusion from office as a personal affront. See note in Grote, Part II. ch. lxii.

ἀπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων may be taken, either after *ἐλασσούμενος*, as above, or after *τὰ ἀποβαίνοντα*.

90. 1. *οἱ δὲ τῶν τετρακοσίων μάλιστα ἐναντίοι ὄντες τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει κ.τ.λ.*

τῷ τοιούτῳ εἴδει, scil. to the democracy, supplied from *προστάτης τοῦ δήμου* above, or from the tenor of the preceding words: cp. note on iii. 62. 2, *ἐν οἵῳ εἴδει*, 'under what form of government.'

90. 4. *χηλὴ γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Πειραιῶς ἡ Ἠετιώνεια, καὶ παρ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ὁ ἔσπλους ἐστίν. ἐτειχίζετο οὖν οὕτω ξὺν τῷ πρότερον πρὸς ἤπειρον ὑπάρχοντι τείχει, ὥστε καθεζομένων ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγων ἄρχειν τοῦ γε ἔσπλου. ἐπ' αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι τοῦ λιμένος στενοῦ ὄντος τὸν ἕτερον πύργον ἐτελεύτα τό τε παλαιὸν τὸ πρὸς ἤπειρον καὶ τὸ ἐντὸς τὸ καινὸν τεῖχος τειχι-*
5. *ζόμενον πρὸς θάλασσαν. διῳκοδόμησαν δὲ καὶ στοάν, ἥπερ ἦν μεγίστη καὶ ἐγγύτατα τούτου εὐθὺς ἐχομένη ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ, καὶ ἦρχον αὐτοὶ αὐτῆς, ἐς ἣν καὶ τὸν σῖτον ἠνάγκαζον πάντας τὸν ὑπάρχοντά τε καὶ τὸν ἐσπλέοντα ἐξαιρεῖσθαι καὶ ἐντεῦθεν προαιροῦντας πωλεῖν.*

τοῦ γε ἔσπλου. The reading, if retained, must be explained as follows:—'The oligarchs were liable to be attacked from the city as well as from the sea: a handful of men could protect at any rate the entrance to the harbour, if not the approach from the city.' The MSS. vary between *τέ* and *γέ*; a few omit both.

The oligarchs had several objects in fortifying Eetionea. They wanted *a*) to command the entrance into the harbour and secure a landing-place for Peloponnesian troops; *b*) to cut off the landing-place from the city, for they were more afraid of attack from within than from without; *c*) to have at their service the stores which

were collected in that part of the Piraeus. Now the outer wall of **90. 5.** the Piraeus on the north side ended in the promontory of Eetionea; between this wall and the harbour was a narrow strip of ground partly covered by a warehouse, *στοά*, probably running down to the water, in which merchants deposited their goods. The oligarchs built a second line of wall facing the harbour and ending in the same point as the old line of wall. This wall would serve as a protection to Peloponnesian soldiers when landed. They then built a wall either abutting on or cutting across the *στοά*, and forming the base of the triangle of which the two other walls formed the sides. The two new walls together would protect the *στοά*, which was wholly or partially inside them.

ἐγγύτατα τούτου εὐθὺς ἐχομένη is parallel to *μεγίστη*, lit. 'the largest and the most nearly adjoining the new wall, which it closely adjoined;' *ἐχομένη* goes both with *ἐγγύτατα* and with *εὐθύς*. *τούτου*, scil. *τοῦ καινοῦ τείχους*. *διοικοδομήσαντες*, 1) running the wall through the hall or *στοά*; or 2)* merely cutting off the *στοά* from the city; cp. *διατειχίζω*, and iv. 69 init. *ἀρξάμενοι δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τείχους ὃ εἶχον καὶ διοικοδομήσαντες τὸ πρὸς Μεγαρέας.*

Cp. with the whole account the words of Theramenes, Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 46, *ἐπεὶ δέ γε ἐκεῖνοι μὲν* (scil. *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*) *οὐδὲν ἀνίεσαν, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Μελάνθιον καὶ Ἀρίσταρχον, στρατηγοῦντες φανεροὶ ἐγένοντο ἐπὶ τῷ χώματι ἔρυμα τειχίζοντες, ἐς ὃ ἐβούλοντο τοὺς πολεμίους δεξάμενοι ὑφ' αὑτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι, εἰ ταῦτ' αἰσθανόμενος ἐγὼ διεκώλυσα, τοῦτ' ἔστι προδότην εἶναι τῶν φίλων;*

ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐσαγαγόμενοι ἄνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν ξυμβῆναι **91. 3.** *καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἔχειν, εἰ τοῖς γε σώμασι σφῶν ἄδεια ἔσται.*

καὶ ὁπωσοῦν goes with *ἄνευ τειχῶν καὶ νεῶν*. 'They were ready to agree that the city should be left without walls and ships, and in any condition whatsoever, if only their lives were guaranteed to them.'

ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὁ Φρύνιχος..πληγεὶς ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς τῶν περιπόλων τινὸς ἐξ ἐπι- **92. 2.** *βουλῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πληθούσῃ καὶ οὐ πολὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἀπελθὼν ἀπέθανε παραχρῆμα, καὶ ὁ μὲν πατάξας διέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ ξυνεργός, Ἀργεῖος ἄνθρωπος, ληφθεὶς καὶ βασανιζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τετρακοσίων κ.τ.λ.*

The story of the assassination of Phrynichus is narrated by the orators Lysias and Lycurgus, and also by Plutarch. Lysias, c.

92. 2. Agoratum (xiii) 76–78, asserts as a well-known fact that two foreigners, Thrasybulus of Calydon and Apollodorus of Megara, conspired against Phrynichus: that they came upon him when he was walking (*βαδίζοντι*), and that Thrasybulus struck and slew him.

At the time they escaped, and after the overthrow of the 400 were made Athenian citizens by a decree of the people: their names were inscribed on a column, and to this column he appeals against the claims of Agoratus, who pretended to have been the author of the deed. See Inscription mentioned infra.

The tale is told over again by Lycurgus (c. Leocratem, 113–117), though with some differences. The names of the assassins are the same, but, according to Lycurgus, Phrynichus was assassinated by night, 'near the fountain which is in the willow beds.' The assassins were seized and imprisoned, but liberated by the people, and, on the motion of Critias, Phrynichus was condemned as a traitor and his bones exhumed and cast beyond the border, Aristarchus and Alexicles who defended him being executed.

It is possible that Critias, who is said once to have been a democrat, cp. Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 36, may have been the accuser of Phrynichus. But we are told by Thucydides that Alexicles escaped to Decelea, and Aristarchus to Oenoè, which he betrayed to the Boeotians (viii. 98). On the other hand, the words of Xenophon (Hell. i. 7. 28), though not free from ambiguity, imply that Aristarchus was afterwards captured and brought to trial: *δεινὰ δ' ἂν ποιήσαιτε, εἰ Ἀριστάρχῳ μέν, πρότερον τὸν δῆμον καταλύοντι, εἶτα δὲ Οἰνόην προδιδόντι Θηβαίοις, πολεμίοις οὖσιν, ἔδοτε ἡμέραν ἀπολογήσασθαι ᾗ ἐβούλετο, καὶ τἆλλα κατὰ τὸν νόμον προὔθετο· τοὺς δὲ στρατηγοὺς . . . τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων ἀποστερήσετε.*

Once more the tale is told by Plutarch (Alcib. xxv. fin.), chiefly from an imperfect recollection of Thucydides. He cuts the narrative short, and, without noticing the part taken by Phrynichus in the oligarchical movement, says that he was slain by Hermon, one of the Peripoli (a name which occurs in Thucydides in the same chapter, viii. 92. 5, but in another connection: he was in command of the Peripoli at Munychia, and took part in the arrest of Alexicles, and is confused by Plutarch with the assassin). He says that Phrynichus after his death was condemned for treachery, apparently

his treachery in proposing to betray the Athenian fleet to Astyo- 92. 2.
chus, and that his assassins were honoured with a crown.

The narrative is worthless as historical evidence, but not without interest as showing the manner in which error and confusion grew up in the mind of Plutarch.

A somewhat uncertain light is thrown upon the statement of Lysias by an inscription (Kirchhoff, C. I. A. no. 59) recording a decree passed by the senate and people of Athens in the archonship of Glaucippus, 410–409, a year or two after the murder of Phrynichus. By this decree *Thrasybulus* is praised and crowned for public services, and apparently the rights of citizenship are conferred upon him. The names of *Agoratus*, Comon, Simos, and Philinus are to be inscribed as those of public benefactors on a column of stone, and they are to receive rights of ἔγκτησις and οἴκησις at Athens. Further, there appears to be a reference to certain persons who had received bribes in connection with a decree respecting *Apoll[odorus]*; but this part of the inscription is very imperfect.

Lysias in the passage cited above *a*) denies that the grant of citizenship to Agoratus is to be found on the column, and then *b*) asserts that certain persons (who are not mentioned, though at this place Bekker notes a lacuna in the MS.) got their names forged on the column as benefactors. It would seem probable that this is the inscription in which the name of Agoratus was fraudulently inserted. If so, it would be curious that an inscription, containing a condemnation of corruption, should afford an example of it. See Kirchhoff, Monastb. d. Berl. Acad. 1861, p. 601: Bergk. Z. f. Alterthumsw. Dec. 1847.

τότε δὴ οὐδενὸς γεγενημένου ἀπ' αὐτοῦ νεωτέρου κ.τ.λ. 92. 2.

The Argive having made no confession, no one was arrested or executed by the oligarchs; hence Theramenes and his associates were emboldened to proceed. *ἀπ' αὐτοῦ*, 'in consequence of the affair.'

ἅμα γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Λᾶς αἱ νῆες ἤδη περιπεπλευκυῖαι καὶ ὁρμισάμεναι ἐς 92. 3.
τὴν Ἐπίδαυρον τὴν Λἴγιναν καταδεδραμήκεσαν· καὶ οὐκ ἔφη ὁ Θηραμένης εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἐπ' Εὔβοιαν πλεούσας αὐτὰς ἐς Λἴγιναν κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὁρμεῖν, εἰ μὴ παρακληθεῖσαι ἥκοιεν κ.τ.λ.

92. 3. It is not clear whether the Lacedaemonians first ravaged Aegina and then put into port at Epidaurus, or whether they first anchored at Epidaurus, and then ravaged Aegina, returning again to Epidaurus. The first explanation agrees best with the expression *ἐς Αἰγίνην κατακολπίσαι καὶ πάλιν ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ ὁρμεῖν*, and is consistent with the tenses *ὁρμισάμενοι* and *κατεδεδραμήκεσαν* (not *κατέδραμον*). The crews, which had now cast anchor at Epidaurus, had previously ravaged Aegina.

92. 4. *τέλος δέ, πολλῶν καὶ στασιωτικῶν λόγων καὶ ὑποψιῶν προσγενομένων, καὶ ἔργῳ ἤδη ἤπτοντο τῶν πραγμάτων.*

The subject of *ἤπτοντο* is 'Theramenes and his party,' to be supplied from *ὁ Θηραμένης ἤδη . . . ἦσαν ὁμογνώμονες*, supra.

92. 4. *ἐν οἷς καὶ Ἀριστοκράτης ἦν ταξιαρχῶν καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φυλὴν ἔχων.*

φυλακήν is the reading of the majority of MSS., but *φυλή*, answering to *ταξιαρχῶν*, which is found in three good (Cl., Ven., Laur.) and one inferior MS. (Gr.), is required by the sense.

The two words are again confused in vi. 100 init. *οἱ μὲν Συρακόσιοι φυλὴν μίαν καταλιπόντες φύλακα τοῦ οἰκοδομήματος*, where one good (Laur.) and three inferior MSS. read *φυλακήν*. And once more, in vi. 101. 5, *φυλή* (Duker) must be substituted for *φυλακή*, the reading of the MSS., which has no meaning.

92. 6. *ὡς δὲ ἐσηγγέλθη τοῖς τετρακοσίοις (ἔτυχον δὲ ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ ξυγκαθήμενοι), εὐθύς, πλὴν ὅσοις μὴ βουλομένοις ταῦτα ἦν, ἑτοῖμοι ἦσαν ἐς τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι.*

ἐς τὰ ὅπλα ἰέναι, literally, 'go to their arms,' i. e. to the place where their arms were piled. So § 8 infra, *ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα φερομένους*. Cp. *ἐφ' ὅπλοις*, vii. 28 init., viii. 69 init.

92. 6. *καὶ παραλαβὼν ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν, ὅστις ἦν αὐτῷ ὁμογνώμων, ἐχώρει ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ.*

ὅστις is found in all the MSS. but the Vatican, which reads *ὅς*. It is here used, not simply for *ὅς*, as in vi. 3. 1, see note, but has something of a causal force, 'he being a man of the same sentiments with Theramenes.' Cp. note on iii. 16. 3, and Hermann, (Soph. Praef. ad O. T. p. xiii) who quotes Herod. iii. 120, *οἱ μὲν*

δή μίν φασι τοῦτο ἀκούσαντα, καὶ ἀλγήσαντα τῷ ὀνείδει, ἐπιθυμῆσαι οὐκ οὕτω τὸν εἴπαντα ταῦτα τίσασθαι, ὡς Πολυκράτεα πάντως ἀπολέσαι, δι' ὅντινα κακῶς ἤκουσε: Eur. Alcest. 239,— 92. 6.

καὶ τάσδε τύχας
λεύσσων βασιλέως, ὅστις ἀρίστης
ἁπλακὼν ἀλόχου τῆσδ' ἀβίωτον
τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον βιοτεύσει.

καὶ ὁ μὲν Θηραμένης ἐλθὼν ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ (ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς στρατηγὸς) ὅσον καὶ ἀπὸ βοῆς ἕνεκα ὠργίζετο τοῖς ὁπλίταις. 92. 9.

ὅσον . . . ἕνεκα, 'as far as noise could go,' i. e. he scolded them without taking any further measures. For the pleonastic use of ἕνεκα cp. Plato, Laws, iii. 701 D, τίνος δὴ χάριν ἕνεκα; and Soph. Phil. 554,—

ἃ τοῖσιν Ἀργείοισιν ἀμφὶ σοῦ 'νεκα
βουλεύματ' ἐστί.

καὶ τὸν Θηραμένην ἠρώτων, εἰ δοκεῖ αὐτῷ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ τὸ τεῖχος οἰκοδομεῖσθαι, καὶ εἰ ἄμεινον εἶναι καθαιρεθέν. ὁ δέ, εἴπερ καὶ ἐκείνοις δοκεῖ καθαιρεῖν, καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἔφη ξυνδοκεῖν. 92. 10.

The fame of Theramenes was doubtful among his contemporaries. Like Phrynichus, and the far greater Themistocles, and Alcibiades, he might be variously regarded either as the betrayer or the saviour of his country. In the striking narrative which is given by Xenophon of the life and death struggle between Critias and Theramenes, he is described by his opponent as follows, Xenoph. Hell. ii. 3. 30 foll. ἵνα δὲ εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐ καινὰ ταῦτα οὗτος ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ φύσει προδότης ἐστίν, ἀναμνήσω ὑμᾶς τὰ τούτῳ πεπραγμένα. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μὲν τιμώμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἄγνωνα προπετέστατος ἐγένετο τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς τετρακοσίους, καὶ ἐπρώτευεν ἐν ἐκείνοις. ἐπεὶ δ' ἥσθετο ἀντίπαλόν τι τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ ξυνιστάμενον, πρῶτος αὖ ἡγεμὼν τῷ δήμῳ ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐγένετο· ὅθεν δήπου καὶ κόθορνος ἐπικαλεῖται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ κόθορνος ἁρμόττειν μὲν τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ, ἀποβλέπει δ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερον. 'Himself the criminal, he was the accuser of the generals who commanded at Arginusae. False to everybody, he was true only to his own interest. His hands were stained with the blood of both parties.' To which Theramenes replies 'that the generals were self-condemned; that he was right

92. 10. in deserting the Thirty when they began to take away the arms and lives of the citizens, and the Four Hundred when they were building a fort which was designed to admit the enemy: that it is better to please everybody than, like Critias, to please nobody.'

In Lysias, c. Eratosth. (xii) 63–79, there is a vehement attack on Theramenes: he enslaved the people to please his accomplices; he accused and murdered his accomplices Antiphon and Archeptolemus to please the people. Finally, at the critical moment, he betrayed the city to the Lacedaemonians and established the tyranny of the Thirty. See the whole passage; and cp. Lysias, c. Agoratum (xiii) 12 foll. and Xenoph. Hell. ii. 2. 16.

For the general view of the character of Theramenes ὁ *κόθορνος*, 'the trimmer,' cp. Aristoph. Frogs 538,—

τὸ δὲ μεταστρέφεσθαι
πρὸς τὸ μαλθακώτερον
δεξιοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρός ἐστι
καὶ φύσει Θηραμένους.

968,—*Θηραμένης; σοφός γ' ἀνὴρ καὶ δεινὸς ἐς τὰ πάντα,*
ὃς ἦν κακοῖς που περιπέσῃ καὶ πλησίον παραστῇ,
πέπτωκεν ἔξω τῶν κακῶν, οὐ Χῖος, ἀλλὰ Κεῖος.

With these passages we may contrast the somewhat extraordinary statement of Aristotle (?) cited by Plut. Nic. ii. *ὅτι τρεῖς ἐγένοντο βέλτιστοι τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ πατρικὴν ἔχοντες εὔνοιαν καὶ φιλίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον*, Νικίας ὁ Νικηράτου, *καὶ* Θουκυδίδης ὁ Μελησίου, *καὶ* Θηραμένης ὁ Ἀγνωνος. To which Plutarch adds the silly remark, probably arising from a mistaken recollection or misunderstanding of Aristophanes, *ἧττον δὲ οὗτος ἢ ἐκεῖνοι· καὶ γὰρ εἰς δυσγένειαν ὡς ξένος ἐκ Κέω λελοιδόρηται, καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ μόνιμον κ.τ.λ.*

94. 3. *οἱ δ' αὖ Ἀθηναῖοι, ὡς ἠγγέλθη αὐτοῖς, εὐθὺς δρόμῳ ἐς τὸν Πειραιᾶ πανδημεὶ ἐχώρουν, ὡς τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου μείζονος [ἢ] ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὐχ ἑκάς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῷ λιμένι ὄντος.*

We have to choose here between the MSS. and the sense. 1) If *ἤ* (which is only omitted by a single good MS., Cl.) be read, Thucydides appears to say that the Athenian people were more afraid of the struggle which would ensue at the mouth of the harbour against their own fellow-citizens, who were supposed to have

invited the Peloponnesian ships, than of the enemy themselves. **94.** 3. But this, though not unmeaning in itself, gives no special reason why they should leave the assembly and go to the Piraeus, which they would equally have done if they were only expecting to meet the enemy.

It is better therefore 2)* to omit *ἤ*. The construction will then be as follows:—*ὡς πολέμου ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μείζονος τοῦ ἰδίου πολέμου . . . ὄντος*. Or 3), with one good MS. (Ven.), we may read *τοῦ ἀπό* instead of *ἢ ἀπό*.

Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ κατὰ τάχος καὶ ἀξυγκροτήτοις πληρώμασιν ἀναγκασθέντες **95.** 2. *χρήσασθαι κ.τ.λ.*

'Unpractised crews,' 'not used to act together,' a metaphor taken from metals, literally, 'not hammered for use,' or 'not welded together.' Cp. Xen. Hell. vi. 2. 12, *οὐ φαῦλον ἡγούμενος εἶναι ἐπὶ συγκεκροτημένας ναῦς εἰκῇ περιπλεῦσαι.*

οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ ἐπιτείχισμα τὸ ἐν τῇ Ἐρετρίᾳ, ὃ εἶχον αὐτοί, περιγίγνονται, **95.** 6. *καὶ ὅσαι ἐς Χαλκίδα ἀφικνοῦνται τῶν νεῶν.*

ἐπιτείχισμα, usually, a fort in an enemy's country. Here, if the word is genuine, it must be understood to mean, 'a fort intended to control the Eretrians.' Bekker, following Vat, reads *τείχισμα*.

καὶ ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ Εὔβοιάν τε ἅπασαν ἀποστήσαντες πλὴν Ὠρεοῦ, **95.** 7. *ταύτην δὲ αὐτοὶ Ἀθηναῖοι εἶχον, καὶ τἆλλα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν καθίσταντο.*

τέ—καί connects the participle *ἀποστήσαντες* with the finite verb *καθίσταντο*, a change of construction similar to that in c. 81 init. and elsewhere; cp. note on i. 9. 3. § 5. *καθίσταντο* is used as if *ἀπέστησαν* had preceded, the change to the finite verb being assisted by the attraction of *εἶχον*.

ὅπου γὰρ στρατοπέδου τέ τοῦ ἐν Σάμῳ ἀφεστηκότος, ἄλλων τε νεῶν οὐκ **96.** 2. *οὐσῶν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἐσβησομένων, . . . τοσαύτη ἡ ξυμφορὰ ἐπεγεγένητο κ.τ.λ.*

Not literally 'no others,' for they did succeed in getting together twenty (infra c. 97 init.), but they had no more ships in the naval sense of the term, properly manned and equipped.

ἄλλων, not 'besides those at Samos,' but 'besides those which had gone to Euboea.'

96. 3. *μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς καὶ δι' ἐγγυτάτου ἐθορύβει, εἰ οἱ πολέμιοι τολμήσουσι νενικηκότες εὐθὺς σφῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἔρημον ὄντα νεῶν πλεῖν.*

τολμήσουσι. *εἰ* with the fut. indicative expresses the nearness of the danger. *σφῶν* 1)* may be taken with *οἱ πολέμιοι*, 'if their victorious enemies' (not merely 'the victorious enemy') 'mean to sail direct for the Piraeus.' The pronoun implies the close relation of hostility in which 'their' enemies stood to them. Or 2)* *σφῶν* may be taken with *Πειραιᾶ* (Arn.), 'of what belonged to them;' cp. expressions like *τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐς Οἰνόην*, ii. 18 init., and note on v. 83. 4.

96. 4. *καὶ ἐν τούτῳ Ἑλλήσποντός τε ἂν ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰωνία καὶ αἱ νῆσοι καὶ τὰ μέχρι Εὐβοίας, καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχὴ πᾶσα.*

The island of Euboea, taken inclusively, is the natural boundary of the Aegean and of the Athenian empire to the west. The reading Βοιωτίας (Bekker) would have much the same meaning, but it is only supported by Vat.

96. 5. *διάφοροι γὰρ πλεῖστον ὄντες τὸν τρόπον, οἱ μὲν ὀξεῖς, αἱ δὲ βραδεῖς, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπιχειρηταὶ οἱ δὲ ἄτολμοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ, πλεῖστα ὠφέλουν.*

διάφοροι, οἱ μέν, οἱ δέ, may be explained as nominatives absolute, from which the nominative to *ὠφέλουν*, *οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, is supplied: or *διάφοροι* may be confined to the Lacedaemonians. The contrast of character is present to Thucydides throughout his work, being described by him in the most vivid manner, before the commencement of the war, i. 70, again and again repeated in many satirical touches (e. g. ii. 94, iii. 31 fin., 33 init., iv. 13 fin.), recurring in a striking manner in the middle of the work (iv. 55), and once more near its close.

ναυτικῇ ἀρχῇ, the reading of every MS. but the Vatican, which inserts *ἐν* before *ναυτικῇ*, is best taken as a dative of relation, 'especially since their enemies were a naval power,' lit. 'in relation to them being a naval power.'

97. 1. *καὶ ἐκκλησίαν ξυνέλεγον, μίαν μὲν εὐθὺς τότε πρῶτον ἐς τὴν Πύκνα καλουμένην, οὗπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθεσαν κ.τ.λ.*

The return of the Athenians to their beloved Pnyx (Aristoph.

Knights 750), after the irregular meetings at Colonus, the Piraeus, etc., like the return of the French Assembly from Versailles to Paris, is noted as an event in the history of the constitution. 97. 1.

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶν ὁπόσοι καὶ ὅπλα παρέχονται· καὶ μισθὸν μηδένα φέρειν μηδεμιᾷ ἀρχῇ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐπάρατον ἐποιήσαντο. ἐγίγνοντο δὲ καὶ ἄλλαι ὕστερον πυκναὶ ἐκκλησίαι, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ νομοθέτας καὶ τἆλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν. καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα δὴ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον ἐπί γε ἐμοῦ Ἀθηναῖοι φαίνονται εὖ πολιτεύσαντες. μετρία γὰρ ἥ τε ἐς τοὺς ὀλίγους καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐκ πονηρῶν τῶν πραγμάτων γενομένων τοῦτο πρῶτον ἀνήνεγκε τὴν πόλιν. 97. 1. 2.

Arnold's remark, 'We must suppose that all who could furnish heavy arms were eligible into the number of the 5000; whether the members were fixed on by lot, by election, or by rotation,' is at variance with the text, which expressly says that 'the 5000 were to comprise all those who provided themselves with arms,' not that the members of the assembly were to be elected out of the whole number of heavy-armed.

As Grote observes, the number 5000 is not intended to be taken literally. For this there is some confirmation in the speech of Lysias (?), pro Polystrato, (xx) 13, 14. The writer claims for Polystratus the credit of having made the number of citizens not 5000 but 9000 when employed by the 400, of whom he was for a short time one, to make out a list. But the oration is of little authority. What was the true number is uncertain: but we may argue from probabilities. At the commencement of the war the Athenian heavy-armed amounted to 29,000, of whom 13,000 (*οἱ ἐκ καταλόγου*) served in the field. After heavy losses from the plague (iii. 87), from defeats in battle, especially at Spartolus (ii. 79), in Aetolia (iii. 98), at Delium (iv. 94. 96), and at Amphipolis (v. 11 fin.), they had been replenished during the interval of peace (vi. 26). At the commencement of the Sicilian expedition they cannot have fallen far short of their original numbers. In that expedition (vi. 43, vii. 20) 2700 hoplites, *ἐκ καταλόγου*, perished (besides 700 *ἐπιβάται*). Thus the 13,000 would be reduced to 10,000 or a little more. But it is evident that in a time of poverty and distress all these could not have provided themselves with arms.

97. 1. *μηδεμίᾳ ἀρχῇ*, 'in' or 'for any office.' As in Arist. Polit. iii. 1. 6. 7, the dicast and ecclesiast are clearly regarded as holding an 'office.'

νομοθέτας, the ordinary body of that name, not special commissioners, as is shown by the combination of the word with *καὶ τἆλλα ἐψηφίσαντο ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν*.

τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον, 'at first,' not, 'for the first time.' This explanation agrees better with *οὐχ ἥκιστα*, and with the facts of the case. For Thucydides cannot have meant to say that the Athenians were better governed at this time than in the days of Pericles.

μετρία γάρ κ.τ.λ. The words *μετρία γὰρ . . . ξύγκρασις ἐγένετο* show that *εὖ πολιτεύσαντες* refers to a definite form of government, not merely to political moderation. This constitution probably approached nearer to Aristotle's *πολιτεία* than any other recorded in ancient history. The number admitted to the governing body was considerable, and yet the government was placed in the hands of those who were well to do and could provide themselves with arms, and who were willing to attend the law-courts and assembly without receiving pay. The actual administration was probably thus confined to a few of the higher class. It is by such methods that Aristotle proposes to moderate the licence of democracy.

We are not informed how long this happier state of things lasted, and no mention occurs in Xenophon, or any other writer, of a change in the Athenian constitution before the termination of the war. Five years later occurred the trial of the generals, in which all the citizens took part (Xen. Hell. i. 7. 9 *διαψηφίσασθαι Ἀθηναίους πάντας κατὰ φυλάς*). Certainly, in the last year of the war, the Athenian people were as much distracted by faction and treason as at any previous time.

The leading feature of the change was not the limitation of the citizens to the number of '5000,' for that followed naturally, but the withdrawal of the pay from dicasts and ecclesiasts, and the regulation that none should have the suffrage but those who could provide themselves with arms. The *ναυτικὸς ὄχλος* would thus be excluded. Probably the number of citizens was never enlarged by any direct enactment. At what time the restriction to those who found arms was repealed, and the pay of the dicasts and

ecclesiasts restored, is nowhere recorded. But in Aristoph., Frogs 97. 2. (acted in 405), the dicast is again receiving his pay, 1466,—

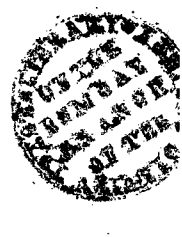
εὖ, πλήν γ' ὁ δικαστὴς αὐτὰ καταπίνει μόνος.

See on the whole subject Vischer, Kleine Schriften, i. p. 205–238; 502–508: Herbst, Die Schlacht bei den Arginusen, Appendix ii.

The form of government called by Aristotle a *πολιτεία* differed from oligarchy, on the one hand, by admitting virtue as a claim to office in the selection of rulers (though practically men confuse wealth and virtue), and from democracy, on the other, by requiring a certain degree of wealth in the citizens: *ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολιτεία ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν μίξις ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δημοκρατίας, εἰώθασι δὲ καλεῖν τὰς μὲν ἀποκλινούσας ὡς πρὸς τὴν δημοκρατίαν πολιτείας, τὰς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν μᾶλλον ἀριστοκρατίας, διὰ τὸ μᾶλλον ἀκολουθεῖν παιδείαν καὶ εὐγένειαν τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις*, Polit. iv. 8. 3. Aristotle also recommends (iv. 13. 7) that the government should be composed of the armed citizens, and that those who have part in it should outnumber those who have not.

Aristophanes at a later period (Frogs, acted 405) seeks to enforce upon the Athenians the same moderation which actuated them after the fall of the 400: 687 foll.,—

πρῶτον οὖν ἡμῖν δοκεῖ
ἐξισῶσαι τοὺς πολίτας κἀφελεῖν τὰ δείματα.
κεἴ τις ἥμαρτε σφαλείς τι Φρυνίχου παλαίσμασιν,
ἐγγενέσθαι φημὶ χρῆναι τοῖς ὀλισθοῦσιν τότε
αἰτίαν ἐκθεῖσι λῦσαι τὰς πρότερον ἁμαρτίας.
εἶτ' ἄτιμόν φημι χρῆναι μηδέν' εἶν' ἐν τῇ πόλει . . .
. . . εἰ δὲ τοῦτ' ὀγκωσόμεσθα κἀποσεμνυνούμεθα
τὴν πόλιν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἔχοντες κυμάτων ἐν ἀγκάλαις
ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ποτ' αὖθις εὖ φρονεῖν οὐ δόξομεν.



Such moderation Theramenes affirms to have been his guiding principle (Xen. Hell. ii. 3. 48). He is equally opposed to those who think that there can be no true democracy until the men who would sell their country for a drachma get their drachma, and no true oligarchy, until the oligarchs become tyrants. He adds in obscure words, 'I have always thought, and still maintain, that the city is best administered by those who can serve her with horse and shield.'

97. 2. These passages alike tend to show that the seemingly chance words of Thucydides indicate a widely recognised principle, which the Athenian people had learned by bitter experience, and which in the next generation was embodied in a new political idea.

98. 2. *ἐπολιόρκουν δ' αὐτὸ διὰ ξυμφορὰν σφίσιν ἐκ τῆς Οἰνόης γενομένην ἀνδρῶν ἐκ Δεκελείας ἀναχωρούντων διαφθορᾶς οἱ Κορίνθιοι ἐθελοντηδόν.*

Probably on the occasion mentioned in c. 71, when, after the attempt on the Athenian walls, Agis sent back the greater part of his army. *ξυμφορὰ διαφθορᾶς*, said like *τὴν ξυμφορὰν τῆς φυγῆς*, c. 81 med., *ἡ ξυντυχία τῆς ἡμετέρας χρείας*, i. 33 init.

99. *ὑπὸ δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους τοῦ θέρους τούτου καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι, ὡς τροφὴν τε οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου, . . . οὕτω δὴ ὁ Μίνδαρος . . . ἄρας ἀπὸ τῆς Μιλήτου ναυσὶ τρισὶ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἔπλει ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον.*

οἱ ἐν τῇ Μιλήτῳ Πελοποννήσιοι is resumed in *οὕτω δὴ ὁ Μίνδαρος*, about ten lines below. Cp. note on iv. 73. 4, where *οἱ Μεγαρῆς* is similarly resumed in the words *οὕτω δὴ . . . οἱ τῶν φευγόντων φίλοι Μεγαρῆς.*

A comparison of the passages in which Thucydides, towards the end of Book VIII, describes the numbers of the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets, shows that he has not given a full account of their movements.

a) The number of the Peloponnesian fleet when it sailed for the Hellespont should be eighty-six, not seventy-three. Cp. c. 79 init., 80 fin., 99 fin. It is true that, according to Diodorus, xiii. 38, Mindarus, before his departure, sent to Rhodes, under Dorieus, a squadron of thirteen ships, the precise number required in order to reconcile the statements of Thucydides. And Xenophon, Hell. i. 1. 2, tells us that Dorieus rejoined the Peloponnesian fleet at the Hellespont. But 1) Xenophon speaks of fourteen, not of thirteen, ships; 2) two Peloponnesian ships which had been sent with Philip to Aspendus (c. 87 fin.) are still unaccounted for; 3) Diodorus also says that eighty-three, not seventy-three, ships sailed with Mindarus to the Hellespont.

b) In c. 103 init. the number of the Peloponnesian fleet is eighty-six, whereas it should have been eighty-seven, see 99 fin., 102 med., 103. Cp. note on viii. 17. 3.

c) In c. 104 init., which mentions the number of the two fleets when about to engage, the MSS. vary. Five of the best give seventy-six as the strength of the Athenian fleet; the rest (including two in which seventy-six is a correction) eighty-six. From the preceding narrative, we infer eighty-one (c. 100 init., and fin. 102, where four ships are lost). We may conjecture with Arnold that the five Methymnaean ships (c. 100 fin.) had remained behind at Lesbos, or with Classen, that five of the eighteen ships which were chased by Mindarus had not yet returned. But on this point Thucydides is silent. **99.**

The number of the Peloponnesian ships, according to two good MSS. (Cl. Ven.), is eighty-eight, according to the rest, sixty-eight. But this latter number cannot be correct, for the account of the battle shows that the Peloponnesian forces outnumbered their enemies. Poppo reads *ὀκτὼ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα*, Arnold *ἓξ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα*, which agrees with c. 103 init., and may have been altered by an accidental inversion to *ὀκτὼ καὶ ἑξήκοντα*.

It may be argued, *a*) that there are corruptions in the numbers of the text. But though letters which denote numbers are more liable to corruption than other letters, they cannot have been corrupted by accident in so many places; and the assumption of a constant corruption of them is not justified by the amount of numerical errors in other passages in Thucydides (see note on i. 57. 6). The truth is *b*) that Thucydides himself is somewhat careless of such details, especially in the concluding, and perhaps half-finished, portion of his work.

Whatever be the explanation of the seeming error, it is safer simply to accept the words of Thucydides than to attempt to reconcile them by groundless assumptions, or by the help of later historians.

νομίσας αὐτὸν καθέξειν αὐτοῦ. **100. 1.**

καθέξειν, 1) neuter, cp. viii. 28 init. *ἐν ᾗ Ἀμόργης πολέμιος ὢν κατεῖχε*: iv. 32 med. *ἄλλοι ὅσοι περὶ Πύλον κατεῖχον*. Or 2)* active, 'that he would keep Mindarus at Chios.'

διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μυτιλήνης Ἀθηναίων φρουροὺς προελθόντας. **100. 3.**

100. 3. Either 1)* 'anticipating' the refugees who were about to attack Methymna. Or 2) advancing from Mitylene to meet them. (But Thucydides would hardly speak of 'advancing' from a place thirty miles off.) Or 3) advancing from Methymna, whither they had come from Mitylene.

101. 1. *ὁ δὲ Μίνδαρος ἐν τούτῳ καὶ αἱ ἐκ τῆς Χίου τῶν Πελοποννησίων νῆες, ἐπισιτισάμεναι δυσὶν ἡμέραις, καὶ λαβόντες παρὰ τῶν Χίων τρεῖς τεσσαρακοστὰς ἕκαστος Χίας, τῇ τρίτῃ διὰ ταχέων ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου οὐ πελάγιαι, ἵνα μὴ περιτύχωσι ταῖς ἐν τῇ Ἐρέσῳ ναυσίν, ἀλλὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τὴν Λέσβον ἔχοντες ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον.*

τεσσαρακοστάς, see note on English text.

All the MSS., including the Vatican (which, according to Böhme, is erroneously cited by Poppo), read *πελάγιαι*, omitting *οὐ*. But nearly all the editors, on the suggestion of Haacke, have inserted *οὐ* before *πελάγιαι*, which may easily have been lost in the last letters of the preceding word *Χίου*. The correction is necessary. For *a*) the Peloponnesians, who did not want to fall in with the Athenians blockading Eresus, were more likely to accomplish their object by keeping between Chios and the mainland, than by sailing first south and west into the open sea, and then along the west and north coast of Chios. (They are expressly said, for some reason or other which is not mentioned, to have escaped the observation of the Athenian scouts, c. 103 init. In c. 100 init. the words *ἐν τῇ ἀντιπέρας ἠπείρῳ* clearly refer to the mainland opposite Lesbos which has just been mentioned, not opposite Chios.)

b) Unless *οὐ* is inserted no proper force can be given to the adversative *ἀλλά*. The meaning would be, 'they sailed through the open sea, that they might not be seen by the Athenians; and, keeping Lesbos on the left hand, made for the continent.'

But *c*) Thucydides, who gives a precise account of the latter part of the voyage, would not have described so complicated a movement by the words *ἀπαίρουσιν ἐκ τῆς Χίου . . . ἤπειρον*.

These great difficulties more than justify the insertion of *οὐ*, although there is still a slight irregularity, the finite verb *ἔπλεον* corresponding to the adjective *πελάγιαι*.

ἐπὶ τὴν ἤπειρον, i. e. after rounding the promontory of Mimas they

struck inwards across the mouth of the Hermaean bay for Phocaea, **101. 1.** in order to keep as far as possible from the Athenians who were blockading Eresus. It is impossible to take *ἐπί* in the sense of *παρά* (along). The further movement of the Peloponnesian fleet along the coast is clearly expressed in the words which follow, *παραπλεύσαντες τὴν Κυμαίαν.*

παραπλεύσαντες τὴν Κυμαίαν **δειπνοποιοῦνται** *ἐν Ἀργεννούσαις τῆς* **101. 2.** *ἠπείρου, ἐν τῷ ἀντιπέρας τῆς Μυτιλήνης.*

περαιοῦνται is an example of a reading which is unmeaning found in nearly every MS. We must restore *δειπνοποιοῦνται* from a single inferior MS. (E), which reads *δειπνοποιοῦντες*, from the margin of a good MS. (Cass.), and from the Latin translation of Valla.

βουλόμενοι ἐκπλεῦσαι ἐς τὴν εὐρυχωρίαν τὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς. **102. 2.**

'Wanting to sail into the open sea, and escape the enemies' fleet;' *ἐκπλεῦσαι τὰς ναῦς* is said like *μηδένα ὄχλον ὑποχωρεῖν*, ii. 88 fin., *ὑπεξελθόντες τούτους*, iii. 34 med.

καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν Ἀβύδῳ ἑκκαίδεκα ναῦς ἔλαθον, προειρημένης φυλακῆς τῷ **102. 2.** **φιλίῳ ἐπίπλῳ** *ὅπως αὐτῶν ἀνακῶς ἔξουσιν ἢν ἐκπλέωσιν, τὰς δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Μινδάρου ἅμα τῇ ἕῳ κατιδόντες τὴν* **δίωξιν εὐθὺς ποιούμενοι**, *οὐ φθάνουσι πᾶσαι, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν πλείους ἐπὶ τῆς Ἴμβρου καὶ Λήμνου διέφυγον, τέσσαρες δὲ τῶν νεῶν αἱ ὕσταται πλέουσαι καταλαμβάνονται παρὰ τὸν Ἐλαιοῦντα.*

τῷ φιλίῳ ἐπίπλῳ = τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιπλέουσιν. 'Orders having been given to them' (i. e. to the sixteen Peloponnesian ships) 'by their friends who were sailing up, to keep a sharp look out for the Athenians if they should try to sail out of the Hellespont.' *προειρημένης φυλακῆς* really explains not why the Athenians escaped the notice of the sixteen ships, but why it is necessary for the writer to tell us that they did so.

ποιουμένων, or *ποιουμένου* referring to Mindarus, must be substituted for the reading of the MSS. *ποιούμενοι*, for it is clear that the Peloponnesians, and not the Athenians, are referred to. The anacoluthon, which disconnects *ποιούμενοι* both with *κατιδόντες* and with *αἱ πλείους*, would be too violent even for Thucydides.

παρὰ τὸν Ἐλαιοῦντα, not with *πλέουσαι*, which is to be taken closely

102. 2. with *αἱ ὕσταται*, but to be explained by a confusion of rest and motion. Cp. note on vi. 57. 3.

105. 2. *πρὶν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι, διὰ τὸ κρατήσαντες ἀδεῶς ἄλλοι ἄλλην ναῦν διώκοντες, ἤρξαντο μέρει τινὶ σφῶν ἀτακτότεροι γενέσθαι.*

For *διὰ τό* followed by a participle cp. note on i. 2. 5. The words are to be taken with *διώκοντες*, to which *κρατήσαντες* is subordinate. For *σφῶν=ἑαυτῶν*, see note on vi. 76. 3.

105. 3. *γνόντες δὲ οἱ περὶ τὸν Θρασύβουλον, τὰς ἐπὶ σφίσι ναῦς ἐπεχούσας, παυσάμενοι τῆς ἐπεξαγωγῆς ἤδη τοῦ κέρως καὶ ἐπαναστρέψαντες, εὐθὺς ἠμύναντό τε καὶ τρέπουσι, καὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ νικῆσαν τῶν Πελοποννησίων μέρος ὑπολαβόντες πεπλανημένας ἔκοπτόν τε καὶ ἐς φόβον τὰς πλείστας ἀμαχεὶ καθίστασαν.*

ἐπεχούσας ἐπὶ σφίσι, 1)* 'having their place opposite to them.' For the ordinary use with an accusative, but in the same sense, cp. i. 48 med. *τὸ δὲ ἄλλο αὐτοὶ ἐπεῖχον.* Or 2) 'which were pressing upon them,' cp. supra, *ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν ἐπικειμένων νεῶν.* The word is used in this sense by Herod. ix. 59, *ἐπεῖχέ τε* (scil. *ὁ Ἀρτάβαζος*) *ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τε καὶ Τεγεήτας μούνους.*

ὑπολαβόντες, see note on English text.

107. 2. *ἔπλευσαν δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι ἐκ τῆς Ἀβύδου ἐπὶ τὸν Ἐλαιοῦντα καὶ τῶν σφετέρων νεῶν τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ὅσαι ἦσαν ὑγιεῖς ἐκομίσαντο (τὰς δὲ ἄλλας Ἐλαιούσιοι κατέκαυσαν) κ.τ.λ.*

The narrative of Thucydides is somewhat incomplete. We must suppose that the Athenians after the battle had sailed to Elaeus, which was their ally (c. 103 init.), and had there deposited the captured vessels. Thence they sailed to Sestos (c. 107 init.) and afterwards to Cyzicus: in their absence the Peloponnesians sailed to Elaeus and recovered those of their ships which the Elaeusians had not burned.

108. 5. *φοβούμενοι οὖν αὐτὸν διὰ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον μήποτε καὶ περὶ σφᾶς τι παρανομήσῃ, καὶ ἄλλα ἐπιβάλλοντος αὐτοῦ ἃ φέρειν οὐκ ἠδύναντο, ἐκβάλλουσι τοὺς φρουροὺς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως.*

Thucydides leaves us to infer from the words which follow,

c. 109 init., that the expulsion was effected by the help of the Peloponnesians whom the Antandrians had introduced into their city (c. 108 init.). **108. 5.**

καὶ ἀφικόμενος πρῶτον ἐς Ἔφεσον θυσίαν ἐποιήσατο τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. **109. 1.**

Whether the sacrifice offered by Tissaphernes to Artemis was a matter of policy or of customary religious observance can only be conjectured. In either case it shows the influence which Hellenic ideas and practices gained over Persians who were brought into contact with them. A year or two later, as we learn from Xenophon, Tissaphernes took occasion to manifest his policy or his piety in a similar manner; Hell. i. 2. 6, Θράσυλος δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ θάλατταν τὴν στρατιάν, ὡς εἰς Ἔφεσον πλευσούμενος. Τισσαφέρνης δὲ αἰσθόμενος τοῦτο τὸ ἐπιχείρημα, στρατιάν τε συνέλεγε πολλὴν καὶ ἱππεῖς ἀπέστελλε παραγγέλλων πᾶσιν εἰς Ἔφεσον βοηθεῖν τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι.

Two MSS. of Thucydides are preserved in the Bodleian Library, marked respectively 47 and 48 of the Canonici collection (Codices Graeci), the first of the fifteenth, the second of the fourteenth century. The latter, which is the better as well as the older, is much corrected, and, as far as I can judge from a collation of the first book, has many mistakes, misspellings, transpositions of words, and other inferior readings, but no signs of peculiar or original ones. It contains also Dionysius of Halicarnassus' treatise Περὶ τῶν Θουκυδίδου ἰδιωμάτων, and the latter part of the Life of Thucydides ascribed to Marcellinus.

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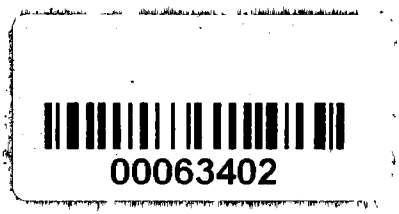
CORRIGENDA. VOL. I.

Page 65, line 6, *for* Athenians *read* Corinthians.
„ 66, „ 15, *for* Citinium *read* Cytinium.
„ 98, „ 13, *for* brought in the harvest *read* brought in corn.
„ 103, „ 25, *for* was *read* were.
„ 103, „ 32, *for* these treasures *read* this treasure:—i. e. the gold taken from the statue of the Goddess.
„ 112, „ 10, *for* Theopompus *read* Cleopompus.
„ 113, „ 5, marg., *dele* 29.
„ 130, „ 14, *for* destroyed *read* plundered.
„ 140, „ 16, *for* the tribute *read* tribute; so p. 179, l. 34; p. 295, l. 13.
„ 160, „ 22, *dele* had.
„ 173, „ 3, *for* Nericum *read* Nericus.
„ 181, „ 26, *for* six ascending each of the two towers *read* six ascending the wall and proceeding towards each of the two towers.
„ 190, note [a], *for* vi *read* iv.
„ 234, line 4, marg., *for* Sicilian *read* Italian.
„ 241, „ 28, *before* Peloponnesians *insert* other.
„ 244, „ 5, marg., *for* between the Acarnanians and Amphilochians *read* of the Acarnanians and Amphilochians with the Ambraciots.
„ 267, note [b], *for* τό τέ read τό τε.
„ 271, line 12, *before* in the rear *insert* on the high ground.
„ 317, „ 11, *for* Aesymè *read* Oesymè.
„ 340, „ 11, *for* Brycinniae *read* Bricinniae.
„ 343, note [b], *for* 29 fin. *read* 30 fin.
„ 348, note [b], *for* ἑκάτερᾳ *read* ἑκατέρᾳ.
„ 352, line 33, *for* Diathus *read* Daïthus.
„ 377, „ 5, *for* Oenianians *read* Aenianians.
„ 438, „ 34, marg., insert 41.
„ 519, note [c], *for* £48,000 *read* £480,000.
„ 527, note [c], *for* vi *read* vii.
„ 538, line 12, marg., *for* was *read* were.
„ 552, „ 32, marg., *insert* 5; p. 533, l. 19, marg., *dele* 5.
„ 567, „ 26, *dele* or.
„ 578, „ 6, *for* Iasus *read* Ialysus.
„ 590, „ 19, *for* came *read* come.
„ 607, „ 35, *for* crews *read* crew.

CORRIGENDA. VOL. II.

Page 58, line 4, *for* ξυμβολαίαι *read* ξυμβόλαιαι.
„ 67, „ 3, *for* 112. 2 *read* 112, 1.
„ 78, „ 1, *for* τρίποος *read* τρίποδος.
„ 90, „ 34, *for* χρησμόλογοι *read* χρησμολόγοι.
„ 95, „ 22, *for* before the end *read* after the end.
„ 95, „ 31, *for* ii *read* iii.
„ 97, „ 1, *for* δ' *read* αἱ δ', *and for* ἔτι *read* ἔτη.
„ 103, „ 24, *for* Dr. Thomson *read* Dr. Thompson.
„ 107, „ 32, *for* καίρῳ *read* καιρῷ.
„ 114, „ 21, 22, *dele* support, *and transfer* ἵαμα ὡς *to succeeding line.*
„ 122, „ 7, *for* 423 or 421 ?, *read* 421.
„ 176, „ 10, *for* 32 *read* 33.
„ 206, „ 2, *for* relate *read* relates.
„ 213, „ 34, *for* ὅπωσα *read* ὁπόσα.
„ 221, „ 30, *for* ἀνεχώρηραν *read* ἀνεχώρησαν.
„ 225, „ 16, *dele* and the hill of Paleokastro.
„ 258, „ 13, *for* has *read* have.
„ 274, „ 33, *for* Στρύμονος *read* Στρυμόνος.
„ 278, „ 24, *after* Methonè *insert* (Methana).
„ 285, „ 18, *for* μεχρὶ *read* μέχρι.
„ 295, „ 25, 431 B.C. Cp. Essay on Inscriptions, p. xlviii.
„ 296, „ 2, *dele* of.
„ 296, „ 27, about 437. Cp. Essay on Inscriptions, p. xxxv.
„ 296, „ 28—297, 27. But cp. Essay on Inscriptions, pp. xxxvii–xliii.
„ 298, „ 1, *for* most *read* many.
„ 299, „ 19, *dele* unnecessarily placed by Poppo after προγεγενημένα.
„ 330, „ 13, *for* Appendix *read* Introduction [p. lxvi].
„ 337, „ 27, *for* M^{12} *read* M.
„ 358, „ 13, 15, *for* Ἕρμαι, Ἕρμης, *read* Ἑρμαῖ, Ἑρμῆς.
„ 362, „ 9, *for* ἰσοκινδύνους *read* ἰσοκινδύνους.
„ 364, „ 16, *for* παραπᾶν *read* παράπαν.
„ 405, „ 13, *for* have *read* has.
„ 408, „ 24, *for* κατώθεν *read* κάτωθεν.
„ 421, „ 31, *for* εἰκοστόλογος *read* εἰκοστολόγος.
„ 429, „ 32, *for* Euyrelus *read* Euryelus.
„ 450, „ 25, *for* ἀλλά follows χρέων understood from *read* with ἀλλά supply χρεών from.
„ 472, „ 2, *dele* Appendices to.
„ 487, „ 27, *for* πότε *read* ποτέ.
„ 492, „ 27, *for* μή *read* μὴ.
„ 503, „ 24, *for* παντός, *read* παντός:
„ 521, „ 26, *for* Monastb. *read* Monatsb.
„ 522, „ 14, *for* φυλή *read* φυλήν.



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